Alabama's Senate Choice

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN J. SPARKMAN won handsomely over each of his four opponents in the Alabama Democratic primary to choose a successor to the late Senator John H. Bankhead. Complete, though unofficial, returns give him 84,682 votes against 36,476 for his nearest competitor. But being a little short of a majority over the combined opposition, he apparently must clinch his nomination in a "runover."

Since his first election to Congress from the Eighth Alabama District in 1936 Mr. Sparkman has grown steadily in the esteem of his colleagues and in the confidence of his constituents. His record is that of a constructive liberal. In the recent race he swept the rural counties of his home district and also ran strongly in industrial centers. Birmingham and Montgomery gave him clear majorities over all the other contestants, chief of whom were State Senator James A. Simpson and Representative Frank Boykin. Mr. Sparkman's endorsement by the C. I. O. and other labor groups appears to have caused little stir beyond the charge by Representative Boykin that the Political Action Committee was trying to "purge" him.

The brief campaign, though intensive, was mild and happily free from bitter personalities. The Associated Press reports that "Negroes voted, as usual, without incident and in small numbers." For years past, the A. P. adds, Negroes who were registered have voted in the primaries in most of Alabama's 67 counties. In the other counties they were excluded "until the State Democratic Executive Committee, in line with a Supreme Court ruling, decided last January that they could not be barred."

Courier Journal
Louisville, Ky

Lister Hill, John Sparkman and Big Jim Folsom are given credit for the superior political climate of the Cotton State

(This is the third of a series of articles on the political situation in the South.)

WHILE Georgia has moved in one direction with the unappetizing fanatic, Eugene Talmadge, near-by Alabama has moved in exactly the opposite direction. There the people have confirmed as the reigning political triumvirate three genial, outsized politicians who are firmly opposed to everything Talmadge stands for.

Senator Lister Hill is the senior member of this triumvirate. He is a large, affable man, who conceals beneath his surface geniality, great shrewdness and real intelligence. "Raised to politics" by his prosperous family, he entered the Senate in the middle thirties as a moderate conservative, but he has tended more and more to become the leader of the small liberal wing of Southern Congressmen. He has made a real impression in the Senate, and he has been mentioned as a Vice Presidential possibility for 1948. But it is unlikely that this will ever be more than talk. A national candidate from the deep South would probably cost the Democratic ticket most of the Northern Negro vote.

Sat 8-24-46

Number 2 is John Sparkman, majority whip of the House, who was nominated to the Senate by a clear majority over two opponents this month. A big, red-faced man, son of a tenant farmer, his ten-year record of support for measures to help the farmers and the low-income groups, combined with his patent sincerity, have made him the best-liked politician in Alabama.

Finally, there is James E. Folsom, always called Big Jim in Alabama. An enormous man, many Alabamans believe that his huge feet, which he has a habit of displaying without shoes, together with his string band and his jokes, had more to do with his success in winning the Governorship than his liberal politics or his support from the C.I.O.

Even some of Big Jim's enthusiastic supporters are keeping their fingers crossed against the time when he moves into the impressive old State House in Montgomery. Folsom knows nothing whatsoever about the more tedious aspects of the business of government. It is believed that some of the men around him are not entirely unselfish in their motives. Moreover, Big Jim does not always measure up to the full standard of gubernatorial dignity. Alabama is still buzzing with talk of the uninhibited vacation he took in a Florida hotel, after he won the Governorship. On one occasion the manager is reported to have informed him that while the hotel was not stuffy about ties and coats in the dining room, it was necessary to insist that shoes be worn.

His Heart's In the Right Place

Most Alabamans are agreed that Folsom's heart is in the right place, but they fear that if he regards the Governorship as some bright new toy he may do the cause for which he stands real harm. However, last week he came to Washington, and Hill and Sparkman, with the help of Alabaman Hugo Black, undertook to impress him with the fact that the eyes of the nation are now upon him. The course of indoctrination reached its climax at a small dinner given by Postmaster General Robert Hannegan, at which Big Jim was seated next to the President. He is reported now to be suitably impressed with the seriousness of his new responsibilities.

Whatever their personal qualities, most Alabamans are proud of the three men who have been given the three most important political jobs in the state. One Alabama newspaper commented on a new dance which had been invented. "The Georgia Trot, one step forward and three steps back." It remarked that an "Alabama Polka, one step back and three steps forward," would be equally appropriate. While Mississippi has confirmed the Ku-Kluxer Bilbo and the screeching John Rankin, and while Georgia is faced with four years of Talmadge, why has Alabama taken its three steps forward? This reporter asked many Alabamans, of varying political complexion, that question.

Sat 8-24-46

Racial Issue Affects Everything

The answers differed, but always, sooner or later, the name of Lister Hill cropped up. Hill is quite obviously no radical from the North; he opposed F.E.P.C. (it would be hard to find a Southerner in Congress who did not). Yet his persistent counsels of reason and moderation have had a real effect on Alabama political thinking. On the more practical side, he has built himself an effective political organization, no machine in the Crump or Tammany sense, but a good working organization.

Finally, two years ago, Hill beat James Simpson when Simpson raised the White Supremacy issue. Simpson plastered billboards up and down the state with "Vote for Jim Simpson and White Supremacy," but Hill won by a comfortable majority. Simpson ran again this year against Sparkman, but this time the racial issue was never seriously raised.

" Perhaps it would have been," said one liberal editor to this reporter, "if the Negroes had voted here as they did in Georgia. But they didn't. All the same, the racial issue is still the basic issue here. It colors and affects all politics, even when it is never raised." How deeply that is true, and why it is true, is something that non-Southerners must understand if the yare to understand what is happening politically in the South.

State Goverment Changes Seen Under Folsom Regime

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 10-27-46

By REX THOMAS
Associated Press Writer

Alabama will see a striking change in the temper of its State Government when "Big Jim" Folsom takes office as governor next January.

Recent public utterances from Folsom and from the present chief executive, Chauncey Sparks, illustrate clearly how far apart are their concepts of the working of State affairs.

On such questions as schools, highways, public health, their views are fundamentally alike, but on things like the Boswell amendment and international relations, the Governor and his successor are at loggerheads.

Both have opposed the poll tax as a requisite for voting, but from different angles. Folsom campaigned for outright repeal while Sparks has expressed the view that Alabama could do without it after registration requirements have been strengthened.

But on voter registration itself, they are completely at odds.

Gov. Sparks is outspokenly in favor of the Boswell amendment to place new restrictions around voting qualifications on the grounds that almost anyone can qualify for registration under Alabama's present statutes.

That, of course, would include Negroes, the core of the dispute over the amendment.

Folsom's version is quite different. He takes the position that the voting franchise is already so restricted that "only a very small percentage of our citizens are able to participate in our primaries and elections."

The Boswell proposal, he argues, would only make them more restrictive.

On World Affairs

Equally distant are Sparks and Folsom in their approach to international problems.

When the present governor made a speech in Mobile on Sept. 6 branding members of the Communist party as "potential traitors" and labeling the United States as the dumping ground for Russian Communists, Folsom followed in a few days with a different stand.

He criticized American foreign policy for what he termed opposing everything Russia stands for and lambasted the "idea that every man who wants peace with Russia is a Communist."

But of all their differences, perhaps none is more pronounced than their regard for the so-called "liberal" philosophy of government represented by former Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace.

Folsom is a keen admirer of the onetime vice president; bolted the Alabama delegation at the Democratic National Convention in 1944 and voted for Wallace as running mate to Roosevelt.

Ignores Visit

Sparks, on the other hand, makes no secret of his dislike for the man President Truman recently booted out of the cabinet, and when Wallace spoke at Tuskegee Institute some months ago, the Governor officially ignored his visit to Alabama.

Finally, when Folsom was named State chairman of the Democratic party's fund-raising campaign, he set up his entire organization without calling on either Sparks or the head of the party in Alabama, Gessner T. McCorvey.

Instead, he left the job of raising $200,000 for the party's war chest to people who were close to him in his gubernatorial fight. Folsom associates, however, disclaim any political significance in this. As one put it:

"Jim is extremely conscious of the fact that he hasn't actually been elected governor yet (the formal election will be Nov. 5) and until he is he doesn't feel at liberty to call on all the people to help him in such a campaign as this.

"Consequently, he felt he had to rely on his friends who helped him in his race for governor in the primary."

"No. 8: This amendment helps come a leader in the transportation field. In order that Alabama shall stay abreast in air transportation, it is essential that we have airport facilities. It is necessary for this amendment to pass in order that we may participate in federal funds and acquiring Army airfields. Yes.

Demand Whites Keep Negroes From Polls

The Defender
Chicago, Ill. Sat. 6-29-46

JACKSON, Miss. — Complete mob violence was demanded this week by Chief Race-Baiter Theodore Bilbo as the frightened Dixie monarch waged a last ditch battle to keep 2,000 Negroes from the state primary July 2.

Seeking Senate renomination and speaking in his own behalf, Bilbo called upon "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to resort to any means to keep Negroes from the polls," adding, "and if you don't know what this means you are just not up on your persuasive measures."

Thus Bilbo, trying for another six years of senatorial hate, wound up his campaign true to form, in open defiance of a recent U.S. Justice Department order that Negroes must not be barred from voting in Southern Democratic primaries.

Events Come Swiftly

Developments in this race are following each other in rapid-fire order.

Just before the Bilbo rabble-rousing speech, Etoy Fletcher, Negro veteran of Pucket, filed an affidavit in which he swore that he was flogged and threatened with death when he attempted to register at Brandon County June 2.

A survey of 48 of the 82 counties in the state showed that few Negroes had registered.

T. B. Wilson, Negro president of the Progressive League, declared that many reports have come in that circuit clerks by ruse and intimidation are preventing Negroes from registering.

Representative Rankin, who asks return to Congress from the 1st District, joined Bilbo in urging law-abiding Negroes to refrain from voting in state primaries.

Nelson T. Levings, who seeks Bilbo's seat, charged in a campaign speech that the latter is responsible for Negroes voting in Mississippi.

Bilbo Fearful

And Bilbo, fearful that his "political" future is doomed if Negroes in his state voted on an equitable and fair basis, says: "The white people of Mississippi are sleeping on a volcano, and it is left up to you red-blooded white men to do something about it."

He charges that Negroes, "spurred by the CIO and the Political Action Committee, are going to make an all-out effort to vote, and if you don't know what that means you are not awake to the crisis ahead."

History Repeats

The historical aspect is significant. Bilbo, following a pattern established immediately after the Reconstruction era, is making a last attempt to stave off the inevitable downfall of white supremacy.

He verifies this when he says, "If you let a handful go to the polls July 2, there will be two handfuls in 1947. And from then on it will grow into a mighty surge."

Though the vast majority of Negroes here are Republicans and therefore, theoretically, should agree with Bilbo's platform on many points, the concensus here is that the majority will vote straight down against Bilbo July 2.

Mississippi Election May Be Investigated By Group In Congress

Pittsburgh Courier
Chicago, Ill.

Many Reports Current Negroes Not Allowed To Register For Ballot

JACKSON, Miss., July 1—(AP)—The oratory ends tonight in Mississippi's hectic congressional campaign, and tomorrow Democratic voters will cast their ballots for a United States senator and seven representatives.

But today in Washington, the Senate elections committee is due to meet and consider whether an investigation is warranted by published reports that Negroes are being deprived of their legal voting rights in Mississippi.

ONE NEGRO HAS declared he was beaten for trying to register; others have claimed they were prevented from registering by "ruse and intimidation"; and the National Negro Council has asked federal intervention to "protect the polls."

The latter organization has cited Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo's campaign appeal to "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to "resort to any means" to keep the Negroes from voting.

In tomorrow's primary, which is equivalent to an election in the one-party state of Mississippi, Bilbo faces four opponents— former Rep. Ross A. Collins, State Supreme Court Clerk Tom Q. Ellis, Naval Veteran Nelson T. Levings and Frank Harper, former state senator.

FOUR OF THE STATE'S representatives face opposition—John E. Rankin, head of the House committee on un-American activities; W. A. Winstead, W. M. Colmer and Dan R. McGehee. Reps. Will M. Whittington, T. G. Abernethy and Jamie L. Whitten are unopposed for renomination.

Bilbo scheduled a rally this afternoon at Raleigh, and will conclude his campaign with a radio address here tonight broadcast over "every station in Mississippi and one in Tennessee."

Levings will wind up with a rally tonight in Jackson's Poindexter Park. Ellis has addresses on his program for Ripley, Pontotoc and Coffeeville.

Collins completed his schedule Saturday night in Meridian. Harper has carried on a hitch-hiking campaign tour with no announced program.

WASHINGTON, July 1—(AP)—Sen. Taylor (D., Idaho) expressed belief today that President Truman should send troops into Mississippi to protect the Negro's right to vote "if that is the only way that their rights can be assured."

This assertion came as he prepared to go before the Senate elections committee to demand an investigation into the accuracy of reports quoting Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) as calling upon "redblooded" Americans to "use all means to insure a clean and white primary" Tuesday.

3 More Beaten, Vet Disappears

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.

Bilbo Tells Hearers to Frighten Citizens

TWO ARRESTED

Sat. 7-6-46

Passenger Snatched From Train, Attacked

By CARDELL W. M'VICKERS

JACKSON, Miss.—A wave of terror was spreading through Mississippi last week in the wake of Senator Bilbo's fascistic radio appeal to "red-blooded Anglo-Saxons" to employ violence in preventing colored citizens from participating in the July 2 Democratic primary.

New developments were:

1. A mob of four white men, armed with heavy clubs, severely beat a man and his wife on the streets of Brandon, seat of Rankin County, where a Navy veteran, Etoy Fletcher, was abducted and unmercifully flogged on June 12.

2 The mysterious disappearance of Fletcher, following publication of an affidavit by the NAACP. He had been previously warned that he would be killed if he "told anybody" about the nocturnal flogging.

3. The brutal beating at Senatobia, Miss., scene of a sensational lynching, in 1933, of a 22-year-old Chicagoan, after he had been forced off an Illinois Central train en route to New Orleans.

4. Bilbo's defiance of Federal authority, by exhorting white hearers here to visit the homes of colored voters the night before election day as the "best way to keep the n----rs away the polls."

Not Intimidated

The desperate measures resorted to by Bilbo, who is fearful that he may not regain his seat in the Senate, have not served to intimidate thousands of registered colored voters who are determined to make use of their newly-conceded right to participate in Democratic primaries.

That was the belief expressed here by Percy L. Greene, editor of the Jackson Advocate and president of the local NAACP branch, whose organization was responsible for exposing the after-dark terrorism against colored citizens.

Greene agreed with political observers here that this bloc of voters may be the deciding factor in forcing Bilbo into a runoff race, a move that is virtually certain to end in his defeat.

The race is a close one of Bilbo against the field, with former Congressman Ross A. Collins and State Supreme Court Clerk Tom Q. Ellis running neck and neck for second place.

Either Ross or Ellis, while not exactly liberals in all senses of the word, are far more acceptable than Bilbo, according to Greene.

The latest victims of Mississippi terrorism were Mr. and Mrs. Frank Pinkey of Brandon and John Taylor of Chicago.

The Pinkeys reported they were en route home after attending Sunday night church services, when they were severely beaten by white assailants, who told them that "no n----rs would be allowed on the streets of Brandon after dark."

The two were so badly beaten that it was necessary for them to be treated at their home, physicians advising their condition was too serious to permit their removal to a hospital.

Sheriff Henry Laird announced the arrest of two men in connection with the beating. Giving their names as F. M. Floyd and Webb Neal, they were allowed their freedom on $300 bonds on charges of assault and battery.

Knocked Down With Club

Mrs. Pinkey said her husband was knocked down first by one of the men wielding a wooden club, while another of the men struck her in the mouth with his fist. Both were kicked while they were on the ground.

Taylor said that he was beaten and robbed by two officers at Senatobia, after he had been forced off the train. The trouble started, Taylor said, when he was unable to locate his ticket.

He said he was struck by the policemen as soon as he was on the ground. Taken to jail, he was beaten again, two teeth being knocked out, and his bag searched.

Relieved of all his money but $2, Taylor quoted the officers as saying, "You boys go up North, stay awhile, and then get too smart for your britches." They then freed him and gave him 5 minutes to get out of town.

Hitchhikes to Memphis

Hitchhiking a ride on a truck, he made his way back to Memphis, where he told a lawyer, A. A. Latting, of his experiences.

Senatobia in 1933 was the scene of the sensational Jeff Williams lynching. Williams had been accused of killing his half-brother, a deputy sheriff, in a pistol duel. Father of both men was a white planter.

The whereabuots of Etoy Fletcher, a student of Jackson College here, the first victim in the Bilbo-inspired terroristic drive to keep colored citizens from the polls, remained a complete mystery Saturday.

Fletcher, a Navy veteran, was snatched off the streets of Brandon in Rankin County, carried to the nearby woods, and flogged by four white men with heavy cable wire.

Missing Since June 15

He disclosed the affair in an affidavit sworn to before R. B. Dansby, registrar of the college, on June 15, and has not been seen since.

College authorities have been unable to locate him since the affidavit, rushed to New York, was made public by the national NAACP office. No information as to his whereabouts could be obtained from the place where he roomed at 1610 Cox St., while attending school.

Contradiction occurred in the Fletcher case when Dr. C. J. Matranga, white, of Jackson, swore out an affidavit that Fletcher had told him he was beaten by colored men, not white as the NAACP affidavit charged.

Dr. Matranga said he treated the flogging victim.

Bilbo, sneering at reports from Washington that his inflammatory tactics would be the object of investigation by both the FBI and the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, said: "Don't worry about Bilbo; just send him back to Washington and he'll take care of his seat in the Senate."

"Mississippi's good white people should go to any means justifiable to maintain white supremacy at the polls," Bilbo shouted in a talk at Stuart.

ELECTION CLAIMS DENIED BY SHEFFIELD MINISTER

Birmingham Age Herald - Alabama

BY HUGH W. SPARROW

Alabama Methodists had been assured today by no less an authority than the pastor of the First Methodist Church of Sheffield that inflammatory propaganda by W. Earl Holaten, dry force leader, against the people of Colbert County and Lt. Gov. Handy Ellis in connection with the recent Colbert County local option election was not based on facts.

In a letter to The Alabama Christian Advocate which gave Mr. Hotalen's scurrilous attack a play in the March 28 issue, the Sheffield clergyman, Dr. W. Glenn Bartee, denied accuracy of Mr. Hotalen's claim that a "Negro balance of power" gave wets victory in the Colbert County election and strongly deplored Mr. Hotalen's appeal to race prejudice. Tues 4-23-46

Dr. Bartee declared that though he regretted as much as any the fact that drys lost the Colbert County election, the drys would have lost even if no Negro had cast a ballot. That, he said, is shown by the official Colbert County voting records which lists fewer Negro qualified voters in the entire county than the vote margin between the winners and losers.

Race Question Introduced

The clergyman added that "not only has the cause (prohibition) not been helped any, but another issue—the race question—has been brought to the front in a manner that tends to be inflammatory."

Raising of the race question, according to Dr. Bartee's letter "harks back to and draws an imaginary parallel with an era we all want to forget, and is, to say the least, ill advised."

Mr. Hotalen, former leader in Ku Klux circles in Chattanooga and Birmingham, used inflammatory terms in describing the leaders of the wet forces in the recent election, charged that these leaders voted Negroes in wholesale lot to assure a wet victory.

The Christian Advocate, edited by Dr. A. E. Middlebrooks, which gave the Hotalen propaganda a full page play, published Dr. Bartee's letter to the editor in an obscure position at the bottom of a series of letters to the editor, appearing in the April 18 issue.

The Hotalen attack was published recently in the form of a so-called "hate sheet" which was widely circulated via mail. The Christian Advocate reprinted the attack verbatim. Besides charging wet leaders with using Negro votes to defeat the so-called better elements of Colbert County, Mr. Hotalen managed to insert a strong boost for Gubernatorial Candidate Joe Poole and a blast at Poole's opponent, Lt. Gov. Ellis.

Advocate Favors Candidate

The Christian Advocate likewise has been favoring Mr. Poole over Mr. Ellis although Mr. Ellis is a member of the Methodist Church, himself.

The Hotalen propaganda blast sought to show that Poole's supporters in the Colbert election were on the side of the drys while Ellis' backers were lined up with the wets. However, the Tri-Cities Daily, published at Sheffield, which is backing Mr. Poole in the gubernatorial race, took a militant lead in the pre-election fight to eliminate bootleggerism and gangsterism in Colbert County.

Dr. Bartee's letter follows:

"Dear Dr. Middlebrooks:

"The article which appeared in the March 28 issue of The Advocate concerning the liquor election held recently in Colbert County, unfortunately contains some statements that are inaccurate. This, I must believe, was not intended by the author who, doubtless, has been misinformed. I have received letters from over the conference concerning the article and many here—drys as well as others—are not happy over it. So am asking for a bit of space to make a correction which you will welcome.

"I refer, especially, to the heading which says 'Negro balance-of-power vote wins wet majority in Colbert County liquor election' and a subsequent statement that 'It is estimated by careful calculation that if these Negro veterans had not registered in the last hours and run in to vote at Sheffield on election day the drys would have won by 450 votes or more.'

Facts Are Presented

"This is a mere surmise; here are the facts: The official poll list, just published, reveals that there are 261 Negroes registered in the county, 110 of which are in Sheffield. The wets won the election by 419 majority, official count. So, like it or not, and I don't, the final result would not have been changed had no Negroes voted.

"This is pointed out to say that, not only has the cause not been helped any, but another issue—the race question—has been brought to the front in a manner that tends to be inflammatory. Harking back to, and drawing an imaginary parallel with, an era which we all want to forget, it is, to say the least, ill advised. Tues 4-23-46

Negro Vet Statements

"Of certain brazen statements attributed to Negro veterans I know nothing; one official says 'It seems unthinkable that fear would deter them.' Suffice it to say no abnormal relation is in evidence here but some things tend to create it. The old Negro quoted as saying 'dis means more trouble for the Negroes' might have added 'for whites, too' if continued.

"One thing is sure, we cannot hope to win on one moral issue at the expense of another, which is certainly no less vital. Sound reason and earnest persuasion, not belligerency and prejudice, are avenues to ultimate victory. In these anxious days the church and its correlated agencies must hold high the spirit of fraternity and good will among men, else I shudder at what the future may bring.'

— WASHINGTON NOTES —

The Alabama Primary

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y.

Fri. 5-17-46

— by Rob F. Hall —

WASHINGTON.

A TESTIMONIAL to Luther Patrick's popularity among labor-liberal groups in Washington was the vast sigh of relief when word reached here last Friday that he still has a chance to retain his seat in Congress.

The first reports were that Patrick, who has represented the Birmingham, Ala., district here off and on since 1936, was beaten in the May 17 primary by Maj. Laurie Battle. In fact, Patrick himself was so certain that Battle had a clear majority that he sent him a telegram of congratulations and virtually conceded defeat.

But election officials began counting absentee ballots on Friday. The final results were:

Battle	23,381
Patrick	17,925
Dubose	5,578

Briefly, Battle lacked a majority of all ballots cast by a narrow 121 votes. Under Alabama primary law, Battle must fight a return engagement with Patrick in a run-off June 4.

Because he has a liberal voting record, Patrick has the support of CIO, CIO-PAC, the AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods. Usually he has also received the votes of the 800 to 1,000 Negroes who have voted in the Democratic primaries in Jefferson County for a number of years. He is opposed by the Chamber of Commerce crowd, the power trust and the steel interests. Fri. 5-17-46

Patrick is one of those superbly confident people who finds it hard to believe ill of any one. When the CIO boys frantically urged him to return to the district and help campaign, he didn't worry. Some of his business men "friends" had told him it was in the bag and that Battle didn't have a prayer.

Finally Patrick did go to Birmingham and found the unionists were right and the businessmen had deliberately given him the wrong dope. Battle, with the support of the corporations and utilizing his war record, had quietly built up an impressive following. It was too late to affect the outcome, and the result was that in the first primary Battle piled up a big lead over Patrick.

But Patrick and his labor friends now have almost three weeks to conduct their campaign. They must get all of Dubose's vote and recapture some of Battle's if Patrick is to win June 4. It wont be easy.

Some Washington newspaper comment distorts the facts in the Alabama primary. Fri 5-17-46

Jim Folsom, backed by labor-farmer groups, who led the field in the gubernatorial race, is pictured as some kind of clown, an Alabama version of Pappy O'Daniels and Jimmy Davis. Actually Folsom is a thoughtful, educated son of the people. His use of a hillbilly band in his campaign shouldn't blind any one to the fact that he has a progressive program, based on a fairly good understanding of the role of labor in the progressive movement.

His favorable references to Gov. Arnall of Georgia indicate that the 6-foot-8-inch candidate will, if he wins the run-off June 4, give Alabama its most progressive administration in many years.

But his victory is certainly not to be taken for granted. He must still win a clear majority before he is definitely in.

Comment on the defeat handed Joe Starnes by Rep. Albert Rains in the 5th Congressional District is likewise misleading. One writer, for instance, expresses amazement that the "predominantly rural" 5th district should elect a progressive.

In the first place, Rains is not a fullfledged progressive. While FDR was alive, Rains voted for the Administration program. During the past year, he has sometimes yielded to reactionary pressure, voting for the Case bill, for the Dirksen amendment to give USES back to the states, and against the Powell amendment to the school lunch bill. On the crucial votes on OPA and veterans housing, Rains was absent.

In the second place, the 5th district includes the city of Gadsden where there are large steel mills, stove foundries, textile mills and tire factories. These workers are organized, mostly in CIO, and they played a decisive role in defeating Starnes two years ago and again on May 7. Although the district includes the blackbelt counties of Tallapoose and Chambers, it is largely made up of hill counties, where small farmers predominate. Among them, the Farmers Union is relatively strong and has lots of influence. These are the groups that went down the line for Rains in order to block Starnes, the former Dies Committee member.

Latest reports from Alabama are that Mrs. Pauline Thomas Dobbs, former state secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was one of the 14 highest candidates for the state legislature from Jefferson county and therefore will be in the run-off. Seven of the 14 will be elected. Mrs. Dobbs was thirteenth in a field of 35.

Alabama's 'Big Jim' Folsom

Time - Herald

ALABAMIANS have elected as their next Governor, for better or worse, JAMES E. FOLSOM, almost invariably called simply "Big Jim." He is 6 feet 8 inches tall and he is only 37 years old. He has a personality to match his size. Plain-spoken, plain-mannered, affable and humorous, he has an extraordinary flair for political showmanship. His opponents accused him of being a "clown." But anyone who followed Alabama's lively gubernatorial campaign must realize that there is something more to the man than political showmanship. He obviously appealed deeply to many people. Otherwise, he would never have been able to defeat one of the ablest and most experienced political figures in Alabama, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HANDY ELLIS, who was his opponent in the run-off. Sat 5-18-46

ELLIS himself has enjoyed wide political popularity in Alabama for many years. He has had a reputation for being liberal and progressive, although in recent years he seems to have grown rather cautious, if not a bit conservative. FOLSOM had the endorsement of CIO-PAC. His opponents raised the cry of use it and the mop to clean up the Capi- repeal of the poll tax; for a minimum

Richmond, Va.

Times-Dispatch

Sat 5-18-46

and buttol. Incidentally, *Life* magazine in its issue of June 3, gave this picturesque campaigner quite a spread, illustrating his campaign methods.

These campaign practices are crude. "Big Jim" campaigned with a hill-billy string band and brandished a mop more than this accounted for "Big Jim's" victory. Observers testify that there was went on his homespun, friendly, expan- something about his campaigning that impressed voters. Sat 5-18-46

salary of $1,800 a year for teachers; for a monthly pension of $40 to everybody over 65 years of age, to be increased to $50 two years after he took office; for hard-surfacing all farm-to-market roads; for free school textbooks through the high schools, and other measures which appealed to the voters. Richmond

We strongly favor poll-tax repeal, of course, as well as better teachers' salaries, free textbooks and hard-surface farm-to-market roads, but it seems highly improbable that a minimum salary of $1,800 for Alabama teachers is even conceivable during FOLSOM'S term as Governor. As for his plan to give everybody over 65 $40 a month at the outset, and $50 in two years, regardless of need, this is simply fantastic demagoguery. One of his appeals to the electorate evidently was to promise nearly everybody something, whether or not he could deliver on the promise.

It will be interesting, and a bit alarming, to watch the experiment in government upon which Alabama has embarked for the four years which begin in January. FOLSOM may turn out to be a "bust" as Governor; but then again he may prove to be a new power in Southern politics.

Folsom's June Race Majority Tops All Records In Alabama

advertiser

James E. Folsom's vote June 4 was the biggest ever received by a candidate for governor in the history of Alabama.

Although the exact official vote will not be known until the State committee meets and canvasses the returns, the count currently shows 201,688 votes for Folsom to 142,928 for Lt. Gov. Handy Ellis. 6-11-46

The previous record was established by W. W. Brandon in 1922, when he polled 163,217 votes to 44,151 for Bibb Braves. Although the total vote in succeeding elections has been much greater than in 1922, the Brandon-Graves race was so one-sided that up to now no candidate had ever received as many votes for Governor as Brandon did. He carried 66 of the 67 counties, and still holds the record in that respect and also in size of his majority over his opponent. Montgomery, Ala.

Folsom's election upheld two well-established traditions. First, the practice of electing a man who has been beaten once and tries again. Second, that in Alabama the office of lieutenant-governor, instead of being a stepping stone to the governor's chair, is actually a "jinx" to the man who holds it if he aspires to go higher.

For the past quarter of a century every governor but one has been beaten in his first try for the office. The tradition started in 1922, when Brandon, defeated in 1918 by Thomas E. Kilby, ran a second time and won. Graves, defeated by Brandon, was elected on his second attempt in 1926. B. M. Miller was elected in 1930 in his first race for Governor, though he had been defeated for a place on the Supreme Court four years before. Graves was elected a second time in 1934, defeating Frank Dixon, who came back to win in 1938. Chauncey Sparks, runner-up to Dixon, tried again in 1942 and won, with Folsom second man in the race.

Ellis was the third lieutenant-governor to run for Governor in the last 20 years, and the third to be defeated. The other two were Charles S. McDowell in 1926 and W. C. Davis in 1930. In all three races the lieutenant-governor looked like a winner at the start, but weakened in the home stretch. 6-11-46 - Jun.

That Alabama voters like a good loser was indicated in the recent race for lieutenant-governor as well as for Governor. J. C. Inzer, nominated for lieutenant-governor in a close race with Reuben L. Newton, was running his second time for the office, having been defeated in his first bid in 1942.

TOM STOKES

Big Jim Is A Strange One

Atlanta Constitution Ga.

CULLMAN, Ala.—"Big Jim" Folsom wanted to be Governor of Alabama the worst way possible, as we say down here.

Alabma wanted a new face.

Each got what it wanted. But neither knows yet what it got.

Other than seeing the show first hand, people here know little more about "Big Jim" as a prospective governor than folks elsewhere. It went on over and over—the ambling six-foot-eight figure who talked rambingly from the platform, an oversized Will Rogers without the deft and penetrating Rogers touch; the hillbilly band; the bucket that was passed around for campaign contributions; the mop that he flourished as a symbol that he intends to clean up the State Government.

"Big Jim" is equally unknowing about the job he assumes next Jan. 20, though he has set out to learn all he can. He has never held public office. The only other time he got elected was as a delegate to the 1944 Democratic Convention where he persisted, with one other Alabama delegate, in voting for Henry Wallace for the Vice Presidential nomination. The delegation bosses argued with him and damned him. And when he refused to budge, they said he'd never get any political office in Alabama. Sunday

BUT here he is.

He ran twice for Congress some years back against the late Rep. Henry B. Steagall, which was taking on quite a lot. He ran for Governor in 1942. It took two elections to give him the victory this year, the second a run-off.

He is the hero and the victim of one of those not infrequent revolutions peculiar to our politics. All sorts of folks voted for him, from CIO to Ku Kluxers, but mostly he appealed to the farmers, the dirt kind. People here who followed the campaign closely said it wouldn't have mattered what he stood for or what he talked about. A majority of Alabamians wanted a change. They were tired of the professionals. So they elected "Big Jim." 7-28-46

He likes to call himself "just a country boy" — and he is that. There's lots of "country" in him, which can be a healthy influence. There are shrewdness and common sense. And now that the campaign is over he is out of his truck clothes, and when he steps out of his big white house here, he is a handsome and personable fellow, looking like the cowboy actor leaving the movie set and his rope and chaps to go to his club in a sport roadster.

BUBBLING over in him is an infectious boyishness. He's surprised at what has happened, obviously a bit nervous about what's to come when he moves into the shabby Governor's Mansion in Montgomery.

He impresses you as soft clay as of this moment. He might easily become a harmless sort of Southern demagogue, not the ruthless Huey Long type, nor the devious Gene Talmadge type, nor the mean Bilbo type. There appeared no trace of any of that in this big, genial, friendly fellow who overflows with human kindness. 7-28-46

He might become a very effective fellow. He wants to be a good Governor for all the people of his State. He carries a mandate of a kind from the plain people and seems conscious of it. Though nobody seemed to pay much attention to it, he had a program that could carry this State forward in a progressive way if he can get any of it done—long needed revision of the State Constitution; reapportionment to give the city folks more representation in the Legislature; increased old-age assistance, tax reforms and abolition of the poll tax. In that respect his election was progressive in instinct, a popular revolution for a change in Alabama.

HIS CHIEF handicaps are lack of experience and a naivete about the processes of government. Much will depend on how well he can measure men and motives and what kind of advice he takes, and how well he can manage his Legislature. There are those ready to trip him, to use him, and they are clever and experienced.

Did you ever know a successful candidate for high office who could come to a meeting, announce to the audience that he had been up until 3 a. m. from campaign traveling and was too tired to speak, tell the folks that the band would play whatever tunes they wanted, excuse himself, then walk off the platform and go over and lie down under a tree and go to sleep?

Well, he did.

So maybe he can get away with it.

Alabamians Give Sparkman Lead In Senate Race

Atlanta Ga. Journal

BIRMINGHAM, July 31.—(AP)—Representative John Sparkman of Alabama, Democratic whip of the House, was within sight Wednesday of a primary election majority which would guarantee him the Senate seat of the late John H. Bankhead.

REP. SPARKMAN

Returns from 1,532 of 2,360 voting districts gave Sparkman 67,588 votes for the Democratic nomination to 67,943 for four others. Unless he could overtake their total in the counting which remained, he faced a runoff August 27 with State Senator James A. Simpson.

Simpson had 38,326, Representative Frank Boykin, 28,435, Ted Allen of Union Springs 764 and Thomas H. Maxwell of Tuscaloosa 418.

Sparkman had the support of the C. I. O.-P. A. C. and other elements of organized labor. But the ten-year veteran of Congress, himself the son of a tenant farmer, obtained his most whopping majorities Tuesday in rural areas.

Negroes voted throughout the state. The polls were opened to them in some counties for the first time to conform with a Supreme Court decree that they could not be barred because of their color. In other districts, they had voted for years.

The Arkansas Democratic Primary Tuesday, involving state offices only, resulted in an easy second term victory for Governor Ben Laney, who nearly doubled the combined vote of two opponents.

A World War II winner of the congressional medal was nominated by a similar margin for lieutenant governor. He is Nathan Gordon, 30 year old Morrilton lawyer and wartime aviator. Although it was his first political start, he finished far ahead of his nearest rival, Moy Milum, dean of the State Senate.

J. Oscar Humphrey rolled up a 3 to 1 victory over the total for two opponents to win renominaion as state auditor.

To test a new law which would exclude Negroes from voting for state officers, Arkansas held this primary separately from one July 16, when Congress nominees were chosen. Nevertheless some Negroes voted Tuesday without reported incident.

GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA

Birmingham News, Ala

To the Editor of The News:

Just ask your own self the question: Has Alabama ever had a real governor, so that every man, woman and child, white and black, could feel the touch from Montgomery in their homes, at the fireside and at the dinner table? And clothes for the body, real, necessary for the people? This is not hard to do. Just first get your plans made and get together with your Legislature and stay together, and the work you do can be felt by the people back home. Fri. 7-12-46

Franklin D. Roosevelt did this. Every white man, woman and child and every colored person, every tramp and cripple in the United States could feel and see what F. D. R. was doing for them.

Now the next governor of Alabama has a chance to do this very thing. Roosevelt did it by getting his plans before the Congress and staying with Congress. Folsom can do it by staying with his Legislature. He had a fine program of campaign plans and promises that he is surely duty-bound to fulfill. He can if he will, and every person in Alabama can feel and see him in their homes.

Don't just be a chair-warmer, paper and bill signer, run to Washington, vacation places and guest at big clubs, and try to live on the dignity and honor the office of governor gives him, but be governor.

The campaign promises made by Folsom must be carried out, or the people will demand a recall. The people, both union and non-union, who had not voted for some time elected Folsom. They are looking for results. They are looking for results. Folsom belongs to nobody but the people. They financed his campaign. He is tied to no corporation or faction, but he is tied to the public. The people have asked new and progressive reforms at Montgomery and have called on and elected a more youthful and modern man to do it. A change from the older to the younger. It is now up to Folsom and the people to back him up.

Fri. 7-12-46 FORNEY B. RAY.

Warren Sweeps Calitornia; Folsom Wins in Alabama

Daily worker

New York, N. Y.

Labor-backed candidates won one victory in Tuesday's primaries but lost heavily in several other important contests.

In Alabama, James E. Folsom, supported by CIO-PAC, won the Democratic nomination for Governor against Lt. Gov. Handy Ellis in a run-off election. With 2,127 of the 2,344 districts counted, Folsom had 187,004 votes to 133,609 for Ellis.

But in California, Attorney General Robert W. Kenny, militant progressive and leader of the Democratic Party, lost both the Republican and Democratic gubernatorial nominations to Republican Gov. Earl Warren. Kenny had the backing of CIO-PAC and many AFL leaders. The State AFL backed Warren.

6-8-46

PATRICK LOSES

PAC-backed nominees for two Congressional seats, one in Alabama and one in New Jersey, were defeated. They were Rep. Luther Patrick in Alabama's fifth district, who was defeated in the run-off by Laurie C. Battle, a war veteran; and Walter J. Schaeffer, who contested Rep. Fred A. Hartley's Republican nomination in New Jersey's 10th Congressional district.

In California's Senate race, the incumbent, Sen. William Knowland, led by a wide margin in the GOP primary. In the Democratic primary, Will Rogers Jr. was way in the lead with about 40 percent of the precincts counted. Knowland was second and Ellis Patterson, progressive Congressman, was third. The state CIO favored both Patterson and Rogers.

Times.

It was not possible to determine yesterday whether Kenny's disastrous defeat indicated a general anti-Democratic reaction of voters to the Truman program that big business had succeeded, temporarily at least, in isolating labor politically.

Times.

SEE WARREN BOOM

Warren's victory started a boom for his nomination for President by the GOP in 1948.

Folsom's victory in Alabama was considered especially significant because he campaigned on an anti-polltax, pro-labor platform and gained heavy majorities in the rural areas of the state.

Other primary developments where labor took no position were:

● Alfred E. Driscoll defeated Harold G. Hoffman for the GOP nomination for Governor of New Jersey. There was no contest for the Democratic nomination, nor for the Senatorial nomination in either party. All Congressional incumbents were renamed.

● Sen. Dennis Chavez was slightly ahead of Gov. John J. Dempsey in the Democratic Senatorial contest in New Mexico. Labor favored either to oppose Maj. Gen. Patrick Hurley in the fall. Hurley had no opposition for the GOP nomination.

● Gov. O. M. Sharpe of South Dakota, Republican, was defeated for a third term by Attorney Gen. George T. Mickelson.

Truman Torpedoed Kenny, Bridges Says

Daily Worker Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 5.—Harry Bridges today placed the blame on President Truman for the defeat of Robert Kenny, candidate for Governor in the California primaries yesterday.

"We consider the loss of the elections by the Democratic slate a result of the President's attitude toward organized labor and his drastic proposals for anti-union legislation," Bridges said. "Under these circumstances, it was impossible to convince union members to work to get out the vote on election day for the Democratic slate."

Hats Off!

P.M. New York, N.Y.

Today's Hats Off must deal with one piece of good news and one piece of bad news. Our salutes are to the people of Montana and the people of Georgia. Both put up a good fight for better government. In Montana, they won with the primary defeat of isolationist Burton K. Wheeler by Lief Erikson. In Georgia they piled up a clear mandate in popular votes for the liberal candidate, James V. Carmichael, but are being cheated out of their democratic will by a feudalistic county-unit vote system which will make reactionary Gene Talmadge the new Governor, even though he ran second at the polls. OK, Montana, and God help Georgians.

7-19-46

This Morning

Mon. 8-5-46

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

The Times-Union Jacksonville Fla.

"There's a third thing..."

Mr. Crump's men won easily in Tennessee, and would have even without benefit of Mr. Crump's personal possession—the Memphis vote. Renomination of Senator McKellar and Governor McCord by big majorities against all-out PAC-CIO opposition spells dark reaction in the Deep South to some observers, just as the Bilbo victory in Mississippi and the Talmadge one in Georgia do. Certainly some pretty dark reactionaries have won and are going to be in office. But I suspect that they will be having trouble with the very people who voted them in. For they have been voted in, not by reactionaries but by that vast unrepresented body of Southerners who know we can go ahead in these parts only in our own terms and that the progress offered us by the PAC, the Perpetual New Dealers, the controlled economic Federalists, and the uncomprehending outside reformers on the race question, won't work.

As between Pepperism and Bilbo, they choose Bilbo. But they don't like Bilbo. As between Arnall and Talmadge they vote Talmadge, but they hold their noses. As between Mr. Crump and the PAC-CIO, they are for Mr. Crump, but left alone they would be coming to a place where they would no longer endure his dictatorship. Having put down now the radicals who would go to the root of things and tear them out, I believe they may be trusted to make trouble for the reactionaries offered them as the only way to oust the others.

There is light in our Southern people. It is capable of advancing this region under its own kilowatts. Let's watch for it, and work for it!

Pat-worded, brilliant, sometimes penetrating, always interesting Time Magazine, which hates this part of the country without scruple or perspective, and goes out of character to indulge the hate, has noted the Monroe lynchings. Searching lustfully for words with which to damn 3,123,723 Georgians for the sin of 20, it hits upon these: "Gene Talmadge's campaign to be Governor of Georgia has ripped the thin gauze of decency from the body of his State. Last week the Nation saw the running sores beneath it." It is safe to say that 90 per cent of Georgians deplore the unconscionable murders at Monroe as much as Time says it does. Indicating a whole people dishonestly is all in the day's work for Time, if they are Southern people. In the same dishonesty a few months ago it enormously overstated the number of lynchings in the South, and after having the error pointed out to it and privately admitting the mistake, refused to make a public correction.

Nazis in the South

Times Dispatch-Richmond, Va.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Bilbo has been re-elected in Mississippi and now Talmadge has maneuvered into office via the infamous unit system. Bilbo's advocating that all red-blooded Anglo-Saxon citizens should do all that's within their power to keep Negroes from casting their votes, and Talmadge's declaring that the Negro "ought to learn only one thing—how to stand with his hat in his hand before white people and say, 'Yes, sir,' and 'No, sir'—makes me wonder why we ever declared war on the Nazis.

What is the difference between Hitler and these two Southern politicians? Both are advocating suppression of the minority race while the master race rules. (Hitler preferred plonds for his Aryan organization, while Bilbo and Talmadge will settle for the white race in theirs.) Aug 7-24-46

Why don't we purge these race agitators just as we did in Europe and the Far East? Why don't these two realize that reverting back to slavery will solve nothing? The solution comes through the education of the Negro by making him a useful, more intelligent citizen.

Already in Virginia some of the leading school systems are attaining those ends by equalizing educational opportunities for both races by having the salary scale the same for Negro and white teachers. Virginia must continue these progressive steps in order to lead her neighboring Southern States out of the dark ages. The most effective way to accomplish this is by turning up at the polls on election day and voting to keep the reactionary, Fascist tending politicians out of public office.

As for Georgia, the people of that State should demand that the unit system be abolished.

WILLIAM C. KRAMER.

University.

Bilbo, Talmadge and Wheeler

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal:

Two out of three—lost! How we yearned for the back of barbarous Bilboism to be broken in the recent primary and for the Mississippi monstrosity to be liquidated politically. Yet "white supremacy" with its consequent intolerance, inhumanity, and un-Americanism was set forward by the renomination of one who ought to be barred from every public office higher than that of small-town dog catcher.

Again, the forces of right and progress have just suffered a heavy blow at the hands of Talmadge followers down in good old Georgia. That glow on the peaches is more than the sun-kissed normal red. It is the modest blush of shame at the nomination of Eugene Talmadge. After all, the vicious and heathen Ku Klux Klan will be revived, we fear, to militate in hooded secrecy against Negro, Catholic, and Jew. Surely, the unit system of nomination worked in reverse this time. Ellis Arnall's man was the popular choice, and that fact is the only hopeful element in the entire picture.

But a rank foe of international collaboration, the arch-isolationist Wheeler, has been buried for all time to come. His loss is a win for true statesmanship of the type now mandatory. Isolationists and reactionaries of the Old Guard must go forever as the ox cart has gone. One out of three! Tuesday

Louisville. 7-23-46 GORDON CRAIG WHITELEY.

Why all the clap-trap about Gene Talmadge not getting a majority of all votes cast in the recent Georgia election? The President of the United States may be elected and still not get a majority of all votes cast. The county unit plan is the constitutional law in Georgia.

The carpetbag movement toward the South is not as effectual as it was after the War Between the States. CHARLES F. TAYLOR, JR.

Bowling Green, Ky.

7-23-46 Louisville, Ky.

The recent primary elections in Mississippi and Georgia remind us of of the humorist who said, "The worst thing ever said about the Devil was that he was a good politician." J. L. T.

French Lick, Ind.

An Optimistic Negro Student

I read in The Courier-Journal of July 24 a letter headed "A Pessimistic Negro Student." My reply to the student is this. The note of despair in the letter would indicate her mind is in a groove. It is a pity, for there is a bright side if she cares to look at it.

I, too, am a Negro student (of the Bible) and a very optimistic one. I have lived in this world nearly 58 years. There were Bilbos and Talmadges before, and they will always be here. But over against them stand the John Browns and the Abe Lincolns, the editor of this paper and of The Louisville Times and many others who speak for the right, not because of race or creed, but for love of justice, God bless them!

You must know that the wheels of justice grind slow (as we count time) but they grind exceeding small. God sits on his throne. He can and He will deliver. Bilboism has no terror for those who wait on Him. Lift up your eyes unto the hills whence cometh your help. OPTIMISTIC.

Louisville.

A similarly hopeful letter was received from Dorothy Williams, Louisville.—(Editor.

A Pessimistic Negro Student

Courier-Journal

I am a Negro student and a very pessimistic one. After reading despairingly of the victories of the man Bilbo, and Talmadge by their wide usage of the argumentum ad populum, I cannot foresee the one world that Wendell Willkie wrote of, nor the coming world of peace that is supposedly in the process of materializing. I ask myself, why was World War II fought? Did members of my race merely lose their lives to preserve theories that are

never put into practice? The war slogans of "winning the battle for peace and liberty," and the shining faces on posters and magazines of soldiers marching gallantly to death to keep something that exists only in the minds of a few, are to me simply symbols of fantastic prevarications.

I do not see even a dim light shining out of the darkness of chaos that is sweeping this country. With such deplorable men as the South is putting into office, there will be more of a disparity in the rate of development in our civilization than ever before, one section of the nation being bogged down in the muck and slough of ancient prejudices and customs that it refuses to dispense with. What is the value of educating the people to new ideas if they are not willing to accept them? What is the value of glorifying a group of democratic principles that are only pretentious myths? What are other nations to think when they look at the one that is to lead them? Louisville, Ky.

As a student and member of my race, all I am able to see is a reversion to a state of semi-barbarism, with Bilbo and Talmadge and others similar to them holding the reins of the Government. It will take more than an atomic bomb to shake this world out of its coma of prejudice and hate.

Louisville. Wed 7-24-46 ANNA E. ALLEN.

Buttinsky Damyankees

Sirs: Time New York, N.Y. 9-24

The reason why we people of the North are so vitally—and at times vociferously—interested in Southern elections is because we are a part of the United States, and we realize that a cancer anywhere in the country affects the health of the entire nation.

Especially is this true when the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to any race or religion are in jeopardy. We hope that our Southern friends will turn the white light of publicity upon the men whom we nominate for high offices in the Government and be as unsparing in their criticism—if it is deserved—as we have been of Bilbo. . .

PEARL H. CAMPBELL

Milwaukee

Time New York, N.Y.

Sirs:

. . . When are we going to get over being so "techy" about Yankee interference that we let it throw us completely off guard against our own little ignoramuses, who push their way up by inviting criticism and then shouting "Yankee interference"—who promote fear by shouting "white supremacy"?

I'm a Georgian and I know how Yankee criticism hurts. But if we ever hope to get away from it we've got to learn to think straight through it, and not let ignorant little men get our backs up. . . .

9-2-46 MARY JOHNSON

Sayville, N.Y.

Talmadge, Hitler and Bilbo

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 8-3-46

Issues raised in the campaigns of Theodore Bilbo in Mississippi and Eugene Talmadge in Georgia, coupled with the lynching of two men and their wives last week in Georgia, have a portent so clear and ominous that no American who loves this country and hopes for it to be a place where his children and his children's children can live in peace and happiness can afford to ignore it.

The American people as a whole should seriously consider what is happening to their Government.

Every public official in the United States, North and South, from the President to the lowliest justice of the peace, should alert himself and prepare to take action to see that such democracy as is left in this country should be preserved and extended.

The American people at present, by dint of circumstances fantastic to behold, are being led along the road which carried Germany to its doom.

Prejudice against Negroes and Jews in this country is winning to seats of power in the State and Federal Governments and is becoming official.

That is a terrifying fact.

Before Hitler, there was little actual prejudice against the Jews, and what there was lay dormant, too timid to show its face.

But Hitler and his gang gave this quiescent prejudice official recognition and prestige. It caused it to grow by forced feeding.

Hitler and his gang told the Germans they were a "master race," that it was their destiny to rule the world. In 1940, he proclaimed that he had brought a new order to Europe, an order which would last a thousand years.

Today, Hitler is gone. Twenty-two of his confederates, tried by their conquerors, contemplate death by noose or firing squad. Germany is dismembered and ruined. The world rose in wrath against her, her leadership and her master race ideology.

What is the lesson for America?

First, it must be admitted that there IS race prejudice in the United States, that many Americans carry such poison in their system, and that they are not quiet and inactive about it. That does not have to be proved here.

What is more significant is that, in the face of this active, existing prejudice, there are men aspiring to public office, just as Hitler did, who use racial hate as a means.

They are giving the abundant race hatred already in the United States the kind of prestige and official recognition which Hitler gave to prejudice against the Jews in Germany, a prejudice which was slight in comparison.

Nevertheless, it was possible to intoxicate the German people and commit the nation to suicide.

Bilbo in the United States Senate is a part of the Federal Government. He is the colleague and partner of such men as W. Lee O'Daniel, of Eastland, of McKellar, of Connally, of Russell. These men, occupying key spots in the Senate, wield great and decisive power, as do their colleagues in the House of Representatives.

Talmadge, if finally elected Governor of Georgia, will have the power to influence the thought and actions of the people of a large State, just as Hitler did. Last week, in the wake of his demagogic appeals to prejudice, to his championing of "white supremacy," four Negroes were murdered.

Two American Hitlers, Talmadge and Bilbo, have taken over two American States.

Let it not be said that these two men, because of their crude antics, can be ignored. Hitler was but a sort of crack pot sign painter, but he carried a nation to its doom.

Talmadge and Bilbo are shrewd, cunning men. They are master brewers of the stuff they drink and serve their ready followers. It is the stuff that makes men mad.

The Pittsburgh Courier addresses a warning to all Americans to rally, not to protect Negroes as such, but to save the Nation. Sinister forces are loose and growing which bode evil and destruction. The Talmadges, the Bilbos, and what they represent, must be tackled and smashed now.

President Truman has been busily engaged in an effort to save the OPA. Talmadge and Bilbo challenge him to do something to save the Nation. There are millions of Americans who will follow him if he will chose the right road instead of allowing the Army to put up signs, "No Americans (Negroes) Wanted."

Hitler and his gang dealt around old Von Hindenburg. We hope the President will not permit Hitler's counterparts in this country to deal around him.

There is no time to waste.

THE WINNAH!

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
Sat 7-20-46

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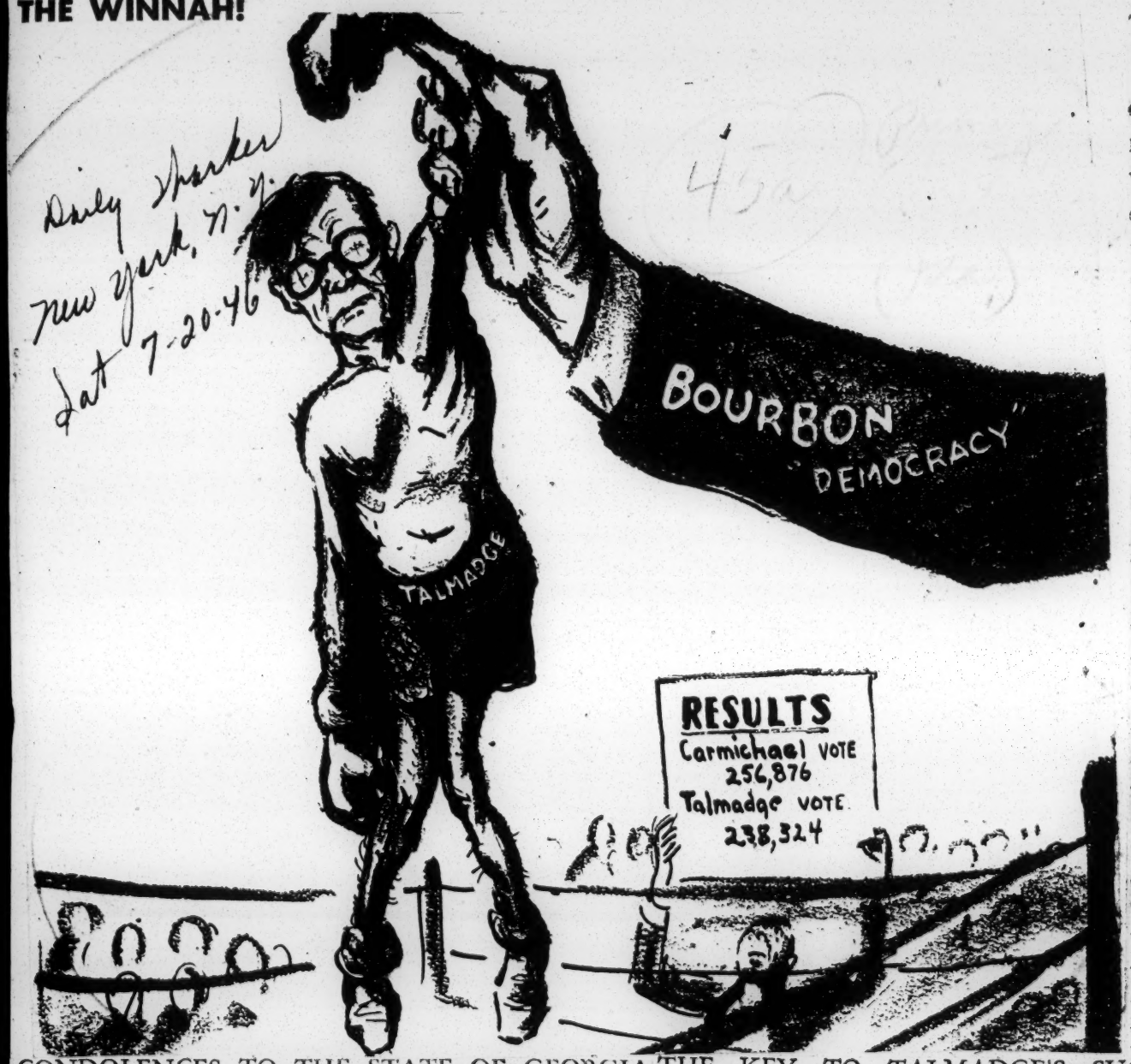


CONDOLENCES TO THE STATE OF GEORGIA on the untimely resurrection of Eugene Talmadge. After four years of Ellis Arnall's enlightened administration in Atlanta, it would be hard in any circumstances for Georgians to face a return to the spoils system in government, ranting chauvinism in public life, sinking standards in boss-controlled schools, and all the other blessings peculiar to the Talmadge-Bilbo brand of demagogy. It is particularly hard to face this prospect in the knowledge that a majority of Georgians want no part of it and voted against it by a margin of more than 70,000. Talmadge owes his election to two known factors. The first is Georgia's county-unit electoral system, whereby one vote in Chatahoochee County is the equivalent of twenty votes in Atlanta. This rotten-borough mechanism goes far to explain Talmadge's victory over James V. Carmichael, who was Governor Arnall's choice as a successor, but it does not go far enough. Four years ago Arnall won despite the county-unit system and without the 100,000 Negro votes that supposedly went to Carmichael.

The Nation 7-27-46

New York, N.Y.

THE KEY TO TALMADGE'S SUCCESS WAS the intrusion of a third candidate—former Governor Rivers. There is reason to believe that the Rivers campaign was financed by the same Georgia Light and Power gang that backed Talmadge, in a deliberate and successful attempt to cut into the Carmichael vote in doubtful counties. By subtracting the 100,000 Negro votes from the Carmichael total it would appear that a majority of 30,000 white Georgians voted for Talmadge, but here a third factor—necessarily unproved but reliably credited—must be taken into account: namely, that the full Negro vote did not in reality go to Carmichael. A number of these ballots are believed to have been bought for Talmadge, a substantial number captured by intimidation, and an unknown percentage simply stolen. If such explanations, however valid, are small comfort, there is at least the reassuring fact that a majority of Georgians did vote against Talmadge. They are not likely to allow archaic electoral machinery to prolong minority rule indefinitely.

New York, New York

The Majority Loses

New Republic 7-29-46

The old political axiom in Georgia—that "you can't beat Gene in a three-cornered race"—was never more forcibly or more sadly proved than in last week's Democratic primary in that state, when bigoted, explosive Eugene Talmadge was returned to the capital for his fourth term as Governor. Pledged to plunge the state into an era of unprecedented election lawlessness (he pitched his campaign on the promise to restore the Supreme Court-voided "white primary" by repealing all state primary laws, leaving it to be regulated only by whims of the Governor and the Democratic Party), red-gallused Talmadge will return to the executive post in the wake of able, progressive Ellis Arnall, who backed Talmadge's chief opponent, 36-year-old James V. Carmichael. E. D. Rivers, also a former Governor, was the third contender and, with the anachronistic county-unit system under which Georgia's elections are held, the key to Talmadge's success in that he split Carmichael's vote.

New York, N.Y.

The irony of the election was that a majority of the voters did not want race-baiting Gene Talmadge again. Returns from 153 of the 159 counties gave Carmichael 310,906 votes, the biggest popular ballot ever given a gubernatorial candidate in Georgia. But his support was centered in the larger cities and his unit vote was held to 148. Talmadge, on the other hand, had only 299,936 votes, representing majorities in 105 counties with 242 unit votes. Only 206 are required to carry an election. Rivers had 67,409 votes, and a unit-vote count of 20. The balloting was the the heaviest in Georgia's history. More than 100,000 votes were cast by Negroes, far more than in any other Southern primary.

The victory for Talmadge was carefully planned, by the Georgia Power Company, big textile mills and the railroads—paradoxically enough, all owned or controlled by Talmadge-baited "Yankees." The Georgia Power Company, probably the most potent influence in Georgia politics, supported both Talmadge and Rivers. Talmadge's victory was sought by the power company because it has never liked the way Arnall has refused to take its orders, and the textile mills fear success by the drive to organize labor in the South. Talmadge, viciously anti-labor, can reasonably be expected to support their interests.

Only two hopes remain this week that Talmadge and minority rule might somehow be denied supremacy in Georgia. An FBI probe of complaints that Talmadge forces intimidated Negroes and made fraudulent use of marked ballots in a number of counties might possibly result in voiding his election. The other [illegible] pinned on the possibility that Arnall supporters might induce a liberal to run in November, when the unit system will not apply, as an independent. This persistent rumor had not crystallized early this week. It was not likely, however, that Carmichael himself would enter the general election, since he indorsed

A Time To Mourn

By HENRY McLEMORE

Macon, Ga.

DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.

Georgia, policemen, on your toes!

Sometime during the next two weeks I will attempt to force entry into the courthouse of your city.

I bought a skeleton key and a jimmy today. Also, a pair of rubber-soled shoes.

I am now busy arranging an alibi.

Once in the courthouse, I will tip-toe to the room where the records are kept. And once in the record rooms, I will seek the file that holds the birth certificates.

I will turn to the folder that contains the records of those whose name begin with "McL." From the folder I will take out the sheet that records the information that, on Dec. 2, 1906, a son was born to J. S. and Minnie McLemore.

I'll tear it up, right there. I'll tear it into small pieces and then grind it under the heels of my rubber-soled shoes.

Why? You know. You must know.

A Man Without A State

Atl. 7-26-46

Now that Georgia has once again seen fit to place Eugene Talmadge in the governor's chair, I don't want to be associated with the state.

This is not an easy thing to say. You don't pull up 39-year-old roots from red clay without a struggle. For Georgians who might consider this treason, let me say this: My forefathers wore the gray of Georgia when the shooting was tough; they hid their Community Plate when Sherman rode down Peachtree Street; Ty Cobb was, and still is, the greatest baseball player of all time, and I'll fight Byron Nelson, Ben Hogan, and Lloyd Mangrum if they ever try to tell me that they could beat Robert Tyre Jones of Georgia when he was in his prime.

But now I must seek another State to claim as the place of my birth.

I must find not only another State, but another town, another shady street, another old frame house with a porch with rockers and a swing.

Lawdy, what a nice state to have to give up!

And what a nice State to be governed by Eugene Talmadge!

The things he stands for, the words he has said, make him undesirable as a citizen of Georgia, much less the leader of one of the 13 original States. Talmadge, he of the red suspenders and the "chaw" of tobacco, was chosen on a platform that violated every principle of a man named Abraham Lincoln; a platform that outraged every motive that caused Georgia boys to walk to the enlisting office and offer their service to the country in World War II.

Mississippi Bids Rejected

A man who makes his living as I do, as a minor humorist, could come very close to being funny about the election of Talmadge. He could say that the laundry business in Georgia is in for a whale of a boom, what with the extra business it'll get doing flat work—sheets and pillow . . . slips. He could work in a few jokes about mama telling junior how papa had insured his (junior's) future by getting the contract to supply clay for chinking cabins, and arranging to supply the State with the lumber for chain gang sweat boxes.

But this is the time for tears, not laughter. Fri. 7-26-46

Georgia, originally founded as a refuge for the oppressed, has struck a 1946 blow against the oppressed. It has chosen to remain a State bounded on the North by Tennessee and North Carolina, on the East by South Carolina and the Atlantic Ocean, on the South by Florida, on the West by Alabama, and, on, all sides, by intolerance and bigotry.

What State will take me? By the way, Mississippi, you needn't answer.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

Drew Pearson

The Birmingham News

Talmadge And Hitler

Birmingham Ala.

ATLANTA—The most Hitleresque governor since Huey Long is back in power in Georgia.

Ole Gene Talmadge, for three terms virtual dictator of Georgia, is now in the saddle again, looking a little thinner, a little older, but still snapping his red galluses, still able to grandstand his way into the hearts of the rural voters. Wed. 7-24-46

He has come back to power with all the earmarks of a Hitlerian victory. In fact, the Georgia election, carefully examined, looks like the most alarming political development in the nation.

In the first place, Talmadge, like Hitler, was elected by a minority of the voters. His opponent, James Carmichael, rolled up a clear majority, but under Georgia's peculiar unit rule Talmadge won.

Like Hitler also, Talmadge has a great radio technique. Carmichael had none. A total of 125 Georgia newspapers were against Talmadge, while only seven were for him. But his radio appeal won out in the end.

* * *

And just as big business in Germany put up the money to finance Hitler, so the Georgia Power Company and big business generally backed Talmadge. Worried over the CIO drive to organize the South, they knew Talmadge would be anti-labor, keep down taxes, play ball with big business. As governor before, he had put textile strikers behind a barbed-wire concentration camp and, if necessary, they expect him to do it again.

Now that they have elected their "Cracker dictator," however, some business men are already worried for fear they have a bear by the tail. Perhaps they remember how the Thyssens and the Von Schroeders and other German industrialists were kicked out by Hitler shortly after they had financed his way to power.

* * *

Talmadge's biggest break came when the Supreme Court handed down its ruling against the Jim Crow law in interstate bus traffic. This played right into the hands of the rootin'-tootin' gentleman from Sugar Creek. From that point on he ran his campaign on the theme of white supremacy.

"A nigger's place is to come in the back door, hold his hat in his hand and say 'gee' and 'haw' to a horse," proclaimed red-gallused Gene. Wed. 7-24-46

* * *

Talmadge boasts of having read "Mein Kampf" seven times.

He makes no secret of being a student of Hitlerian methods. During his previous "reigns" as governor, Talmadge called out the militia 10 different times. For a while no one could get into the Highway Department without a military pass. Talmadge's chief use of the militia was to oust elected officials. It made no difference that the state treasurer had been duly elected by the people of Georgia, Talmadge called out the military and forcibly evicted him from office. When the treasurer locked the vault where state money was kept, Talmadge blew the door off the vault. For a while Talmadge spent the state's funds on a cash basis, with no record of expenditures. He employed an ex-racketeer to inspect the books of the universities, and if he didn't like them they were burned.

* * *

Greatest Hitlerian threat to Georgia's future political system is Talmadge's new plan for abolishing state primaries. Most people haven't examined this scheme carefully. On the surface, many are inclined to welcome it as a move to take the vote away from the Negro.

Instead of a primary vote supervised and policed by the state, Talmadge plans to run a private primary policed by his own political organization. In other words, the Democratic party would become a private club—in this case the Talmadge club. He would name his own state Democratic executive committee. It would make all the rules governing elections, would specify who was qualified to vote, could abolish all criminal laws governing elections, do away with all rules against fraud.

There would be no control over the ballot boxes, over the counting of the votes, or anything else—except the control laid down by Gene Talmadge. Under such a plan the new governor of Georgia plans to have "free" elections. Wed. 7-24-46

In other words, like Hitler, once Talmadge gets into power no opposition party could ever stop him. No better pattern for fascism ever was devised in the U. S. A.

And yet Talmadge is elected to office, by a minority vote!

Ol' Gene And Young Herman

News-Age-Herald Birmingham Ala.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24—There are wistful hopes outside of Georgia that the fight on Eugene Talmadge is not over, that the Supreme Court or an independent opponent may still keep him out of the Georgia governor's mansion. Even those Georgians who most bitterly detest Talmadge and everything he stands for do not share these hopes. But because of the county unit system of voting, peculiar to Georgia, Talmadge will be governor for four long years, despite the fact that a movement is now under way in Georgia to test the constitutionality of the county unit system before the United States Supreme Court.

If it finds the system unconstitutional (which is by no means certain), Talmadge would still retain the governorship unless a special election were ordered, a most unusual step. And even if such an election were ordered, knowledgeable observers in Georgia are certain that Talmadge would win a majority of the popular vote. They believe that the Negroes would be prevented from voting, that most of the white vote that went to former Gov. Rivers would swing to Talmadge, and that the result would be a smashing victory for "ol' Gene." Sun. 8-25-46

* * *

UNAPPETIZING AS THE prospect of the next four years is to many Georgians, even more disagreeable is the considerable possibility that Georgia may be in for an interminable Talmadge dynasty. It is sadly expected that the next candidate of the Talmadge forces, in 1950, will be Gene's son, Herman.

Neither Talmadge should be underestimated. Eugene is a highly intelligent man. He is well educated (he holds a Phi Beta Kappa key), despite the hayseed act he puts on, and he is an exceedingly shrewd lawyer and politician. Son Herman is reputed to be at least equally smart, and maybe a bit more so. He is a vigorous youth and has a respectable war record. On the radio his voice is wholly undisguishable from his pappy's famous screech.

Yet if the melancholy fears of some acute observers of Georgia politics are fulfilled, there will be no need for Herman to rely exclusively on his war record, the Talmadge voice or the Talmadge name. These observers fear that Gene Talmadge has both the means and the intention of establishing a statewide political machine as well-oiled and as closely controlled as Huey Long's ever was.

* * *

TO ACHIEVE THIS END, Talmadge intends that one representative of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, with an assistant, be sent to each one of Georgia's 149 counties, to assist the local sheriffs in their arduous duties. These men would be under the control of Talmadge, and it is expected that during lulls between crime waves they would not be idle. It is certainly possible that they may form the basic network of a statewide political machine, with overtones of political espionage. A Georgia governor cannot succeed himself, but young Herman may well find his father's crime-prevention officers useful. The prospect of the two Talmadges playing a game of political leapfrog with each other, alternating in successive terms, is hardly a pleasant one.

All this has been intensely discouraging to those in Georgia who have for years fought everything Talmadge stands for. Yet it is a serious error, often made by non-Southerners, to underestimate the strength of the opposition to Talmadge and Talmadgism in Georgia and throughout the South. When Talmadge becomes governor, Northerners will be increasingly inclined to think of Georgia and Talmadge as synonymous, forgetting that in Ellis Arnall the citizens of Georgia elected one of the best and most progressive governors in the country, and that all qualified observers are certain that if Arnall could have run to succeed himself he would easily have defeated Talmadge.—©.

Talmadge Wins By a Minority

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Aug 7-19-46

James V. Carmichael received the highest number of votes. But Eugene Talmadge was nominated yesterday which means elected, Governor of State of Georgia on the Democratic ticket.

With 80 percent of the state's precincts reporting, Carmichael had 245,730 votes while Talmadge received 222,041 and Rivers trailed with 45,082.

Here's how "democratic" elections are determined in Georgia primaries. Results are based on county unit votes. Each county, ports, Fulton County, which includes most of Atlanta, gave Carmichael 53,882 votes and 19,521 for Talmadge—a plurality of 34,301 votes for the candidate supported by outgoing liberal Gov. Ellis Arnall. The three tiny counties of Montgomery, Madison and Lee cast a total of 2,015 votes for Talmadge and 1,090 for Carmichael—a plurality of 925 for Talmadge. Yet the three small counties each with two unit votes nullified Fulton County's entire vote.

At press time Secretary of State Byrnes had not yet threatened to block credits to Georgia or to call the Congress without Georgia because it makes a mockery of democracy.

Upon his election Talmadge immediately assailed "alien influences" and "Communist doctrine," foreshadowing attempts to sabotage Operation Dixie, the CIO organization drive in the South.

Another result of the unit system was the apparent defeat of liberal Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, representative from the Fifth District. She led in popular votes, and lost out in unit votes.

At press time Sen. Byrnes vies with Sen. Talmadge tried to purge the dishonored Negro-University of the Congress without Georgia because of being the most rabid Negro-hater in the country. As a Governor once before, the red galluss Talmadge tried to purge the State even faintly supported the Constitution.

Upon his election Talmadge im-

A Setback To Democracy

Atlanta Daily World

The apparent selection of Ex-Gov. Eugene Talmadge over Atty. James V. Carmichael for the governorship in Wednesday's Democratic primary, which is tantamount to election in our state, comes as a surprise and to some extent a disappointment to Negroes in view of the fact that "white supremacy" was the principal issue in the successful candidate's platform. Atlanta Ga.

Under the county unit system which prevails in the selection of the governor in the primary election, it appears that Mr. Talmadge is the winner, not withstanding the fact that so far he has received a smaller popular vote than his main opponent, Mr. Carmichael.

We consider the result of the primary a setback to the cause of democratic government.

It reveals clearly to what extent the passion of racial prejudice can be inflamed. We believe the race issue was the deciding factor. Fri. 7-19-46

There can be no mistake of the fact that both leading candidates made their positions clear.

The irony of the results of the election is that Mr. Talmadge carried practically all of the counties in the southern part of the state where the Negro should be politically the stronger. It seems that out of a lack of education or fear the Negro in South Georgia does not realize his power and responsibility to his state and race.

But we believe the shock of the result of the election will wake them up as never before. The Negro in Georgia and the South generally is up against a real, and not theoretical, situation. He must adopt more real and practical methods of exercising his political strength. We believe even the masses of people NOW are aware of this fact.

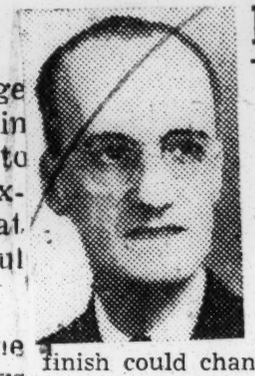
Wednesday's election must prove a stimulant and not a deterrent to our fight for our race's right to vote without fear or intimidation.

We are gratified over the enthusiasm displayed by our people as a whole in the balloting. Our estimate is that the great majority of those who were qualified took the time necessary to cast their ballots. And what is more important, they voted their honest conviction for the candidate whom they believed would represent good government.

For instance, at one practically all-Negro Atlanta precinct, Mr. Carmichael received 4,550 votes to Mr. Talmadge's four. In Columbus, the Negro precincts did not give the successful nominee a single vote. Fri. 7-19-46

Notwithstanding the results of the election, it was a great victory for the Negro. An estimated one hundred thousand of them voted in the state primary for the first time. The result of this experience added to the outcome of the election will make them more appreciative of the important right of the franchise.

Time will show that Democracy has suffered only a temporary setback.



RALPH T. JONES

The Constitution

Most Interesting Election Day Yet

Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 7-19-46

Well, at this writing (Thursday morning), it seems pretty certain that our choice in the gubernatorial stakes was beaten. Mathematically, the finish could change. But it would be a miracle and the odds are just about hopeless.

Well, if there was no element of chance, either in politics or hoss racing, there'd be no fun in either.

It is up to all the folks who didn't vote for Talmadge to accept the outcome in good grace and to continue working for, and hoping for, the advancement of Georgia.

Our Day Was Quiet

Personally, the day was a quiet one. Everyone eligible to do so, in our families, voted.

The top lady and I went to the courthouse in Decatur a little before 10 Wednesday morning. The lines of waiting voters extended all down the stairs from the second floor and halfway along the downstairs hall at that time. It took us about 30 minutes to wait our turn, get our ballots, mark 'em, put 'em in the box and leave.

I should guess there were about a score of Negroes in line. While we were there they were allotted a separate line from the white voters. There was, of course, no reason for anything unpleasant and there was none. Everybody moved quietly and orderly along and that was that.

The top lady and I did not mark our ballots identically. On the main race, yes, but there was a slight divergence otherwise.

In the evening, at home, we listened to the radio reports. The younger members wanted to make something of a party of the occasion, so we procured a large, cold watermelon and interrupted our report-listening to enjoy it.

About midnight I went to bed and to sleep, disappointed, I'll admit, at the way the reports were running, but knowing I could do nothing about it, anyway.

Poor Night

My night was poor. Some folks seemed to have the idea I'd be up and around all night. The telephone kept ringing. Each time I'd manage to get to sleep, that phone bell would awaken me. Some sought reassurance that there was still a chance for Carmichael. Others wanted to crow over the apparent victory of their man Talmadge. I couldn't help either side. I'm afraid, around 3 o'clock, I may have sounded a trifle impatient to some of my callers. If so, I apologize and hope they understand it was nothing but the inevitable irritability of a man needlessly disturbed from his sleep. 7-19-46 Fri.

Now it is Thursday forenoon.

Probably the primary result has nothing to do with it, but there is no sunshine at the moment. It is raining. Not heavily; the men are continuing work on the new building across the street.

Will Go On

Perhaps that is significant; the work goes on. Georgians always get very excited about their politics. Perhaps too excited.

Yet it seemed to me, and still does, that the issues in the recent campaign were of fundamental importance. Personally, I was fearful—and still am—of what may happen with Talmadge again Governor. His past record in that office, to my mind, is good ground for such fear.

Yet it may turn out differently. It is well within the cards that an older Gene will be more stable, emotionally. It may be the years have mellowed him and he will be content to act quietly and steadily in manner which will reflect only good on the name of his State.

Anyway, I am sure the Carmichael supporters will be—when the last mathematical hope of victory is gone—good losers. They were good, clean campaigners and of such are good losers made. I expect, by the time you see this, they will have accepted the verdict which now appears inevitable.

It is the verdict of the people of Georgia, freely given. As such, all good Georgians must accept it.

There should be comfort for Jimmie Carmichael in the knowledge he led the field in popular vote. In any other State he would already be the victor.

But he entered the race knowing the county unit vote system prevails in Georgia and ran on that basis. The unit vote system is, in many respects, a good system. It may appear unfair when the candidate with substantial majority in popular vote is still the loser.

But there is nothing unfair about any competition when all entrants know and accept the rules governing when they enter the contest. Be it politics, business or sports event.

Now, let's all pull together to move Georgia nearer the wonderful future which can be hers if her people prove worthy.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Well, I'll Tell You

Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 7-19-46

Since I was in there with my coat off swinging as hard as I could, it is but natural, I suppose, there are those who wonder how the results of the primary of July 17 affected me.

I do not mean those characters with mean, festering little minds who call up to say obscene things, but those on the other side who were in there swinging, too. They won. And they would like to know how it went with me.

It went hard.

It made me feel pretty sick.

It was a bitter pill to swallow. There was very little sugar, if any, on it. At least I didn't taste any as the pill went down.

I don't like to lose. I don't guess anyone does. Losing goes awfully hard with me. But I was on the losing side. I did all I could. It wasn't enough. And that's how I felt. I hope that covers it.

Mr. Eugene Talmadge said he wants to be a good Governor. That was my ticket. I hope he will be. I won't do anything in opposition to that platform.

So much for that.

Decision

I would be less than honest if I did not say, in this recapitulation, that I believe the issue which gave Mr. Talmadge his victory was presented in a manner which deceived the people.

There never was any deep, dark racial plot. There was no one advocating, or wanting to advocate, mixing races. There would not have been any attempt to mix the races in schools, to propose any equality save equality of opportunity, education and equality before the law.

Nevertheless, many normally common-sense persons, largely in South Georgia, where most of the Negro population is, were made

afraid. They didn't really believe the awful picture presented them, but they were uncertain and fearful and they took no chances.

Tensions and fears do no State anything but harm, and I would not hesitate to make the same choice over again.

I hope they can be allayed. None can say the voting was anything but orderly.

Explanation As to why Mr. Talmadge was able to win so definite a victory, the chief reason has been advanced above. The people were made afraid of the Negro issue.

That is 98 percent of the explanation.

Ed Rivers had the most positive, but somewhat extravagant, platform. James Carmichael had an excellent one and a sound one. But Mr. Talmadge talked only one issue.

Another factor was Roy Harris. Those who have followed these pieces of mine know that often in the past I have expressed lavish praise of Roy Harris' ability as a behind-the-scenes manager of a political campaign. There isn't one as good as he in Georgia. I have never believed he would make a good candidate. But if I were a political candidate in Georgia I'd want him in my corner if I wanted to win and you may put it down he was very useful indeed in handling things. The technique of election-night stampedes is his specialty. He is a very handy person to have around. I thought, too, that Herman Talmadge handled the general aspects of the campaign for the winner with an expert hand.

The Rivers campaign simply never got off the ground.

It was a bitter and hard-fought campaign. It should have been. There was bitterness and hard blows on each side and I would think everyone knows that. That seems to be the sort of campaigns we have in Georgia. I noted that Herman Talmadge mentioned the prejudice injected by the other side. That's all right. He won. It was about even-Stephen.

It will be a great tragedy if the winner goes through with his announced plan to abolish all the primary election laws. Let us hope that calmer reason will prevail.

The county-unit system is sure to be largely discussed. It is probable Carmichael will poll about 40,000 more votes than his opponent and yet lose by a big margin.

That's about it.

As a Democrat, I did all I could in a Democratic primary and lost. I am still a Democrat.

Progress in Georgia

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 7-27-46

A wave of regret swept over the Nation last week when returns from the primary elections in Georgia showed that former Governor Eugene Talmadge had won what amounts to election in that State and would be the next occupant of Georgia's Executive Mansion.

Talmadge represents all that is worst in Georgia and many fear that his election may be the signal for a wave of racial bigotry and violence unparalleled in recent times.

It has been reported that already some few Negroes have declared their intention to leave the State at the earliest opportunity for safer soil.

We do not believe there is any cause for apprehension or pessimism if the reports emanating from Georgia are true.

In the first place, more than 100,000 Negro citizens participated in the Democratic primary for the first time in some generations.

In the second place, there was none of the violence which had been almost hopefully predicted by certain professional agitators.

In the third place, while Talmadge won on the basis of the county unit system, he actually received much less than HALF of the popular vote.

Inasmuch as the primary contest was fought on the straight issue of white supremacy, the election must be regarded as a defeat for that issue, else it would have won the bulk of the popular vote.

On the evidence, it would seem that there has been vast improvement in civilization in the Empire State of the South, and for that, all of us should be thankful.

Contrary to the representations of certain elements which love to dwell upon the alleged fear and frustration of Negroes in Georgia and elsewhere in the South, the colored folk eligible to vote turned out more than 100,000 strong without any evidence of fear.

Talmadge just slipped in by a narrow margin and when he goes out four years hence, that will be the last of his type in Georgia.

TALMADGE AGAIN

The Chronicle Detroit, Michigan Sat. 7-27-46

When Governor Talmadge takes office, the good citizens of Georgia will find themselves governed by a man whom the majority of them voted against. Those who are always harping about majority rule in cases involving Negroes should take note of the election system of Georgia. If, however, you should subtract the Negro votes which were cast for James Carmichael, Talmadge's chief opponent in the primary, it becomes clear that the majority of white voters in the state did favor Talmadge.

Like Bilbo, Talmadge campaigned on a clear cut white supremacy platform and the "wool-hat" boys took advantage of their well advertised "last chance to save Georgia for the white folks." The only consolation that we can find in the election is that thousands of Negroes for the first time voted in the state's Democratic primary without having to suffer violence. Progress is slow anywhere but it is slower in Mississippi and Georgia than anywhere else.

While it is always inspiring to look on the sunny side of the street, we have got to look the facts full in the face. After the comparatively sane administration of Governor Ellis Arnall, Georgia has deliberately chosen to return to the past and it is an ugly past. The further you go back, the uglier it gets. Only time will tell whether any of the good works of Governor Arnall will be allowed to stand.

The election of Talmadge on a white-supremacy platform to a four-year term is bad news for the nation as well as Georgia. He sought and got the support of the revived Ku Klux Klan and if he runs true to form, the future of the Klan in Georgia, at least, must be considered bright. Wickedness in one individual can be a terrible thing but when wickedness is organized and becomes the goal and purpose of great groups of individuals then there are no limits to the terror which may be expected.

The victory of Talmadge thus would not be so unpardonable if it did not mean a victory for the Ku Klux Klan also. With Bilbo, Rankin, and Talmadge in the saddle once more, the liberal white Southerners are going to be pressed to the wall and the Southern Negro who dares to raise his head will do so at the risk of life. Judging from the temper of some of the Negro leaders of the South, it is going to take mob violence to restrain them from moving toward full citizenship.

A flourishing Klan in the state of Georgia will

The Tribune Scranton, Pa. Sun. 7-27-46

TALMADGE VS DEMOCRACY

Mr. Talmadge does not hide his aversion to Negroes' participation in government even on the simplest level. He does not want them to vote because he knows the value of the ballot. He knows that the right to vote means the right to hold office, and he doesn't want Negroes to hold office. He lets his imagination get away with him and pictures all sorts of dire things to happen. He takes advantage of the average white person to whom he magnifies the advantages which will come to Negroes. He promises evil things to come in Georgia because Negroes are prepared to exercise a right which their citizenship under the constitution entitles them to, and which the South has persistently denied to them. Mr. Talmadge's attitude towards Negroes provokes the question as to just what Mr Talmadge would do as citizens. Would he have them, 1,840,000 strong remain apathetic about their citizenship, indifferent as to their welfare and be content to remain a parasite to the state's social, economic and cultural life? If Mr. Talmadge's desires are supported by the people of Georgia, there will be little hope that Georgia will be able to drag itself out of bottom position among the rest of the states in the country. Of course Mississippi with its triumvirate, Bilbo, Rankin, and Eastland, is lower down. Mr. Talmadge pledges to maintain Southern traditions, but he can not do both, maintain Southern traditions and maintain democracy, because most of the items of Southern tradition are not miscible with democracy. One or the other will have to be sacrificed. Inconsistently enough the traditions of the South, as they relate to Negroes, were taken along with them to the battle fronts of the recent war that was an armed crusade in the name of democracy. It injected itself into the affairs of other countries, Africa, Italy, France and England whose people knew nothing of Southern traditions. Various instances of assault upon Negro soldiers who were in the company of women of other countries, are cases in point. In spite of protestations of democracy and friendship for Negroes their political future in Georgia is far from reassuring.

White Man Coming

Atlanta Constitution

Editor Constitution: You are "blowing" a lot about Carmichael's popular vote. Take his Negro vote away from him and see how he stands. We've got a WHITE MAN'S Governor coming forward now. Atlanta Ga

IRA BUTT,
Editor, North Georgia News.
Blairsville. Sat. 7-27-46

FBI Files Report On Negro Vote Purge

Constitution Atlanta Ga

Constitution State News Service

MACON, Aug. 5—FBI agents working in the Macon District have filed reports of investigations of the alleged purging of Negro voters in the recent Democratic primary. 8-6-46

John Cowart, United States District Attorney, said that this was just the first step and that he would now have to confer with District Attorneys from offices in Atlanta and Savannah before any decision of the action is to be taken. Tuesday.

Difficult To Understand

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: Georgia has elected to follow the leadership of a man, who by his actions, placed himself in the same category as the dictators we so recently condemned. It is difficult to understand how a freedom-loving people failed to grasp the opportunity to forever banish the influence of Eugene Talmadge from state government.

As a native and resident of Georgia, I am sincerely sorry that our position as the laughingstock of a nation will no longer be vacated. The presence of this advocator of hatred and racial prejudice in the Governor's mansion precludes the possibility of a government tolerable to an intelligent people. Wed. 7-24-46

It is my firm conviction that the struggle for the preservation of the rights of men has suffered its greatest defeat in the back yard of its protector.

JAMES K. CLARK,
Captain, Air Corps.

Need for Education

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga

Editor Constitution: Talmadge did win his election on the Negro question alone. It was of course entirely false. I do not think that the papers on our side published enough facts regarding this to really carry across. The eligible white voters are about eight to one to the eligible Negroes. There is only one county in the State, Long, where the registered Negroes could outnumber the whites. If ever the Negroes should control our elections, it would be simply because not enough of us white voters voted. Thur. 7-25-46

It seems to me that the great result of the election is that Georgia needs education badly. We have sunk to the level of Mississippi.

F. A. MERRILL.
Atlanta.

Licked 30 or 40

The News and Courier Charleston S.C.

One of the syndicated editors, called columnists, who reflects the sentiment of the Harlemites, says that in Georgia 125 newspapers supported Mr. Carmichael for the nomination for governor in the recent primary and that only seven supported Mr. Talmadge; from which the conclusion follows that The Savannah Morning News alone was able to choke off the brilliant efforts of at least 30 or 40 gazettes in Georgia. Sun. 7-28-46

Foolish Citizens, Silly Scribe

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C. Fri. 7-26-46

Those violent citizens of a village in Georgia who threatened a poor old editor because he wrote in his gazette that "in country counties ignorance and prejudice rule and there is a negro problem but in the cities where education and enlightenment reign Carmichael piled up a huge vote" ought to be ashamed of themselves. The behavior of these citizens was of the kind that might be expected from pickets in Detroit. What the old editor said was silly. Education and enlightenment are distributed in about equal ratio in the country and in the cities, but in the cities roughnecks and semi-imbeciles are more easily herded than in the country. The reporter now writing has "covered stories" of political meetings, in great cities, attended by 5,000 or 10,000 people, and they applauded speakers whose statements were of an ignorance pathetic. Once he heard, in a Northern city, a great mass of people yell with delight when the politician praised Jackson who "stood like a stone wall" Both the audience and the orator thought the allusion was to President Jackson, "Old Hickory". At that time it was a sin in a Northern city to pay tribute to General Thomas J. Jackson. In the cities, the specialists in professions and trades dwell, and so do numbers of minds narrower than the average mind in the rural districts.

White Man's State

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga

Editor Constitution: If Gene Talmadge and those who "elected" him want a "white man's state," as advertised, perhaps they would prefer that all others vacate in order that they may have the State and its work to themselves.

There is a great deal of room in some parts of the country, particularly the West, where comparatively few Negroes now reside, and where they would at least be permitted to express their political preferences through free exercise of the franchise. Tues. 7-23-46

This statement could not be construed as exactly constituting "outside interference" in Georgia's local affairs, since the writer has spent some time in the State in the past, and does not believe it deserves to have Talmadge happen to it. 7-23-46 A. G. ADAMS.
Indianapolis, Ind.

Sympathy

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga

Editor Constitution: We would like to put in a word of sympathy for the people of Georgia. Our sympathy comes from the fact that more of the people of the State did not have the opportunity to see Germany after its defeat, as we did. Had they, we feel quite sure that the election of Eugene Talmadge would have been impossible. Those people thrived on racial hatred and intolerance, the very issues that elected Mr. Talmadge. By this election, this State has proven itself to be on the same level with that of Mississippi—in fact, we believe Georgia is worse! We had four years of progressive government and now have thrown it over. We have now regained the position that we held for many years before—the bottom rung of the ladder in the States of the Union. We wonder if the people of this State realize that by this election we are in danger of having a form of government which so many of our native sons died fighting against. Tues. 7-23-46

THOMAS LOVETT,
HENRY H. STEADMAN.
Athens.

White editor has to apologize for Talmadge story

Tribune Atlanta Ga. Sat. 8-3-46

THOMASTON, Ga.—Threatened by a mob of about 100 men who said they would not "be responsible for what happened", a white editor, J. B. Hardy, of the Thomaston Times, publicly apologized last week for an editorial which asserted that governor-elect Eugene Talmadge won in counties ruled by "ignorance and prejudice". 7-27-46

Hardy said he was not afraid of physical harm but thought they might wreck the newspaper plant, so he "apologized" by telling them "the editorial was not aimed at anybody in Upton county, but if they were offended I'd be glad to say in the next issue of the Times I did not intend to offend them." Sat 7-27-46

The Times plugged for Gov. Ellis Arnall's candidate, James V. Carmichael, who won in Upton county. Hardy dismissed the incident as "just one of those things that come along in politics."

Talmadge Plans Vote Shift Start

Atlanta Ga Journal

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., July 30.—(AP)—Eugene Talmadge, who becomes governor of Georgia for the fourth time next January, said Monday night that machinery to make Georgia's Democratic elections a "white man's primary" would be set up at the party's forthcoming state convention.

Mr. Talmadge, visiting Chattanooga on business, declared that under Georgia law he could appoint 246 of the 410 delegates to the convention in October—one delegate for each unit vote he received in the July 17 primary—and thus was assured control over the party's action.

He added that plans to organize a "white man's" primary were already under study and would be ready when the convention delegates assemble.

"We want to set up rules for the Democratic party in Georgia to eliminate Negro voters from our primary," Mr. Talmadge continued. "That will be the main purpose of the convention.

"The convention will adopt a resolution requesting the Georgia General Assembly to repeal the Neal primary law. With that out of the way, future Democratic primaries in Georgia will be under party control instead of under state control. That will satisfy the findings of federal courts. South Carolina has a similar setup for its Democratic primary, and Tennessee ought to have the same thing."

Student League

Constitution

Editor Constitution: As Georgia citizens and as students in this State we are proud of our record of untiring effort in behalf of the candidacy of James V. Carmichael. We are convinced now more than ever that no finer man ever offered for Governor of Georgia. We are grateful for his gallant fight. We have faith in the principles for which he fought and we will continue our efforts to promote good and progressive government in Georgia. We know that every other group which worked in this campaign will do likewise.

Ellis Arnall's victory in 1942 was Georgia's greatest step forward in many years. He has made a great Governor. We are proud of him. We are confident that his brand of liberalism is not dead in Georgia or in the South. We want all the nation to know this.

Eugene Talmadge promised during his campaign that he would not interfere this time with the Board of Regents or the University System. His campaign slogan was "Talmadge keeps his promises." We expect him to keep this promise. But we serve notice now that we will be here in Georgia during the next four years and we will be watching Eugene Talmadge. We will co-operate and support him if he will keep this promise and works for the good of Georgia. But he will continue to have our uncompromising opposition unless his next term is the best in his career.

We will continue to work together as students to promote the interests of our colleges and our State. Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE A. DOSS, JR.
HELEN V. MATTHEWS.
Student League for Good Government in Georgia.

Right Choice 7-28-46

Editor Constitution: I think the three things that put Mr. Talmadge in were: (1) the voters that have always been supporters of Talmadge (2), Rivers splitting the opposition, and (3), the racial problem. I truly believe that there is a sizable racial problem. I believe the people of Georgia made a right choice when they elected Talmadge. EUGENE MARKS.
East Point.

Whose Primary

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

Editor Constitution: An article appearing in the newspapers stating that the Republicans in a State Party Conference decided not to run a candidate in the coming General election because they had voted in our Democratic Primary and were bound to Talmadge, brings to light a number of things.

What is the reason for a Democratic Primary if registered Republicans vote and can tell us what Democrat to choose? It has always been my understanding that the Democratic Primary gave our party a chance to select a person who most represented our ideals, principles, etc., and the opposing forces presented their candidates in the General election. Those people who shout about purging the voters from the Democratic party if they do not support a Democratic ticket are a little out of line, I should think, if Republicans, by their own admission, vote in our Primary. Is there any such thing as a real Democratic Primary?

While we get excited over white supremacy and such nonsense, the Republican party gains more and more ground by the election of people who refused to support the program of the greatest Democratic President the country has ever known. Sat 8-10-46

EMMA I. HUDDLESTON.
Brookhaven, Ga.

RAYMOND DUNCAN

The Courthouse On Election Day

The Constitution Atlanta Ga

ELLAVILLE — Here's how it was in the Courthouse town of two unit votes in Schley County on election day.

The people didn't have to be wheedled into voting. Old-timers said they couldn't recall the electorate coming in such volume and with such punctuality. Accustomed to vacant booths in the early hours, managers found folks waiting when the polls opened at 7 a. m.

They kept coming in a heavy stream and lines were formed most of the morning. Whether the urgency was decided by the threat of rain or some issue in the campaign was a matter for speculation. Certainly the talk gave no hint. The people were good natured and mostly nonconfiding.

Negroes voted in a separate booth reached by a side entrance which didn't require the races to mingle and scarcely a reference to their presence could be heard.

Registrars were in session all day to interview challenged voters. All new registrants of both races had been summoned and the guesses of the outcome were abundant. Voters didn't linger in the Board kept open house for late comers. Pretty girls were missing. And the wild passed out cards and smiles as the results were announced. Merchants closed at noon for the usual but the traditional campaign deadline left many a notice still sent, too. disregarded. Thur. 7-18-46 green numbers after marking their ballots and those who did were more cautious in forecasting results than in former years. customary half holiday, an interesting departure from normal times when an election day crowd was a storekeeper's dream.

The Gallus-Snapper Wins

Times-Dispatch Richmond Va.

THE victory of EUGENE TALMADGE in Georgia, coming close upon the similar triumph of BILBO in Mississippi, is highly embarrassing to well-disposed Southerners. Yet we must bear in mind that this election would have been a triumph for JAMES V. CARMICHAEL in any other State in the Union, for CARMICHAEL got a substantial popular majority, and only the unique "unit system" gave TALMADGE the nomination.

Even with the unit system, TALMADGE probably would never have won, had it not been for the United States Supreme Court's recent ruling that segregation on interstate buses is unconstitutional. The mop-haired, greasy-skinned "Sage of Sugar Creek" seized upon this like a trout leaping at a fly. He emphasized and reiterated his opposition to the ruling to such a degree that observers in Georgia said there was only "one issue" in the campaign, the race issue. One of TALMADGE'S more brutal declarations to his audiences was that the Negro "ought to learn only one thing, how to stand with his hat in his hand before white people and say 'Yes, sir' and 'No, sir'." He also declared that the Supreme Court's ruling will have no validity in Georgia when he becomes Governor, since passengers on bus lines will have to get out at the State boundary and buy other tickets. This, he contended, will prevent them from being classified as "interstate" and hence subject to the court's dictum. It remains to be seen whether any such scheme will be legal, and whether he can make the bus companies put up with it. Fri 7-19-46

The TALMADGE victory is somewhat unexpected, for the justices of the peace throughout the State, who had accurately forecast the winner in the four preceding gubernatorial contests, predicted that CARMICHAEL would win. The recent defeat of the heavily entrenched Cracker party in Augusta, whose candidates also paramounted the Negro issue, seemed to portend defeat for TALMADGE. But the fantastic "unit system," the only thing of its kind in the country, gave the gallus-snapping candidate a huge advantage. When he first ran for Governor in Georgia, he boasted that he would be elected without carrying a single county with a streetcar in it, and that is exactly what happened. Virtually the same thing has happened this time. CARMICHAEL'S popular majority in the State means nothing when it is considered that the three smallest counties in Georgia, with a total of fewer than 11,000 inhabitants, had the same number of "unit" votes in the election just concluded as Fulton County (Atlanta), with 400,000. Given such a state of things, it is surprising that any except candidates appealing to the rural sections ever succeed in getting themselves elected to State office in Georgia.

The only lasting hope for Georgia, politically, lies in getting rid of the undemocratic and utterly indefensible unit system. Maybe the defeat of the popular will by this means in Wednesday's primary will arouse enough indignation to effect a change.

However, lamentations over what has occurred can do no good now. Georgia is in for four years of TALMADGEISM—which means race baiting, Ku-Kluxery, bigotry, obscurantism, persecution of citizens and meddling with educational institutions. It is a dismal prospect.

EDITOR, THREATENED, APOLOGIZES IN SOUTH

Times

THOMASTON, Ga., July 22 (AP)—J. B. Hardy, editor of The Thomaston Times, apologized publicly Saturday for an editorial in which he said Eugene Talmadge got his nomination for Governor from counties in which "ignorance and prejudice rule."

The apology came after Mr. Hardy was threatened by a group he estimated at 100 men who said they would not "be responsible for what happened." He said that about ten men came to his home and told him that "unless I came down in front of the office and said I was sorry for the editorial they could not be responsible for what happened." Times 7-23-46

The editor said he was afraid of "property damage."

Mr. Hardy said he accompanied the group to the office, where he found "probably as many as 100 men" standing around.

He gave this account of his "apology":

"I told them the editorial was not aimed at anybody in Upton County, but if they were offended I'd be glad to say in the next issue of the Times I did not intend to offend them. I am sorry if I hurt anyone's feelings, as I had not intended to."

The editorial in question said:

"In the country counties, where ignorance and prejudice rule and there is a Negro problem, Ole Gene got his big votes, but in the city counties, where education and enlightenment reign, Carmichael piled up a huge vote." Times 7-23-46

The Times was for James V. Carmichael in the Governor's race and he carried Upton County.

Talmadge Is a Great Man

Times-Dispatch Richmond Va.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Whoever wrote the editorial "Gallus-Snapper Wins" (July 19) not only insulted Eugene Talmadge, but also the farmer. The remarks you have made about the unit vote system of Georgia as being appealing only in the rural sections leaves an absolutely unfair reflection upon the farmer, whether you meant it that way or not. It sounds like a typical "city slicker" attitude and misunderstanding of the folks who raise the food we eat, here or anywhere.

Certainly the farmer in Georgia has plenty of good horse sense about how he wants to vote, and he chose to re-elect Talmadge for very good reasons. You have left out the fact that the unit vote system is a good system of check-and-balance, allowing the white farmer to speak his piece at the polls. Democracy has to have its limits in such a check-and-balance system, to make it possible that those in minority may have their rights, too.

Published 7-24-46

I hereby challenge all your statements about Eugene Talmadge as untrue, and dare you to have this little piece published. This being a country of free speech, the foregoing presents something of the other side of the question in regard to your editorial. Certainly, no one can deny that Gene Talmadge has the courage of his political convictions. He stands up and speaks "what is what," and remains on those grounds steadfastly, and is not blown about with the changing moods of political doctrine, particularly the doctrines of the modernists who are intent upon changing the everlasting fundamentals of democracy our forefathers formulated.

Whether for or against Talmadge, all have to give him credit that he is not wishy-washy but is a very firm politician. And I say that he is a great man. He ought to be President.

BOB L. RYMAN.

Richmond.

Why Talmadge Won

Published 7-24-46

Times-Dispatch Richmond, Va.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

In reading your forthright editorial July 19 concerning the gubernatorial primary in Georgia, I find but one point with which to take issue. It is hardly accurate, I think, virtually to hang the election of a Southern Governor on even as important an issue (certainly to the South) as the United States Supreme Court decision on racial segregation.

It is true that Talmadge did take advantage of the ruling to make a spurious appeal to the minds of the Southern Georgia rural folk, and others in the State who think similarly. This fact alone, however, as you stated yourself—though indirectly—was not enough, I believe, to swing the election in Georgia towards the lowbrow who will be seated as Georgia's next chief executive.

The unit system in Georgia obviously must be abolished to insure a democratic electoral system. But of course this will hardly occur during the next four years, assuming that the quasi-Governor Talmadge lasts that long. And equally as obvious is the need for valid enlightenment among uninformed groups of the people of the State.

I do not take it upon myself to justify the campaign for the Georgia primary. Nor am I erecting a pedestal for the expression of my critical dicta over the head of the editor of a large newspaper. But this point in your commendable article, I felt, was excessive. Pub. 7-24-46

For the first two years of the war I was a student at William and Mary and remained in Virginia during my early Navy career. Now I have returned to Williamsburg. I am a native of Georgia, however, and lived there 17 years.

E. H. PRIEST.

Williamsburg.

Talmadge's Election

Richmond Va.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I, for one, with thousands of others in this grand old Mother of States, wish to commend and thank you for your editorial on the recent election in Georgia. Yes, the trouble-maker, red-gallused Talmadge, is in power again. But I predict, under God, with the good thinking, intelligent, white and colored citizens of Georgia, Talmadge will not be able to sway things this time as before. Times 7-23-46

WILLIAM H. SKIPWITH.

Richmond.

Majority Rule

Constitution

Editor Constitution: Having long since passed my three score years and ten, as a native of Georgia, I have seen many elections come and go. In my opinion we have a long way to go before we get anywhere politically, as long as we let a little bunch of politicians in every County of the State usually, "a Courthouse ring" and a few lawyers, run the politics and name who shall run for office and who shall not.

As matters now stand, half of the people don't take enough interest to register and vote. Many of the other half who do vote do not know who or what they are voting for. They are so full of hatred, prejudice, selfishness and intolerance. Just let any one of the leaders yell that we are influenced by a man from the North, or any other "furriner," or just mention Nigger, they go wild, forget all main issues and would vote against the best qualified man that could be found, or for anyone else named by their leaders, as being in favor of these things. Times

My ancestors have lived in Georgia since 1796. My father was a Confederate soldier. Born in the first year of the war I well remember some of the tragic happenings of reconstruction days. I think the War Between the States is over, or should be, by this time and we at this late hour should begin to think more about the problems before us today and the future, and elect men to office who will help us think along these lines, and less about things that divide us and keep a turmoil from one election to another. 9-3-46

Personally I believe the Constitution of the United States, that a majority of the people should rule, and it seems that the people in 47 of the states think so. I see no justice or reason in giving one man from 30 to 100 times as much voting power, over any other man, just because he lives just over the line in another county, or any other county, with a small list of voters. Atlanta, Ga.

R. N. HOLT.

Lawrenceville.

GEORGIA ELECTION

Sirs: Chicago Ill.

I am 19 years old and voted for my first time, and along with me there were thousands more who were made sick with disgust that Talmadge won the Democratic primary election for governor of Georgia (LIFE, July 29).

Most of us realize that Georgia has progressed in the last four years and don't want it tossed back eight. . . . 8-14-46

IRVIN BACHELOR JR.

Atlanta, Ga.

Sirs: Life

It is indeed a pleasure to have Gene Talmadge back again as the governor of Georgia. It was a clean-cut victory, leaving nothing to doubt as to how the people of Georgia stand on the question of white supremacy. It must be recognized that a large segment of the popular votes cast against Talmadge were by 18-, 19- and 20-year-olds whose immaturity and consequent inexperience render them generally incapable of casting an intelligent ballot. Particularly is this true from the standpoint of the Negro, concerning whom they have temporarily liberal views that will normally become conservative with greater age and knowledge. Also another large bloc of votes accrued from the younger veterans, recent victims of service propaganda advocating the equality of the races. The inherent fallacy of that theory will inevitably become apparent to them. . . . The result of this will be an ever larger number of votes from their ranks for conservative ways and away from the dangerous liberalism of men like Ellis Arnall.

D. L. SMITH

New Orleans, La.

Sirs:

Why don't you Yankee carpetbaggers keep all the Communist journalists such as Ilya Ehrenburg under your protective wing? . . . Talmadge and Bilbo stand for what we know is right. The white race is supreme. No Negro is my equal in any respect. Here's to Bilbo and Talmadge. . . .

W. C. HOWTON

Birmingham, Ala.

Sirs:

We people of Georgia need to get nearer to God and away from such demagogs as Talmadge. Then we would see the wrong in teaching racial hatred. The Church and God will be the salvation. . . .

Good Negroes do not want to mix and mingle with white people in the South. Instead they want a good chance to earn a decent living, worship in their churches and let their children attend schools. . . . I never mingle with Negroes and I have no enemies among this race that I know of. In time of his wrong I want the Negro punished, but I want him punished by law and not by mob rule. In time of his innocence I am by his side to the end.

W. O. BEAZLEY

Crawfordville, Ga.

Sirs:

. . . There are thousands of Georgians like myself who were discouraged political reform in Georgia seemed certain. All the cities in Georgia, at the results of our gubernatorial nomination. So many steps had been taken with the exception of Savannah, voted for Carmichael, the candidate for prosperity and respect in the South. toward a progressive government that clean government. I think this fact is a good sign. There are thousands

MRS. C. C. CROFT

Alto, Ga.

45a 1946

Fear Talmadge Era

LIBERALS WORRIED OVER GA. ELECTION

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 7-27-46

ATLANTA, Ga.—Gene Talmadge, who promised to keep Georgia a "white man's State," will have every opportunity in the next four years to do just that. The red-suspenders-wearing, gallus-snapping advocate of "white supremacy" will take the Governor's chair for the fourth time come next January, although the majority of his fellow-Georgians voted against him.

Talmadge won under Georgia's unit voting system by carrying the majority of the State rural counties. His leading opponent, James Carmichael, won the popular vote with over 10,000 majority polled in the heavy urban centers of the State. Backed by liberal Gov. Ellis Arnall, Carmichael received the almost solid vote of the 100,000 Negroes who voted in a Georgia primary for the first time in nearly a half century.

TALMADGE PROMISES NO MORE NEGRO VOTES

In a victory message, Talmadge, keeping the records straight on his campaign promise to defy the authority of the Federal Government and keep Negroes from voting, stated:

"Most Negroes know their real friends are Southern white men. No Negro will vote in Georgia for the next four years."

Negroes did not accept the primary advice of Talmadge to "stay" away from the polls. An estimated 100,000 went to the polls last Wednesday and voted in an orderly manner. Reports from throughout the State said most Negroes voted without friction, although a few isolated incidents were reported.

LONG LINES OF VOTERS

In some of the large cities Negroes formed lines blocks long waiting for the polls to open. At some places they voted in separate booths, some of which had been requested by Negro leaders, and in other counties they voted at polling places with the whites.

The heavy Negro vote was the result of an intensive registration drive in Georgia following the repeal last year of the State's poll tax law and the Supreme Court's decision outlawing the white primary.

Thus Georgia presented a different picture from the few other deep Southern States, where Negroes have voted this summer. In those States the Negro vote was negligible.

Liberals throughout the country are distressed over the resurgence of Talmadge as an important political figure in the South following so closely on the victory in Mississippi earlier this month of Senator Theodore Bilbo and Representative John Rankin on the issue of "white supremacy."

MIXED REACTION TO VOTE RESULTS

The issue of Southern liberalism to reconstruction days when big land owners sought to overcome the voting strength of Negroes and carpet-baggers residing in the cities after the Civil War. Under this system each small county gets two votes, but the maximum vote of a large county is limited to six. Thus Fulton County, which includes most of Atlanta, gave Carmichael 53,882 votes to 19,521 for Talmadge was nullified by three tiny counties—Montgomery, Madison and Lee, that cast a total vote of 2,015 for Talmadge and 1,090 for Carmichael.

Ironically, Carmichael was defeated by the very same system he once fought to retain on the grounds that it kept Georgia's populous counties from controlling State politics.

MANY MAY LEAVE STATE

Some Negro teachers in Atlanta have vowed to seek jobs in other States and there is evidence of a serious exodus of colored people from urban and rural areas to other sections of the Nation to escape the tensions and violence that may follow Talmadge's announced policies.

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

On the other hand, however, prominent businessmen of both groups, who supported Mr. Carmichael see little possibility of racial tension, encouragement to the Ku Klux Klan or any spectacular change in relations between the races.

These businessmen are willing to dismiss as so much political oratory Talmadge's promise to search incoming Pullman cars to remove Negro passengers, to keep travelers from crossing Georgia in interstate buses by making them change at the State line to vehicles with jim-crow seating arrangements, and other proposals to "keep the Negro in his place."

Talmadge, a shrewd politician, staked his chance for a fourth term in the governorship on the rural vote in order to overcome the stronge support Carmichael had in the large cities. This is the second time Talmadge has been elected on the unit vote when he came out second best in the popular vote.

Sat. 7-27-46

Georgia's unit system harks back

Primary Elections (Georgia)

"Mr. Talmadge is sincerely interested in the common run of the people in Georgia, black and white. He will give my people a first class school of the university type, and he will do it now.

"He believes as I do that it is for the best interest of all the races in Georgia and the South should be in separate schools, but the accommodations should be the same.

"The new governor has given me the assurance that we will work out a long range program for the education of my people in Georgia, and, believe me, it will be plenty."

Negro Educator Endorses Talmadge

By RUTH BRIGHAM

ALBANY, Ga., July 24 (INS)—A prominent Negro educator, born of slave parents, deplored the use by his race of their recently-acquired vote in Georgia.

He regretted the solidity of the Negro vote.

Dr. Joseph Winthrop Holley, 70-year-old founder and president until recently of the Georgia Normal School at Albany, pointed out that nearly all of the Negroes who went to the polls in the Wednesday primary voted against governor-elect Eugene Talmadge.

In an interview with International News Service, Dr. Holley declared:

"That would seem to show that the Negroes permitted themselves to be organized and voted in a bloc with the so-called race issue the only question before them."

The grey-haired Negro, graduate of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., Boston's Revere College, Lincoln University and Aberdeen University, in Scotland, then disclosed that he had voted for Talmadge.

Dr. Holley explained why he supported the red-gallused campaigner for "white supremacy," who had promised to eliminate Negroes from the Democratic primary.

He asserted:

"The background of slavery gave the Negro race a training in trades and industries, morals and manners, and despite its faults, this background gave him a basic training that should have been an economic asset to the race.

"Governor Talmadge is interested in helping the Negro take his place in the New South, but he is going to work along the vocational lines rather than the liberal arts and classical."

Holley said he supported Talmadge because:

'Dooms' Negro Vote With '4-Year-Ban'

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 7-19-46

Eugene Talmadge, who hailed himself as "the white man's candidate" from a platform of white supremacy and strict Southern tradition, yesterday had clinched his fourth term as Governor.

Behind him in unit votes calculated from mounting returns in Wednesday's primary come James V. Carmichael, the youthful challenger of the old campaigner; E. D. Rivers, twice former Governor, and Hoke O'Kelley, a veteran of the two world wars, with a modest campaign.

The results showed that the voters considered the race practically a two-man contest between Carmichael and Talmadge. Rivers ran a poor third in both popular and unit votes, and O'Kelley took no unit votes.

Carmichael was the man campaigning on a pledge of continuing the government of Ellis Arnall.

Arnall's administration saw the repeal of the poll tax; it saw the lowering of the voting age to 18 years; it saw defense of the Supreme Court ruling that Negroes could vote in Democratic primaries.

"FOUR-YEAR BAN"

It furnished the springboard from which Talmadge entered the contest.

He called for strict Southern tradition in race relations; he called for maintenance of white supremacy; he called for the Supreme Court ruling to be circumvented by altering the primary laws in such a way as to cut the link between the ruling and State law books. He cited South Carolina as an example.

The Associated Press interpreted the election of Talmadge this way:

"After pioneering a new political way in the South that amazed the nation, Georgia has returned to rock-ribbed Southern tradition and sent Gene Talmadge to the Governor's office again."

And the Associated Press also quoted Talmadge as saying:

"I had to win for the good of the South and the nation. No Negro will vote in Georgia for the next four years."

JIMMIE'S UNIT VIEWS

Negroes voted Wednesday for the first time since State Democratic primaries were started nearly two score years ago. Talmadge opposed the Negro vote. He campaigned for restoration of it to the white people only.

He advised "wise Negroes" to stay away from the polls, but apparently 100,000 of the 135,000 registered did cast their ballots. They voted heavily against Talmadge, primarily for Carmichael.

Carmichael had pleaded with the voters to let the Negroes vote. He based his plea on the argument that to keep them from voting would mean the repeal of all laws regulating primaries. This would leave the way open, he said, for fraud in elections without possible recourse; it would mean, more, he declared, that the county unit system of election would be in danger of falling before a plan of machine politics in which the populous counties could control State politics and weaken the voice of the smaller counties.

HOIST BY OWN PETARD

Above all, he based his plea on protecting the county unit vote system. Ironically, he appears to have obtained a larger popular vote than Talmadge although a lower unit vote. Heavy majorities in his home county, in Fulton, and other large city counties gave him this lead in popular votes.

Indications are that his popu-

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Rivers has conceded the election to Talmadge. Herman Talmadge, Gene's son and campaign manager, also declared "Victory is assured."

Rivers: Leading in eight counties with 18 unit votes and a popular vote of 51,762.

O'Kelley: No counties; popular vote of 9,127.

rule with a required four-fifths vote of the State Democratic Convention required to change it.

GENE CERTAIN OF UNIT MARGIN

With complete returns from 139 counties of the State, Eugene Talmadge was assured of nomination in Wednesday's Democratic Gubernatorial Primary, according to Associated Press tabulations.

In the completed counties alone, Talmadge had 208 unit votes, two more than the necessary majority.

Of these same 139 counties 126 unit votes went to James V. Carmichael, and 18 to E. D. Rivers.

Talmadge: Leading in 103 counties with 238 unit votes and a popular vote of 227,842.

Carmichael: Leading in 47 counties with 154 unit votes and a popular vote of 244,864.

Between The Lines

By DEAN GORDON B. HANCOCK

Talmadge-Victor Of Circumstances

Daily World

ANOTHER GEORGIA PRIMARY ELECTION is history. Georgia's Gene Talmadge has again been hurtled into Georgia's capitol. The gallant forces of liberalism in Georgia have received a stunning setback. To their credit be it said they stood most heroically before the gates of Georgia's white house but Gene Talmadge would not be denied.

It is useless to lament that Talmadge won because of Georgia's unit system of election. Arnall has won some signal victories in Georgia in spite of the system. Georgia will not be redeemed until its liberal forces can beat Talmadge, system and all. The unit system is the rule in Georgia and it is unfortunate that the system works to the detriment of the most intelligent. It may some day be otherwise in Georgia; but until then we must endure what we cannot help. 8-6-46

GET ENCOURAGEMENT Tues.

It has been said that the spider gets her poison where the bee gets his honey. So, just as Talmadge and his followers get great cause of elation out of the election results, the liberal elements can likewise get great encouragement, and there are many reasons therefore. In the first place Lady Luck elected Talmadge rather than his political campaigning. The final determinant in the campaign was not politics but circumstances. It has come about that at the end of our world wars there is a resurgence of prejudice against Negroes. During these wars the lines of prejudice are gradually relaxed in the interest of the efficient prosecution of war, once victory is assured these lines are again tightly drawn. Atlanta, Ga.

Within recent months this resurgence of Negro-phobism has been everywhere noted, much to the dismay of those who would see the cause of inter-racial cooperation advanced. The movement to put the Negro back in his place enjoys wide support throughout the country. Talmadge caught this tide at its flood and it helped mightily to bear him on to victory. Without the help of this resurgent anti-Negro movement it is doubtful if Talmadge could have won even under the aegis of the unit system of Georgia.

Decisions Help Cause

In the second place, the supreme court decisions came at an opportune time to advance the cause of Talmadge. It is hard to conceive of a more favorable "break" for the cause of Talmadge than for the supreme court to rule that the primaries were to be opened to Negro voters. If this was not a pump primer for Talmadge's political pump, then there is no such thing. With the prospects of the Southern Negro thronging the ballot box, it was easy for Talmadge to see a threat to white supremacy. Even the dullest backwoodsman of Georgia could understand this.

Then there was the decision that Jim-Crowism was to end on interstate carriers. This was the most powerful influence that could have been manipulated at the time. It meant the actual physical contact of whites and Negroes after a manner the South had not known before. The rural Georgian could see in this new ruling a threat that filled him with great consternation in contemplation. Talmadge promised to do something about it. He went so far as to state his solution and of course rural Georgia fell hard for it. It was these supreme court decisions that beat the liberal forces in Georgia and not the political appeal of Talmadge.

In other words the victory of Talmadge was circumstantial and not political. In this there is room for abundant hope. When a team wins on luck and fumbles, it is bound to lose by and by. Lady Luck has a way of shifting her favors. Luck as a factor in achievement is strictly limited and in these limitations the adherents of Arnall can take courage.

Gallant Showing

Even more outstanding than the victory was the gallant showing of the vanquished. When Georgia can muster a majority of its voters on the side of decent government we are going to have decent government in Georgia sooner or later. That is the important thing. We must not be too dismayed over the Talmadge victory to remember those gallant forces that opposed him.

Arnallism in Georgia has not failed. It has had a temporary setback, to be sure, but it is on the way and will not be denied. This writer will never be able to understand just why these supreme court decisions were timed to help the election in Georgia. Just why these decisions were synchronized with the political necessities of Gene Talmadge of Georgia. Talmadge a victor of circumstances!

—AP Wirephoto

'LAST TIME,' SAYS TALMADGE—Negroes in a line more than two blocks long await their turn to vote at Marietta, Ga., in the home town of James V. Carmichael, gubernatorial candidate, as Georgia's primary got under way. The Negroes at Marietta were provided with separate voting places, but Negroes and whites voted together in some places in the State.

Georgia Holds Its Nose

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

And while on that subject, that stench assailing your nostrils comes from Georgia where hate-mouthed, gallus-snapping Gene Talmadge scored a hollow victory for white supremacy in last week's gubernatorial primary which is tantamount to his return for his fourth term as governor.

But for the cockeyed situation in Georgia, where the county unit vote counts more than the popular vote, James V. Carmichael, with a plurality of some 18,000 votes would have won. Mrs. Helen Mankin, member of Congress from the Atlanta district, was also the victim of the unit system, although polling the highest popular vote.

All of the progressive legislation advanced by outgoing Governor Ellis Arnall is in peril and already a number of colored teachers are resigning their jobs, so fearful are they of what the Talmadge regime holds in store. Under the last Talmadge administration, the State's entire educational system was discredited and Georgia suffered further disgraces as a result of his crude political manipulations.

We can rest assured now that, with Bilbo and Rankin still in power, Talmadge will again pit Georgia against Mississippi for the undisputed title of the worst State in the Union. Sat. 7-27-46

Talmadge Hit By Illness at Beach Resort

The Times-Union Jacksonville, Fla. Sat. 10-5-46

Georgia Governor-Nominee Is Rushed to Hospital After Hemorrhage.

Eugene Talmadge, Georgia's fiery 61-year-old three times governor and nominee for a fourth term, was admitted to St. Vincent's Hospital here early yesterday suffering from a stomach hemorrhage, but his physician said last night that he was responding to treatment and "is much improved."

Talmadge and his wife were staying at the Wave Crest Hotel at Jacksonville Beach with friends when he was stricken. He was admitted to the hospital at 2 o'clock and given an immediate blood transfusion.

The hospital issued a statement saying he was in a critical condition when admitted, but had improved and would be confined for several days for treatment and observation.

Retains Consciousness.

Talmadge was conscious when he arrived at the hospital in an ambulance, but the physician said he did not know how much blood he had lost. The physician said no operation had been performed, and none was contemplated.

After the transfusion, X-rays were made of Talmadge's stomach. They will be examined today and the physician then may be able to ascertain the cause of the hemorrhage.

The Talmadge home is at McRae, Ga. Mr. and Mrs. Talmadge motored to Jacksonville Beach several days ago. Their presence there was known only to a few people.

Herman Talmadge, son of the nominee, arrived here last night from Atlanta, and went immediately to his father's bedside, where Mrs. Talmadge had spent most of the day.

Mrs. Talmadge said that her husband recently had recovered from a cold, and went to Jacksonville Beach to "do a little fishing, but mostly to rest.

Nomination Scheduled.

"He wanted to rest up for the State Democratic convention to be held in Macon next week," said Mrs. Talmadge. At this convention, scheduled for Wednesday, Talmadge is to be formally nominated and a white primary plan he proposed during his campaign is due to be adopted. Nomination is tantamount to election in one-party Georgia.

In Atlanta, a spokesman close to the governor-nominee said the illness of Talmadge would have no effect on the convention, and that it would meet as scheduled. He said, however, he expected Talmadge to be present.

In event of a party nominee's death prior to the November general election, the convention is empowered to choose another nominee.

Mrs. Talmadge said last night that if her husband's condition improved sufficiently, she felt "confident that he will be present at the Macon convention."

"You know how he is," she added, "and it will take a lot of doctors to keep him in bed if he makes up his mind to go to the convention. However, if his physician advises him to remain in the hospital, I feel sure he will follow instructions."

The Rev. A. C. Shuler, pastor of the Immanuel Baptist Church here, and a life-long friend of the Talmadge family, said Talmadge had tentatively accepted an invitation to preach in his church a week from tomorrow.

Rev. Mr. Shuler went to Georgia during the recent primary and delivered a number of addresses in behalf of Talmadge's candidacy. Talmadge won the Democratic nomination for governor in the July primary on a "white supremacy" platform. The term of office is four years.

Talmadge observed his sixty-second birthday anniversary on September 23 at his McRae home.

Talmadge's Victory in Georgia Not Surprising

Jacksonville, Fla. Times Union Sun 7-19-46

If the returns from Georgia's Democratic primary of Wednesday continue as they are piling up as this is written, former Gov. Eugene Talmadge will win the race for Governor. In that event what to many people was the unbelievable will have happened. Mr. Talmadge wasn't given a "Chinaman's chance" for success by more than 90 per cent of Georgia's newspapers, and that overwhelming opposition ridiculed him as few candidates have ever been ridiculed in the South.

The Georgia press couldn't see anybody as a possible winner but James V. Carmichael, former legislator who was backed by Gov. Ellis Arnall. Apparently the newspapermen thought Arnall's liberalism had captivated Georgians—he's been hitting some hard blows in that direction during the last year or so, and has built a reputation that has put him on the lecture platform at $1,000 per lecture, according to reports.

But they discounted an inherent trait upon which Talmadge depended for the winning of votes—the dislike of most of the people of this part of the country for interference in their home affairs by outsiders. Talmadge courted, in other words, the very thing that Arnall and his fellowers had discouraged while they were playing for the plaudits of distant spectators and those who would reform the South and make it conform to concepts that are unfamiliar to the people here. Fri 7-19-46

What has happened in Georgia is largely a duplicate of what took place in Mississippi when Bilbo was re-nominated for another term in the United States Senate.

All of which points to the fact that if that element in the North and East that is constantly meddling in the affairs of the South really wants to see reforms made here, it will let those who understand and live with the problems solve them. In this way progress can be made toward the achievement of the goal that long ago was set for the South by Southerners.

As long as the reformers' interference continues, men who make no contribution to the program will be elected to office.

This Morning

Mon 7-22-46 Jacksonville, Fla. Times Union

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

"There's a third thing. . . ."

Has night come to the Deep South—with Talmadge back in Georgia, Bilbo in Mississippi? Be sure they are thinking so outside.

We may as well admit it is pretty bad. Professional race-baiters, hate-mongers, demagogs both, the two reflect our worst sins, just as Hague does New Jersey's, Langer Dakota's, etc. They are awful examples of what happens to a people saddled with the most delicate and difficult race problem any people anywhere ever had to carry when solutions are attempted by force from outside.

Even Henry Grady, who, as my father said, "died loying a nation into peace," forgot his nation-mindedness at the last when force was proposed. In his last speech to the Boston Merchants' Association in December, 1889, a few days before his death, he was not a nationalist any more but a challenging, aggressive, stand-taking man of the South. It is the fashion of certain so-called "liberal" Georgia statesmen and journalists today to forget this. Lodge's Force Bill was before the United States Senate. "We wrested our State Government from negro supremacy when the Federal drumbeat rolled closer to the ballot box and Federal bayonets hedged it deeper about than will ever again be permitted in this free government," Grady warned the Bostonians. "But, sir, though the cannon of this Republic thundered in every voting district of the South, we still should find in the mercy of God the means and the courage to prevent its re-establishment. . ."

Mon 7-22-46

That was 57 years ago. The negro is far advanced now, far more fitted for citizenship, and rightly en route to increasing measures as he qualifies. But now, as ever before, there is still the problem of him here, incapable as ever of being comprehended in the North or solved for us there, subject as ever to exploitation for dark purpose and to the present point, sometimes forcing upon people of light in the South a darkness they hold better at least than the chaos that would come if "nation-minded" leaders, outside or in, had their way.

People voted for Old Gene in Georgia Wednesday who hate the sight and sound of him, despise all he stands for, anticipate nothing but demagogy and backwardness in his return, but who believed him necessary to defeat a crowd so "nation-minded" and Perpetual New Deal-minded and Henry Wallace-CIO-PAC-minded, as to be of an even deeper menace to the South and the country, too. Bilbo was not a necessary evil for Mississippi. There was no such crowd in control or threatening control there. But, in the opinion of many Georgians sincerely on the side of progress and light, Talmadge was a necessary evil for Georgia. I think they are mistaken. I think Jimmy Carmichael would have been no stooge of Ellis Arnall. But the point is that Arnallism make Talmadgism, and has just done so in Georgia.

Mon 7-22-46

There's a third thing in the South which is really a first thing, as someone somewhere profoundly once (or twice) has said. It is what the great majority of our decent people believe in now. It is the sort of thing they are working out so admirably in North Carolina — advancement for the negro and everybody else in terms of our own Southern situation and light. It is what this column has called States Rights Liberalism as distinguished from New Deal radicalism, and it is as far from Arnall as from Talmadge, from Pepper as from Bilbo.

Victor To Prop Up White Primary

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Says All Balloting Restricted to Whites

Sat. 7-27-46

NATION DISGUSTED

Lieutenant-Governor Post Goes to Liberal

(Other Stories, Photos on Page 3)

ATLANTA—Confident that the State will deteriorate even more and that a new reign of terror is imminent under Eugene Talmadge, who was elected Governor against the people's will, teachers in Atlanta, along with workers throughout the State, have announced that they are making plans to leave their homes and jobs for others in more enlightened areas.

Already, it has been revealed some workers, especially domestic, have served notice on their employers to that effect.

Unwanted by the people, who voted by a more than 25,000-vote majority for James V. Carmichael, candidate sponsored by liberal Governor Ellis Arnall, Talmadge gained his fourth term under the State's antiquated unit vote system.

Under that system, the counties, assigned two to six unit votes, determine the winning candidates in elections, not the people.

Majority Vote Unimportant

Hence, although given overwhelming majorities in the large urban areas, Carmichael was defeated merely because, despite their size, those areas were limited to unit counts of only six.

The system which makes Georgia the only State in which the voice of the people is ignored was condemned generally by Congressmen in Washington following announcement of the result of the election.

'A Travesty on Democracy'

While many stated their disgust in off-the-record comments, terming the election "outside my province and thus not within the range of personal comment," some few indicated openly their reactions.

Typical of the comments was that of Sen. Glen H. Taylor (Dem., Idaho), who said, "It is a shame that one man can get the largest popular vote and still lose. It is a travesty on democracy."

Almost as soon as the votes indicated a victory for him, and the governorship primary victory being tantamount to final election, Governor-nominate Talmadge said "No colored person will vote in Georgia for the next four years."

However, despite varied threats, they did vote in the July 17 primary—an estimated 100,000 strong. Even though Talmadge's henchmen had fostered a purge of colored registrants' names.

The one houeful thing about the election was the nomination, which is tantamount to election of M. E. Thompson to the newly created office of lieutenant-governor.

Thompson, who is serving as State revenue commissioner and who was formerly executive secretary to incumbent Gov. Ellis Arnall, nosed out Marvin Griffin, who had pitched his campaign on the same low "white supremacy" level as Talmadge.

Griffin had led Thompson throughout most of the balloting and his defeat was not conceded until the final official counting of the ballots late Saturday.

The final popular vote count was 314,421 for Carmichael; 304,760 for Talmadge; 69,750 for Rivers, and 11,830 for O'Kelley. Talmadge won on the basis of 236 unit votes, chiefly from downstate rural counties.

Little Resistance Noted

Even though there was advice from "Ole Gene" himself that "wise" colored people should stay away from the polls, even though the nightriders rode in Americus and warnings were posted on church doors in Fitzgerald, they voted. The Afro-American

Furthermore, according to a carefully planned check system, there was no violence and little resistance.

Thus Georgia headed back for the carrying out of a terror period, expected by many to exceed Talmadge's carryings-on in three previous administrations.

To Fight High Court

This time he had promised to outdo himself—to return the white primary, even though Federal District, U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court had outlawed it.

He also vowed to stop colored persons from riding Pullman cars through Georgia, to halt trains and buses carrying interstate passengers at the borders and make them buy tickets in order to dodge the Supreme Court ruling on travel arrangements.

He pledged himself further to continue and emphasize every jim-crow pattern conceivable.

Progress Under Arnall

Talmadge defeated the man who had stated that he would continue Governor Ellis Arnall's good government program.

Under Arnall's administration the poll tax which had disfranchised so many colored persons and poor white people was repealed, the voting age was lowered to 18 years and the Supreme Court ruling against white democratic primaries had been defended. Baltimore, Md.

But race-snapping Gene sprang back to a symphony of hate, opposing the Arnall administration and its candidate, he called for strict southern tradition in race relations, keeping the colored man in his "place." Sat. 7-27-46

Liberalism Defeated

He called for maintenance of white supremacy, for circumvention of the Supreme Court ruling by altering the primary laws so as to cut the link beween the ruling and State law books.

In the face of Carmichael's pleadings and those of Governor Arnall and even Attorney Charles Bloch, who defended the Georgia white primary in the Primus E. King case, Talmadge defied fairness and liberality and won.

Colored persons immediately foresaw a worse Georgia than they have been knowing for the past few years. They were surprised and shocked as the returns came in showing the rural, Southern county votes turning the tide for Talmadge.

All for Carmichael

According to the best estimates, Carmichael carried about 97 per cent of the colored votes cast.

In Muscogee County at Columbus, where Rev. Primus E. King, the primary suit victor, voted first, the five segregated boxes showed every vote for Carmichael, not a single one for Talmadge.

In Atlanta's precinct Three-B which has only ten white registrants out of approximately 5,000 voters, Carmichael carried 4,550 of the votes cast, Talmadge tabulating 4 votes.

Whether the Federal Government would go through with its announced program of prosecuting illegal purging was yet to be seen. Some doubt was expressed, however, since movement was slow.

The FBI announced it was probing attempts to intimidate Georgia's colored persons with a view of preventing their participation in the primary.

Several cases of prevention were reported to the FBI and Federal District Attorney Offices of Northern and Middle Georgia.

Challengers Challenged

In Meriwether County, picketsof the 8th land district were told reportedly refused colored peoplethat no colored could vote because access to the voting precinct whiletheir names were not at the poll-none were reportedly permitteding places.

to vote in Wilcox County, where Talmadge henchmen appeared 600 registrants had been stricken at the polls in Albany and at-from the registrars' lists. tempted to challenge colored

No Action Taken Yet

There was no interference on primary day in Americus although the preceding night a truck containing sheeted whites rolled through a colored-inhabited settlement.

Some 700 names had been purged from the lists there.

In Macon, police seized a number of "marked ballots" carried to the polls, approximately 225 of the 240 persons ever, no arrests were made, but a grand jury action was promised whose names were left on the books voted, nevertheless. by the Solicitor General.

A resident said that all resi-voters, but the manager refused dents of the Davis Mills precinct to let them do so.

In Fitzgerald, although warnings had been posted on seven churches warning colored to stay away from the polls, approximately 225 persons were made, but no arrests were made, but a grand jury action was promised by the Solicitor General.

GENE GRANTS INTERVIEW

Patty Choice, Convention Action Please Talmadge, Now 'On Mend'

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Sat. 10-12-46

By CALESTINE SIBLEY

Constitution Staff Correspondent.

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JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Oct. 11

Spruced in bright maroon-striped pajamas and surrounded by a select half doen of the 75 baskets of flowers he has received in the last week, Eugene Talmade sat up in his bed at St. Vincent's Hospital here Thursday and said he was feeling "jam up" about:

1. His helth.

2. The outcome of the Georgia Democratic Convention in Macon

3. The appointment of "non Rosenwald, anti-Community to the bone" Dr. Raymond Paty as Chancellor of the University System.

"They can't find a thing organically wrong with me," declared the Governor-Nominate, putting down the paper in which he had been studying news of the Macon Convention and looking up sidewise through his famous dark-rimmed glasses.

"I've got a little-bitty leak in one of the veins in my intestines and it's going to take rest and quiet to get me well, that's all."

Of Dr. Paty's apponitment, which he had already said suited him, Talmadge said: "I wish for Dr. Paty every success he can attain in his new work. He was selected by the Board of Regents and it is the duty of the people of Georgia to give him every cooperation. Dr. Paty has informed me he has no connection whatever with the Rosenwald Fund; he is anti-Communist to the bone; he does not believe in the FEPC or in equal rights between the races—and by equal rights I mean social equality between the races, of course."

Talmadge said he had talked to Paty personally before his appointment by the Board of Regents.

He said the Macon Convention was "jam up to my expectations," and added: "They did what I thought they would do—fell right in line with the platform I stood for all during my campaign."

The intereview was the only one Talmadge has given since he was stricken with a stomach hemorrhage while vacationing here Oct. 4. Two Jacksonville physicians attending him have forbidden all visitors except his wife and daughter, even turning back a party of five men from his home town, McRae, Wednesday afternoon.

One of his three nurses said he had received 75 baskets of flowers and has generously distributed them to his fellow patients up and down the fifth floor of the hospital. His flowers were also used to decorate the chapel at the nurses' commencement exercises here Sunday.

The Governor-Nominate said he did not know Aurelius Scott, the Negro who is running for Coroner in Fulton County, and answered a suggestion that Scott supported him by saying: "I don't know. He may have supported me. It would surprise some of the uplifters in Atlanta to know how many Negroes were for me."

Talmadge expects to return to Georgia within a week, but said he did not know if he would go home to McRae or to Atlanta. The decision is expected to depend upon the results of a consultation of his physicians Friday. Meanwhile, he is anticipating a visit from his son, Herman, and a first-hand report on the Macon convention.

The Governor-Nominate was apparently little weakened by his illness. His skin was deeply tanned and his voice held its customary hardy, robust ring.

THE GEORGIA PRIMARY

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

The Georgia primary in which Eugene Talmadge, race baiting product of medieval southern reaction, was nominated for his fourth term as governor was marked by a great victory and a tragic defeat. Sat. 7-27-46

Symbol of triumph was more than 100,000 Georgia Negroes, who with dignity and pride, cast their first votes in a Southern Democratic primary. The event was historical. It was the first such mass voting in the South, under similar circumstances since Reconstruction after the Civil War. It was historical—and now it is history. Could we honor each of the anonymous thousands and their gallant leaders, who achieved this end, it would be no more than their due. The sweat and the blood, for so many years a part of the struggle to realize that great moment in time—July 17, 1946—we must pass with the humble respect of the man who writes and exhort, for the man, who fights and sometimes dies on the battlefield of progress.

And now we must look to the future. The battle of the future is clearly outlined in the circumstances surrounding the false victory of Gene Talmadge. Talmadge won his victory, while his progressive opponent, John Carmichael held a comfortable plurality of the vote of the people of Georgia. This was made possible by the primitive county unit voting system in the state, described by progressives as "almost incredible." We describe it—not as almost—but as completely a fascist trick.

This is disfranchisement, pure and simple. Since Talmadge strength lies generally among the rural, uninformed, ignorant white population, the results of the primary point perfectly to the rottenness. It is a rule by minority, deliberately planned to make the South "safe" for prejudice and bigotry, exemplified by such mountebanks as raspy-voiced vulgarian, Talmadge.

Gov. Arnall, despite his overall record of reform, was not able to change this creaking machinery. As a result his candidate for governor was elected by the people and defeated by the system.

In the triumph of our people marching to the polls, we must not forget for a moment the bitter fact that we lost the fight. We did not lose the battle, just one fight. From it we must learn an essential lesson. We must attack the enemy with his own weapons. We must never stop until the weapon of minority rule has been snatched away from every southern primitive.

Killing the "white primary" obviously was not enough, since even that stride forward is in danger with Talmadge in the saddle promising its return. We must freely link our strength with the strength of every progressive movement in the South, and in the country, whether it affects our immediate interest or not.

Only in the unity of all forward looking peoples, regardless of color, can we hope for the day when the overwhelming voice and mass of the people, will outlaw Talmadge and his fellow-brigands, and bring the "good life" to the plain folk of Georgia and the world.

GEORGIA Comfortable Again

New York N.Y. Times

In the red-clay country around Marietta, Ga. an old story was retold. An ancient and destitute woman had scrabbled for years in one of the town's back streets. One day she took sick and a squad of church ladies moved in, tidied her shack, bathed her, dressed her in clean clothes and tucked her into a clean bed. When they called next day, they found the old woman and her bed back in the familiar rags. "I just wasn't comfortable," she explained. "I'll have to git used to them clean clothes gradual." Mon 7-29-46

Last week, rural Georgia was comfortable again. After nearly four years of wearing the laundered government of chubby Governor Ellis Arnall (who cannot succeed himself under state law), she had gone back to his skinny, wild-eyed predecessor, 61-year-old ex-Governor Eugene Talmadge. Talmadge's once discarded political union suit still smelled of demagoguery, Klan support and white supremacy. But it felt easy in the seat.

How "Ole Gene" had wangled himself back into the governorship by winning the Democratic gubernatorial primary was no puzzle to Georgians—even though his principal opponent, James V. Carmichael, had polled 314,421 popular votes to Gene's 305,777. The "Wild Man from Sugar Creek" had just exploited Georgia's county unit system of counting votes.

Under the unit system, Fulton County (where Carmichael beat Talmadge by 23,836) got six electoral votes for its 92,500 voters. Echols County got two for its 619 voters. Thus, one Echols vote had the electoral power of 150 Fulton votes in last week's election. Not one of Georgia's 159 counties is so humble as to have less than two electoral votes.

With that kind of setup, it was no particular trick for Ole Gene. Unworried by popular majorities, he by-passed the cities where Carmichael appealed to the voters (including Georgia's 650,000 adult Negroes belatedly enfranchised this year). He just concentrated on the farmers. Gene had always had the farmers right by their pet prejudices. Once more, he snapped his red galluses at them, borrowed chaws of cut plug from crowds, ranted about the Negro menace, the labor menace, the new carpetbaggers—and promised little but a return to normalcy, Georgia style. Mon 7-29-46

Listening to Gene, the farmers had suddenly realized what it was that had been binding them so long. It was those damn clean clothes.

Dustin' off the NEWS

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

TALMADGE CALLS KLAN TO HELP HIM RULE GEORGIA

Sat. 10-19-46

IF GEORGIA is destined to produce the man on horseback for American Fascism, that man is Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge, the "Wild Man from Sugar Creek," who expects to climb into the saddle left empty by Huey Long.

Talmadge possesses all the qualifications necessary for a Fuehrer. He is a dynamic and

Lucius Harper

powerful stump speaker, a rabble-rouser with few equals among the piney-woods potentates of Dixie. Despite the fact that he has never had a well-organized machine, he carries in his hip-pocket 100,000 Georgia votes which are his for any office from constable to President of the United States. Most important, he has demonstrated his ability to inspire financial support from some of the wealthiest men in America: the DuPonts, John J. Raskob and Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors have from time to time contributed large sums to his campaign. He is the tool of the Power interest when they see fit to use him.

Talmadge, like most of the political clowns of the South, knows how to dramatize a situation to get the ear and attention of the Georgia dirt farmer, whose IQ is at very low ebb. He did not enter public life until 1927, when he ran as "just a plain ol' dirt farmer" for commissioner of agriculture. He began to "dramatize" then. He centered the fire of his campaign on the Chicago packers, pledging to "free the hog raisers from the tyranny of Armour and Swift." Determined to prove that the peanut-fed hogs of Georgia were just as good as the corn-fed hogs of the Midwest, Commissioner Talmadge sent several carloads of Georgia hogs to Chicago. The Defender

THE PARLANCE of the slaughterhouse, Talmadge guaranteed that the Southern hogs would "kill hard" like Midwestern hogs. They didn't. They "killed soft," as Georgia hogs have always done. The Talmadge blunder cost Georgia about $20,000. There were rumblings of impeachment in the Legislature, but Talmadge cleverly turned the notoriety into publicity and propaganda to boost himself for governor, and in 1932, he breezed into the chief executive's mansion far ahead of a half-dozen rivals with these hundred thousand votes that he always has tucked away in his back pocket.

At Macon, Georgia, last Wednesday Talmadge convened the State Democratic convention. He is the boss of it from stem to stern. He has it packed with all of his croonies. Edward Rivers and James Carmichael, who were his opponents in the race for governor, keeping with state tradition, have given their delegates to Talmadge. And in order to show how he stands on the Klan question, Talmadge has loaded the convention with all of the notorious Klansmen of Georgia.

Commenting on this phase of Talmadge's conduct, Drew Pearson, noted Washington columnist, who went to Georgia some months ago and spoke on the capitol steps at Atlanta in defiance of klanism, says this of the Macon convention: "Taking advantage of that sway, Talmadge has had the brass to appoint as delegates the most variegated array of Ku Klux Klanners Georgia has seen in years.

CORRESPONDENT OF NEGRO NEWSPAPER "INTERVIEWS" MR. TALMADGE

A correspondent of The Chicago **Defender**, Negro newspaper, came to Georgia recently and "interviewed" Eugene Talmadge, the Democratic nominee for governor of Georgia. His conclusions are that an "era of violence and oppression faces Georgia" and that under the Talmadge regime there is no hope whatever for the Negro.

These conclusions are in no sense justified, but could be regarded as a matter of opinion, and could not be classed as legally libelous. But there is a good deal in the article that is plain libel. If Mr. Talmadge should bring suit against the Chicago paper, and the case were tried in the South, he would win a verdict for heavy damages. It is broadly intimated that he aided in inciting the Monroe murders for political reasons. And the correspondent also speculates on whether Mr. Talmadge, member of an old and honorable Georgia family, which goes back many generations in America, has any Negro blood in his veins! It is of course not honest speculation on the part of the correspondent, for he knows better than that. The correspondent is a white man named Earl Conrad. We assume that he is a white man, since he was at the Henry Grady hotel, and the Atlanta hotels have a way of regulating their guest-lists.

Quotation from Conrad's dispatch to the Chicago **Defender** regarding the Talmadge interview:

> He sat opposite, wearing no coat, his red suspenders holding up a gray pair of pants. He is lithe, quick of motion, like a young man, and he is very dark, much darker than many Negroes I know. I kept thinking as I stared at him that he was either terribly sun-tanned or that he had color in him. I still don't know which it is. He has leaping gray eyes, which seem large behind his glasses, and his jaw juts and moves about like a prizefighter actively fighting.
>
> I had the feeling of the room seething with potential violence. Betsy, which is Talmadge's hunting rifle, was reclining against a wall in her case. Ainsley kept talking of the hunting trip he and Talmadge were going to take right away. They had to fly to Savannah in a few minutes, with Betsy, and there was an air of trying to bring the interview to an end, but I lingered.

Betsy seemed very much on the correspondent's mind. Concluding sentence in his "report": "I returned to my room in the Henry Grady very thoughtfully. I kept thinking of Betsy."

His frame of mind seemed to indicate that if Mr. Talmadge took Betsy out early in the morning and shot a few "niggers" before breakfast, just to work up an appetite for the morning meal, it would not have surprised Mr. Conrad very much.

Conrad makes the outrageous intimation that Mr. Talmadge had a hand in the Monroe lynching. A quotation from his downright libelous story:

> For the massacre of the four Walton County Negroes, it can now be definitely asserted, was but a pawn in Talmadge's political game.
>
> In fact, this correspondent can report that throughout Georgia there is wide suspicion that Talmadge himself may have given the green light for the "Hester kinfolks" to snuff out the lives of the two men at least.

It is a well-known fact in Atlanta among the police and political leaders that old Barney Hester, father of young Hester, who was knifed by the lynched Malcolm, talked with Talmadge, and the expression "They cooked it up together" is current in Georgia.

When the dust settled after the Georgia primary Gov. Ellis Arnall came out with more prestige nationally than did Talmadge, even if the latter won on the fluke of the county unit system. Arnall's stock mounted and he loomed closer as the compromise of vice-presidential candidate in the 1948 elections in case Wallace should not be satisfactory to the Democratic convention. The talk in Atlanta is that Talmadge needed to cut off the head that showed up higher than his even in defeat, and that he timed the lynching so as to embarrass his rival.

We have never read such utter rot.

It is so libelous that the Chicago paper should be held responsible, if there is any way of getting the issue honestly tried on its merits.

Era Of Violence And Oppression Faces Georgia

Chicago Defender – Ill.

EDITOR'S NOTE—In this revealing interview with one of the nation's leading hate mongers ace Defender Correspondent Earl Conrad brilliantly pictures the arrogant ignorance of the white supremacy clique. From this story we can visualize the haunting spectre which looms over Georgia—a return of Talmadgeism—a reign of terror whose only parallel must be drawn from the dark ages.

8-24-46

By EARL CONRAD
(Exclusive to the Chicago Defender)

ATLANTA—The Negro in Georgia can expect nothing under Eugene Talmadge other than a course of violence and the sharpest oppression, I gathered, after an interview with the governor-nominate here this week.

Interviewing him in his suite in the Henry Grady Hotel, eight floors about my room, I told him that the Negroes of Georgia were fearful that there was tension among them and that I should like to convey to them a statement of reassurance from him allaying their fears.

There was no such reassurance. He looked at me as if I had no understanding of the situation and as if I needed such understanding as he could impart, and this is what he said:

8-24-46

"You can say this: Niggers will be taken care of all right. You got to understand the nigger. The nigger has no culture. He's only a hundred and fifty years old and you can't expect anything of people with no more background than that. The nigger has got to be taken care of and brought along.

'Polite' Talk Sat.

"People here in the South have always understood how to handle the nigger. We took care of him after the Civil War. The Union didn't take care of him. The niggers came back to their old masters and they were taken care of. The niggers love us and they don't like white people that treat them any different than the way we treat them. A good nigger has got no respect for a white man that treats them like an equal. Only thing the nigger respects is a good spanking.

"That's the way to handle the nigger. Take him out in back of the barn and give him a good spanking. He'll love you for that. Finish with him and he'll say, 'Yassuh, boss,' and he likes it, and you'll get along all right.

"This is a white man's country, Anglo-Saxon country and the nigger don't want to vote. There's no reason for the nigger to vote. White people know what's good for the nigger. There weren't many niggers that voted for me. I didn't want their vote. Of course there were a few that voted for me, the finest niggers in the country. Big men among the niggers. Aaron Spaulding and R. J. W. Harley.

"They love me. There was an old lady, an old nigger washwoman and when she saw me she said, "Why Mistuh Talmadge, I shuah am gonna vote for you. I'm certainly glad to see you. Certainly hope you get elected governor.' Why she just fell all over me, and that's the way I get along with niggers.

Saturday

"Northern folks can't understand the nigger. Only white men interested in niggers are just using them, just using them in politics, just using them for tools, just using them that way. There's only two kind of men treat a nigger like they were equals, men using them for political ends, or maybe some damned theoretician full of nonsense."

Talmadge's friends were W. A. Ainsley of Thomson, Ga. ("We spell it without a 'p'; there's no pee in Thomson," he said) and Jim Paige. Ainsley is a big, bluff red-faced business man of Thomson, and Paige kept remarking that he had been manager of the Henry Grady Hotel for nine years. Both kept raining "nigger" down on my ears just to show me how it was done, but the whole mood of the room was political, gay and friendly. They were trying in a candid way to enlighten a Northerner about the "nigger" and Ainsley showed me pictures of his grandchild and invited me up to his place for a few days.

Sad Experience Defender

The whole thing made me a little sad. To see so much conviction and earnestness in these men, mixed with their good fellow attitude toward each other and the white group, to see their utter seeping in the Southern tradition as an attitude that was **right** made me realize how the Negro question is woven into the Southern soul.

The men were high, not so much from liquor, but political exaltation. Talmadge had just come from a United States District Court hearing of a suit attacking the constitutionality of Georgia's county unit system and seeking to prevent him from assuming office.

My conversation with him opened on that note as I asked him what he thought about the suit and how it might come out.

"It better come out all right," he said, "or we'll tear the place down." Chicago, Ill.

"Do you have any specific program for Georgia if and when you assume office?" I acked. "Things like unemployment, housing?"

There were a few seconds of silence as Talmadge either thought about me or about what he was going to say and then he resumed with his usual anti-Negro substance. I have little recollection what he said here for it was simply more supremacist talk pouring out of him volubly and it had nothing to do with the general question of a program for all Georgia which I had asked.

Red Suspenders Sat. 8-24-46

He sat opposite, wearing no coat, his red suspenders holding up a gray pair of pants. He is lithe, quick of motion, like a young man, and he is very dark, much darker than many Negroes I know. I kept thinking as I stared at him that he was either terribly sun-tanned or that he had color in him. I still don't know which it is. He has leaping gray eyes, which seem large behind his glasses, and his jaw juts and moves about like a prizefighter actively fighting.

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Dramatic Incident

Throughout, the interview was on a plane of civility and frankness. Two of Talmadge's friends, Ainsley of Thomson, Ga. ("We spell it without a 'p'; there's no pee in Thomson," he said) and Jim Paige. Ainsley is a big, bluff red-faced business man of Thomson, and Paige kept remarking that he had been manager of the Henry Grady Hotel for nine years. Both kept raining "nigger" down on my ears just to show me how it was done, but the whole mood of the room was political, gay and friendly. They were trying in a candid way to enlighten a Northerner about the "nigger" and Ainsley showed me pictures of his grandchild and invited me up to his place for a few days.

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On CIO

"What about CIO in Georgia, Mr. Talmadge?" I asked. "What's your position on that?"

He hesitated around that one and it is evident that he has no definite position and that he intends facing this as situations arise, assuming he becomes Governor. "Well, I believe in enforcement of the law," he said. "If they don't break the law it'll be all right. I'm for labor. I'm a laboring man."

Then I got to the $64 question and I put it this way:

"That Monroe case seems to have put Governor Arnall on the spot. What do you suppose he's doing about it or going to do about it?"

He handled that one easily. "I'm sure the Governor is making every effort to apprehend the responsible people."

I had no chance to pursue the Monroe case further for there was a sudden knocking on the door and Ainsley opened it and admitted a white-haired, stoutish woman in her fifties who burst into the room with a great show of affection for Governor Talmadge and lavished congratulations upon him and I was sure that she was the lunatic fringe of Talmadge's following and that she could not forbear to visit the hero in his lair and had managed to get in.

Gushing Woman

The men surrounded her and she shook their hands and put her arms around Talmadge and gushed, "Governor, you dear wonderful man. I want them to love you like I love you. I want them up North to know you like I know you. And I know they will."

She was welcome as a Gulf breeze and they ushered her into the room and she had taken over.

"Do you remember what you did for me 12 years ago?" she asked. "I shall never forget it. I was trying to get permits for a dozen blind persons in Atlanta to allow them to ask alms in the street and everybody turned me down. EVERYBODY turned me down. These poor people would have had to live on $3 a week if they did not supplement their income from the public and I couldn't bear to see that—and you gave them the permits. You put that thing through for me and made it possible for them to live better. I have always loved you for that."

The four of us were gathered about this woman now watching her as she reminded the Governor that she was an old Mobile belle, that she was Mrs. Frances Levkoff, a Southern aristocrat, and then suddenly the whole air of the room changed. She was saying in different words just what I had said to Talmadge before. She had come here with the tension of the whole community of Atlanta, and she was saying:

No Violence

"Tell me, Governor, tell me that there won't be any violence. That no harm will come to anyone. Tell us that there will be peace. Tell us that these people, these poor, hard-pressed Negro people will be able to breathe and that they will not suffer."

I could hardly believe my ears. The men were stunned. Talmadge was silent. They had no reply. She kept talking, kept praising and championing the people of color, kept pleading with him for a few words of kindness, for assurance there would be no reign of terror. She knew how big he was, she said, and he could help out, bring peace to the state.

But Talmadge was annoyed and his friends were upset. This wasn't the woman that had come in the door. This was a special pleader and she must be gotten out and this Northern white man must hear no more.

Mrs. Levkoff's appeal was harshly broken by the tall, handsome slightly dissipated-looking Jim Paige who questioned her constant use of the word "Negro" and asked, "Why don't you say 'nigger'?"

They Are People

She turned to Paige. "Why should I say that? These people are people, don't you understand?" She tried to tell them of the great achievement of Dr. Percy Julian. He had evolved an anesthetic for use in childbirth, a technique that took away the immemorial pain. Was not this deserving of respect, of the word 'Negro'? She spoke of the great voice of Marian Anderson and asked, "How can you call her 'nigger'?"

But no word such as Mrs. Levkoff or I wanted to hear came from Talmadge's lips. There was nothing but the high sign that he was giving Ainsley and Jim Paige with his eyes to get out, to call the thing off, but they had a few in them and were slow to catch on.

Suddenly Ainsley went for Betsy. He pulled her out of her case and Talmadge arose smilingly and grabbed hold of Betsy and fondled her affectionately as he might a lovely woman. Betsy was a beautiful, nasty-looking rifle. "Got to get to your plane," Ainsley said. "Gotta get going."

Fondly they put Betsy back into her case.

Pressed To Door

There was a busying around the room now as the Talmadge coterie in a kind of cordial enfilading movement pressed Mrs. Levkoff and myself toward the door.

Ainsley was all amiability and kept repeating his invitation for me to come to Thomson where I could learn about "niggers" from him and it was all so terribly embarrassing to one of my views, in full disagreement with these men, who were treating me with the only kind of candor they know and feel.

There was one last burst of politics before we were out of the room. Ainsley was orating:

"You know where the last of the Anglo-Saxon stock is?" and he paused to let us tell him, but of course we didn't know. He explained:

"There's a little strip of country in the northern part of South Carolina and you got some there; then there's Georgia, and then there's a strip of country up in Tennessee, and there's a few counties in Alabama and then there's some parts of Texas. That's where it's all still pure. Pee-ure An-gel-o-Saxon. And the hope of the world lies in that there stretch of country.

"And that man there," he said, pointing a prophetic finger at the very brunette Talmadge, "is gonna lead them."

White Belt Leader

I took another look at the leader of the "White Belt" from whom no denials came and I knew that I had definitely failed to secure any word of hope from the Governor-nominate that there would be peace in Georgia, and indeed, there might be worse than peace throughout the country. "We don't give a damn what the North thinks," one of the men had said during the half-hour session, and I saw now that they really did not care.

Sincere and deluded white supremacists. I had seen the face of American fascism, face to face, and the whole thing was menacing and filled with dynamite. These were the type of men around Talmadge. This was the outlook for Georgia even though a majority of right-minded element had repudiated this future.

Talmadge got in one more point, quite without any solicitation on my part. "I believe in free speech," he said, "and a free press. I certainly believe in a free press. But columnists are causing all the trouble in the country these days. Columnists are not doing the country any good."

Talmadge was probably wondering what this columnist would do with the interview.

I returned to my room in the Henry Grady very thoughtfully. I kept thinking of Betsy.

Dixie Grown Fascist Elected Governor By Trick Vote Count

The Chicago Defender

Chicago, Ill.

ATLANTA — The Klan rode high in Georgia last week, and the heavy stench of race violence hung in the air as Eugene Talmadge, the South's leading fascist and Negro-hater was swept into the nomination for governor on a trick vote counting system and the promise that "no Negro will vote in Georgia for the next four years."

Although an estimated 100,000 Negroes voted for the first time in what was probably the greatest vote ever recorded in a Southern state, other thousands and many whites were frightened away from the polls by Klan threats of violence. Sat 7-27-46

The Talmadge statement made in defiance of the U. S. Supreme court decision outlawing the white primary, placed a Ku Klux Klan shroud over the state's short era of progress. Terrorism and loss o political freedom are in prospect for thousands of Georgia Negroes for the next four black years as Talmadge boasts, "I had to win for the good of the South and the nation."

May Indicate Trend

Talmadge's victory, which may well set the political trend for the South in coming elections was a result of the county unit system which voided the popular majority of votes polled by liberal James V. Carmichael, Talmadge's chief rival. The system which operates in similar fashion to the electoral college, gives the total county unit vote to the candidate receiving the highest loeal vote. This permitted sparsely populated rural counties to turn the tide of victory in favor of the Klan supported hate-monger. There are 159 counties in Georgia with 400 unit votes. No county has more than six unit votes. Talmadge polled 234 of them, while Carmichael won 148. Needed to win are 206.

Anti-Negro Campaign

During his campaign, Talmadge promised to keep the Negro in his place. He said that he would restore the white primary, and prevent Negroes from crossing the state in non-segregated busses. On the eve of election he warned "wise Negroes" to stay away from the polls. The FBI reportedly is investigating threats against Negroes made by Talmadge.

Flushed by victory in the primary, which is tantamount to election in one-party Georgia, the hate monger lost no time in spreading his venom to the nation. In a radio broadcast last week he said that "The right people have got to 'rule' the South and the nation." He has also promised to "protect the traditions that our grandfathers fought and died for." He intimated that when he takes office next January, libel laws will be enacted to muzzle the state's 112 leading papers which opposed his nomination.

Race Baiter Loses

In a victory speech at McRae, Friday, he re-iterated his anti-Negro program for the state. He was greeted by 1,500 howling adherents who subscribed to his fascist proposals. Even though the notorious hate-monger was re-elected for a fourth term, the state rejected the white supremacy candiate for lieutenant governor. Race baiter Marvin Griffin was soundly defeated by state revenue commissioner M. E. Thompson, who left the race issue out of his campaign. The Defender

The day after the primary Carmichael, who was supported by liberal incumbent Gov. Ellis Arnall, said that if Talmadge won, it would prove that the South was not ready for progress. The eyes of the nation are on the outcome, he said, warning that large corporations would not invest in the state under a Talmadge administration. Under previous Talmadge administrations there were several notorious scandals in the state involving Klan tie-ups and misuse of funds. Chicago Ill.

Seek Independent Party

Undaunted by the outcome of the election, progressive forces have begun a movement to have Carmichael run for election this fall as an independent candidate. Although the state is solidly Democratic, it was felt that the only way to represent the people's will is to run Carmichael in the general election which is decided by a majority vote. Carmichael received 314,421 of the 701,778 votes cast, the greatest number ever given a candidate seeking office in the state. To date Carmichael has declined to run. Sat. 7-27-46

Elsewhere in the state, Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin candidate for Congress from the fifth district, faced defeat at the hands of race-baiter, Judge James C. Davis. Although she polled a majority popular vote in the general election, she also was defeated by the unit system which the party employed at the last minute. Mrs. Mankin, who was elected to fill the unexpired term by Negro and CIO support, has battled the unit vote system constantly. She will contest the election on the basis that the unit system is not binding. Some observers here see an opportunity to form an independent party around Carmichael and Mrs. Mankin, chief sufferers under the unrepresentative unit vote system.

Halls of Congress

The House seat of Rep. Robert Ramspeck (D., Ga.), who quit to take a better-paying job in private industry, goes to Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, of Atlanta, Georgia's first Congresswoman. In a special election she polled 11,116 votes against 10,231 for Ramspeck's former secretary, Thomas L. Camp. Sixteen other men also ran.

Rep. Mankin

Backed by Women's clubs, and liberals, Mrs. Mankin upset political prognosticators who predicted a sweeping victory for Camp who had published ads asking Georgians if they wanted Sidney Hillman and New York Communists to dominate their Congressman. It was the first election since repeal of the poll tax and the ruling that Negroes cannot be excluded from the Democratic party. Some 6800 Negroes voted.

Mrs. Mankin drove a Red Cross ambulance in France in World War I, started her political career in the Atlanta City Council, then spent 10 years as a State Representative. Wife of a lawyer, mother of a merchant seaman, she stands for price controls as long as inflation threatens, Federal help in combatting the housing shortage, Federal aid for education, and equalization of the Nation's freight rates.

NEGRO PAPER SAYS VOTE WON ELECTION

ATLANTA, Feb. 13— (AP) —The Atlanta Daily World, Negro newspaper, said today the Negro vote decided the race for Congress in the fifth Georgia district, won by Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, state legislator, over 17 male candidates.

Mrs. Mankin, backed by the CIO, received 11,099 votes to win a close race with Thomas L. Camp, former secretary to Robert Ramspeck, whom Mrs. Mankin succeeds. Ramspeck resigned recently to take an aviation post. Camp was given 10,329 votes.

Camp led by 146 votes in the unofficial count until returns were received from precinct B in the third ward, predominately Negro. This precinct gave Mrs. Mankin 956 votes and Camp seven.

"It was clear," The Daily World said, "that the Negro vote had decided the race in a photo-finish."

The newspaper said Negroes served as precinct managers and clerks in Atlanta for the first time in a Congressional Election.

Balloting was in a general special election and all of the candidates were Democrats. Negroes vote in general elections in Georgia and a court test is under way which seeks to give them the ballot in primaries. A primary was not held in the Fifth District Congressional Contest.

Legislator Is Defeated In Georgia

AUGUSTA, Ga. (ANP)—Richmond County's Cracker party—and all the name implies—was swept out of power here for the first time in 20 years when over 4,000 Negroes voted for the first time in the heretofore white primary.

Roy Harris, speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, who wants to call the general assembly into session to repeal all laws relating to the primary and keep Negroes from voting, went down into defeat before William S. Morris, liberal Augusta Chronicle editor and a citizenry tired of Cracker party ways. For 20 years, the party had controlled everything in Richmond county and run it with an iron hand.

Harris conceded his defeat early the morning following the election, which saw several hundred Negroes turned away from the polls at closing time. Morris polled 12,574 votes to Harris' 7,718.

Harris said upon admitting defeat: "I made the issue for the white primary and lost.

"We lost for three reasons: First, 4,600 Negroes were registered and most of them voted; second, some of our people welcome the idea of the Negro voting in white primaries; third, a great many of our people do not understand the serious predicament in which we find ourselves, but the fight is not over. It has just started. I expect to present to the members of te legislature a petition to call an extra session and I hope a sufficient number will sign."

A Compliment

Speaker Roy Harris, of the Georgia Legislature, has unwittingly paid Negro voters a great tribute.

Harris was defeated in his race for renomination to his legislative seat, and he has raised a great stir about the victory of his opponent, who ran against Georgia's most powerful political machine and won.

His defeat, Harris says, was brought about partly by the Negroes, who voted for the first time in Richmond County's primary.

If that is true, then Georgia and the whole South should be gratefule to those Negroes.

Roy Harris is a political enemy of Ellis Arnall, Georgia's liberal governor, who probably has done more than any other man of this generation to advance the South economically, politically and in reputation with the rest of the country.. . . . . .

It is chiefly because of Harris' efforts that Arnall cannot run to succeed himself as governor.

A vote against him was a vote for the principles Aarnall has supported. A vote for him was a vote for the Talmadge type of reactionary politics and government, which Arnall swept out of the state capitol four years ago in a voters' uprising that astounded machine politicians.

The wounded Harris is calling for a return to the white primary. He will have to find a better argument than his own defeat if he is to persuade Georgia's enlightened and emancipated voters.—The Huntsville Times.

The "Crackers" Crumble

A most significant election in Georgia, Richmond County Tuesday gave the ancient if not honorable "Cracker party" a thorough drubbing. Independent candidates went into the election with hopes—but likely not much conviction that so stirring a victory would be theirs. In the voting, Roy V. Harris, long-time Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, polled only 7,719 votes against the winning Independent candidate's 12,574. The margin was reflected in other races. Displacing Harris is William S. Morris, publisher of *The Augusta Chronicle*. Two other Independent candidates won seats in the Georgia Legislature, and the Crackers lost all County Commission posts.

The election was exciting, it is reported, but quiet. It is estimated that the total vote was the largest in the county's history. Young people took an interest in the election, one motor caravan going to Augusta from the University of Georgia to cast Independent votes. Negroes apparently had a small part in the Independent victory. It may be repeated, the election was very orderly—police on duty said it was the most peaceful they had seen. There is some talk of the influence of Negroes in the election. But only 4,614 of 26,541 registered voters were Negroes. Many were unable to vote, reportedly because of inadequate number of booths in the segregated polling places, and because—on the basis of Cracker party charges—many of the Negroes were unable to complete their ballots swiftly enough.

The defeat of an old-line party is always interesting, and piques even those who "leave politics to others;" news of such upsets tends to irritate the mild and meek, and suggests in a

Georgia's Angry Man

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Allow me to add to my harsh words of a few days ago a few commendatory ones anent your editorial of July 21 on the political fiasco in Georgia. I feel that your attitude is one of helpfulness and I hope the Atlanta and other Georgia newspapers will take up the banner as vigorously.

I have written to the two Atlanta dailies in regard to the primary in which Gene Talmadge was so falsely nominated. After the promise of a renaissance of Georgia politics with Arnall, this affair leaves a Georgian angry.

E. H. PRIEST

Williamsburg.

An Analysis Of The Augusta Election

BY O. E. McKAINE

Throughout the country, and particularly in the South, much has been written in an attempt to discover the meaning of the Augusta elections. To date this writer, who took an active part in the campaign to increase the number of voters has failed to read anywhere what he considers to be a correct analysis of those results, in either the Negro or the white press.

Most, if indeed not all, of the newspapermen and the politicians have accepted the appraisal of W.S.Morris,legislator-elect of the independents and publisher of the Augusta Chronicle. Mr. Morris, replying to an assertion made by the defeated Speaker of the House, Roy V. Harris, that he (Morris) was elected by the Negro vote, stated that the majority that he and other independent candidates rolled up exceeded the combined registration of the Negroes who participated in the primaries for the first time. Mr. Morris also stated that in the 4th ward, which has the largest Negro registration in the county, Roy V. Harris and the Crackers received 352 Negro votes while the independents received only 221. All of this may be true but the analysis is far from being complete for it does not consider the intangibles involved.

For there was something else much more important and before the voting took place; it is hardly likely that he fools them now. Referring to Mr. Harris' camouflaging efforts, the victor, Mr. Morris, said, "it looks like some people never learn." In the respect that Mr. Morris has in mind, this may be true for the present. But, in a larger sense, it would appear that most people do learn—and when they have learned, they vote for good government, the kind Richmond County now may expect.

very significant which gave the independents their majority: something more than just the physical number of the Negro votes. And this something was the direct result of the greatly increased number of Negro voters. Without exception, where a well organized and effective effort is made to increase the number of Negro voters, there is immediately a corresponding increase in the number of white voters. The proof that this happened in Augusta and Richmond county where an intensive registration drive was undertaken to increase the number of Negro voters, can be found in the fact that the Normal vote of 4,000 to 5,000 rose to nearly 21,000. These new voters, of both races, usually vote against the machine and the incumbent office holders. They are citizens who, themselves, have either grievances against the machine, or want to become office holders or to become the recipients of the patronage the new office holders can bestow upon them. These are the causes, probably the chief causes, of the results in Augusta: they explain the victory of the independents. Memphis Scimitar, Memphis Tenn.

As evidence that the determination to exercise their rights has seeped down to the humblest Negroes, Stanford Smith, writing in The Augusta Chronicle of April 17th, stated that "in the Hill section, white mothers were seen entertaining their children in the public parks where customarily Negro nurses amuse the youngsters. In the homes (white) cold lunches, or none at all, was the order of the day as cooks were voting instead of cocking." In another paragraph the writer said; "On the home front and in business houses white persons experienced hardships as Negro janitors, cooks, yardmen and firemen stood in line many hours." In many of the wards the officials slowed up the process of registering Negroes. Mr. Smith, in the same article wrote that "In the 4th ward, approximately 150 failed to reach the booths." It rained that day in Augusta, it rained all day, but the Negroes had come prepared, prepared to help bring democracy to their city. Tuesday

However, there are other and interesting lessons to be drawn from the Augusta elections. One is that the seemingly "air-tight" machines of long tenure of power can be overthrown by a coalition of progressive forces. This coalition must in nearly all cases derive its stimulus from, and include, the Negro group. And invariably it is composed of liberal whites outside of the labor movement, the labor group itself, and the Negroes. In every instance, in the South, where Negroes have anew exercised their voting privileges in great numbers, they have voted progressive. This is historic and natural. 10-2-46

Another lesson is that the raising of the white supremacy issue spells disaster. It is a matter of record that no proponent of white supremacy has won an election in recent years.

Still another lesson, of particular interest to Negroes, is that when the Southern white liberals are assured of the active and effective support of the Negro population, they will become more vocal and active in trying to bring democracy to the South. Many southern white men and women, who are at heart ardent believers in full political, economic and legal rights for Negroes, remain silent and inactive because in many instances Negroes have not been able, and in some cases willing, to give them a support which would, at least in a great measure, compensate them for the losses they will inevitably sustain among certain white Southerners if they take a firm and bold stand in behalf of their brothers of darker hue.

That in Augusta more Negroes voted for the Cracker party than for the independents in ward 4 (The only ward out of seven which the machine carried), simply shows that there are still with us a group of old line Uncle Tom Politicians, hat-in-hand backdoor thumpers, palms itching for one of the Thirty Places, who perhaps only death can teach or change. The dole givers and the party machine bosses should take note that the results in Augusta have shown that this group cannot "deliver"; and that although they are dying fast, their real influence is already in the last throues of death.

Political Reprisals Retard Efficiency

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

It is regrettable that one recently re-elected department head has seen fit to discharge one of his long-time employes so shortly after an election in which the latter made no contribution to his campaign fund. For while all the factors in the case have not yet been made public, the circumstances are such as to invite suspicion. 7-26-46

We have been especially pleased that the anticipated purge of the not inconsiderable segment of State employes who supported former Govs. Rivers and Talmadge has not developed. We had come to hope, noting Gov. Arnall's declaration that he had no intention of making political reprisal on those State workers who did not see eye to eye with him in the recent primary, that the era of personal vendettas was over. Certainly it should have been long ago. Friday

So long as competent men are discharged merely because they refused to go all out in support of this or that candidate, so long will the people be taxed for inefficient governmental operation.

Talmadge Denies Klan Backed Him

Courier-Journal

Answers Charges Made By Columnist Pearson

Louisville, Ky.

Santa Monica, Cal., July 22 (U.P.) —Cigar-smoking Eugene Talmadge, vacationing here after his recent nomination as Governor of Georgia for his fourth term, today took a tolerant view of Ku Klux Klan activities.

Talmadge drawled he didn't know enough about the Klan to decide whether he approves or disapproves of the hooded order; said he was the "only candidate in Georgia was wasn't a Klansman"; and said Negroes were not civilized enough to vote.

Denies Belonging to Klan.

The lanky Governor-nominate called a press conference at his hotel here to deny Columnist Drew Pearson's charge he was supported by the Ku Klux Klan.

"Drew Pearson seems to know a lot more than I do about me. I am not a member of the Klan, never have been and don't ever expect to be." Tues.

Talmadge also denied Pearson's broadcast charges that he had promised to appoint the grand cyclops of the Atlanta klavern as head of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation. 7-23-46

"I don't even know who the cyclops of the Atlanta klavern is and I haven't made a single commitment as to any appointments I intend to make," he said.

APPRECIATES SUPPORT GIVEN HIS DAUGHTER

The Savannah Tribune, Savannah, Ga.

Thur. 7-25-46

July 19, 1946.

Editor, Savannah Tribune
Savannah, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

My daughter and I are very grateful to the colored people of Chatham County for the wonderful support accorded her in the primary of July 17 in which she was a candidate for Associate Judge of the Municipal Court of Savannah.

I always knew that I had the friendship and regard of your people, but I never dreamt that they had such high regard for me. Their vote and the hardships they suffered that day to give their vote to my daughter was proof beyond all doubt. Thur. 7-25-46

I shall always deem it a privilege to aid them in their struggles against oppression, and they may feel free to call on me for assistance at all times.

sorry for the editorial, we cannot be responsible for what will happen."

The editor said he did not accept their statements as threats of physical harm, but was afraid of "property damage" at the newspaper plant. Sat. 8-3-46

Mob at Plant

Upon arrival at the plant, accompanied by the group, Mr. Hardy found "probably as many as 100 men" standing around, to whom he gave the following ultimatum: "My editorial was not aimed at anybody in Upton County, but if you are offended, I'd be glad to say in the next issue of the Times, I did not intend to offend you." The Times was for James V. Carmichael in the governor's race and told him he carried Upton County.

The Afro-American, Baltimore, Md.

ordered from a local printing company. The detectives said that J. M. Coggins, of the Calif & Mann Printing Co., said publicly on Saturday Marshall telephoned in an order July 3 for 6,000 copy ballots and later delivered a sample form to the printers. Thur. 8-1-46

The editorial read: "In the country counties where ballots with his permission ignorance and prejudice rule and Britt and McCallum "My editorial was not aimed at shall now denies any there is a minority group problem (the colored race) ole Gene gotyou are offended, I'd be glad to the transactions his big votes, but in the city counties where education and enlightment reign, Carmichael piled up a huge vote." Sat. 8-3-46

Macon Negro Arrested On Marked Ballot Charge

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

Thur. 8-1-46

Constitution State News Service.

MACON, July 31—Larkin Marshall, Macon Negro, arrested late Tuesday night on charges of issuing copy ballots during the recent State election, was released from the Bibb County jail Wednesday on a $2,000 bond.

Detectives L. B. McCallum and G. C. Britt, who arrested Marshall, said filing of formal charges followed a probe started by Bibb Solicitor General Charles Garrett at the time of the July 17 election.

At that time several copy ballots were reported in circulation in the hands of Bibb County and Macon voters, especially Negroes.

The reports of the arresting officers showed that 11,000 of these

Ga. Editor Forced to Retract Article

The Afro-American, Baltimore, Md.

THOMASTON, Ga. — J. B. Hardy, editor of The Thomaston Times," apologized under threat of "property damage" at the newspaper plant.

Hardy, editor of "The Thomaston Times," apologized under threat of "property damage" at the newspaper plant. Sat. 8-3-46

The detectives said he said Eugene Talmadge got his gubnatorial nomination from counties in which "ignorance and prejudice rule." The editorial read: "In the country counties where ignorance and prejudice rule and there is a minority group problem (the colored race) ole Gene gotyou are offended, I'd be glad to his big votes, but in the city counties where education and enlightment reign, Carmichael piled up a huge vote." Sat. 8-3-46

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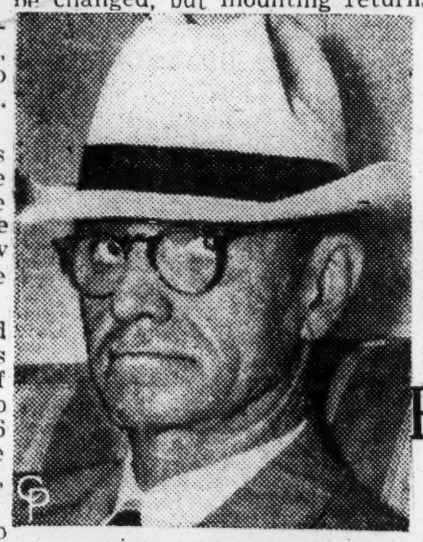
Red-Gallused Talmadge Wins Georgia Gubernatorial Race

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
July 19, 1946

ATLANTA, July 18—(AP)—After pioneering a new political way in the South that amazed the nation, Georgia apparently has reverted to rock-ribbed Southern tradition and sent Gene Talmadge to the Governor's office again.

It will be the fourth term over the years for the red-gallused exponent of "white supremacy" whose political showmanship and unruly forelocks have become familiar to a generation of Georgians.

Conceivably the result could be changed, but mounting returns from the record-shattering Democratic primary left little doubt, and Talmadge's lead continued to mount over 36-year-old James V. Carmichael.



Eugene Talmadge
Won for 'Good of South'

James V. Carmichael
Loses Georgia Race

In Mississippi earlier this month, Senator Theodore (The Man) Bilbo and Representative John Rankin won on a "white supremacy" platform, but few Negroes were qualified to vote there and even fewer voted.

The latest tabulation showed Talmadge leading in 104 counties with an indicated unit vote of 238, with only 206 needed to nominate. Carmichael led in 46 counties with 152 unit votes. The popular vote was: Carmichael, 227,618; Talmadge, 208,296.

Ex-Governor E. D. Rivers, who ran a poor third and conceded victory to Talmadge, got an indicated unit vote of 18 and a popular vote of 45,898. Hoke O'Kelley, the fourth man, a veteran of both World Wars, got 7,865 popular votes and no unit votes.

Talmadge, who warned "wise" Negroes to remain away from the polls, won in a primary in which an estimated 100,000 or more Negroes voted for the first time, as well as many thousand teenagers.

Exuberant in victory, Talmadge said: "I had to win for the good of the South and the nation. No Negro will vote in Georgia for the next four years."

While Negroes have voted recently in Deep South primaries, there was nothing like so large a Negro vote as there was in Georgia. There are negligible voting restrictions in Georgia and the poll tax was repealed in 1945.

The Negro vote—135,000 Negroes were registered against about 850,000 whites—went apparently almost solidly for Carmichael, who had the blessing of dynamic young Governor Ellis Arnall.

Arnall, who four years ago handed 61-year-old Talmadge the bitterest defeat of his long career, sparked the fight in Georgia for lowering the voting age to 18 and repealing the poll tax.

The Governor thwarted an abortive movement to circumvent the Supreme Court decision that Negroes can vote in the South's Democratic primaries—real election in the one-party States.

Would Repeal All Laws

Talmadge was elected on a platform calling for restoration of the "white primary" in Georgia. This he would do by repealing all laws relating to primaries and leave them regulated only by the Democratic party.

The county unit vote, rather than the popular vote, counts in Georgia. Based on population, counties have two, four or six unit votes. The candidate getting a majority in a county wins its unit votes.

The unique unit vote system, incidentally, provided a muddle in the most interesting of the State's congressional contests, involving Helen Douglas Mankin, the State's first regularly elected Congresswoman.

Mrs. Mankin represents the Fifth District, which includes Atlanta (Fulton County) and two smaller counties. She was elected in a special election a few months ago, with the Negro vote the balance of power.

For 14 years the popular vote had prevailed in the district. But for yesterday's primary the lame duck Democratic committee decreed the unit system. Atlanta has far more population than the rest of the district.

Mrs. Mankin piled up an impressive popular vote over Judge James C. Davis, who led 8 to 6 in unit votes. Mrs. Mankin never recognized the old committee, appointed her own, and the State committee will probably have to decide whether the unit or popular vote will count.

The State's youngest congressional candidate, 30-year-old W. H. Wheeler, ex-Army officer, led Representative John S. Gibson in the Eighth District. Representative Malcolm Tarver trailed Henderson Lanham in the Seventh District.

RURAL VOTE GAVE TALMADGE VICTORY IN GEORGIA TEST

The Times
New York, N. Y.
Sun. 7-21-46

Few Negroes Outside Chief Urban Centers Appear to Have Cast Ballots in Primary

By GEORGE HATCHER

ATLANTA, July 20—Georgia's peculiar county unit vote system, which gives the balance of power to preponderantly rural counties; a division of anti-Talmadge votes among two candidates; and a white supremacy issue all combined to sweep red-suspendered Eugene Talmadge into the Governorship in the Democratic primary this week. Nomination is equivalent to election under Georgia's one-party system.

The absence of any one of these factors very likely would have resulted in Mr. Talmadge's defeat, astute political observers agreed today.

James V. Carmichael, Mr. Talmadge's principal opponent, got the most number of popular votes—in fact, more popular votes than any other Georgia Governorship candidate had ever received—but Mr. Talmadge, carrying his white supremacy campaign to all corners of the State, and particularly into the rural parts of south Georgia, captured a plurality in the most number of counties, and this amassed a county unit vote of landslide proportions.

First Negro Vote

Negroes voted for the first time since Reconstruction days but Mr. Talmadge promised in his campaign speeches, and again upon his election, that the white primary would be restored by him.

Most of the estimated 100,000 Negroes who participated in the primary cast their ballots in the urban centers. Their participation in most rural areas was almost negligible.

Before the election, white voters were admonished by Mr. Talmadge that this election would be their last chance to "save Georgia for the white man." He also advised the Negroes to remain away from the polls. Mr. Talmadge, who has previously served three terms as Governor, said there would be an attempt to mix the races in the schools, on buses and trains and in other public institutions.

White Majority Significant

Much significance is attached to the fact that Mr. Talmadge received large majorities in counties having heavy Negro populations. The whites turned out in unprecedented numbers. Most Negroes either were disqualified as voters, failed to register or simply neglected to vote. There are more Negroes than whites in 46 of Georgia's 159 counties. Mr. Talmadge received the unit votes of thirty-six of these counties and also got about the same proportion of support in sections where 35 to 50 per cent of the population are Negroes.

E. D. Rivers, twice Governor of Georgia and a poor third in this week's voting, and Mr. Carmichael divided the votes of those opposed to Mr. Talmadge in county after county, with the result that Mr. Talmadge's minority became a plurality. Under Georgia's county unit system, heavily populated counties have six unit votes, counties of medium population have four unit votes and every county has a minimum of two unit votes. Of the 410 unit votes in the State's 159 counties, 242 could be furnished by two-vote counties.

Voters' Strength

Thus, a resident of Echols County, where the registration list totals less than a thousand, has many times the voice in Government of a voter in populous Fulton (Atlanta) County, where registrants totaled 122,000. Echols has two unit votes, Fulton six.

The meaning of Mr. Talmadge's victory, as applied to the coming four years, is a subject attracting considerable discussion and concern. Repeal of the primary laws, which must be by act of the Legislature, undoubtedly would lead to protest action in the courts inasmuch as some doubt exists as to whether such procedure would provide a legal side-step of the Supreme Court ruling that Negroes cannot be excluded from State primaries.

Sun. 7-21-46

There is also much concern over the racial animosity which Mr. Talmadge engendered by his campaign tactics and also a feeling that the recently revived Ku Klux Klan received a "green light" from Mr. Talmadge's election. Mr. Talmadge several weeks ago stated that he welcomed the support of the Klan and is said to have been aided in his election by it.

Only four years ago when seeking re-election, Mr. Talmadge was repudiated by the voters for his dictatorial operation of the State government, for his "political interference" and dismissal of educators within the university system, resulting in the loss of the State universities' accredited standings, and for his bitter attacks upon the Roosevelt Administration.

The People of Georgia Have Just Begun to Fight

The Worker
New York, N. Y.
Sun. 7-21-46

By Homer B. Chase

ATLANTA, Ga. — The recent Georgia Democratic primary was an important event for the entire nation. Georgia has a population of 3.5 million of which 25 percent are Negroes. Slightly over half of the state's population lives in urban communities and there is a steady, ever-increasing trend from the plantations to the cities and towns.

The state administration headed by Gov. Arnall and supported by Georgia's labor movement and the Negro people abolished the poll tax, passed the 18-year-old vote and instituted other democratic reforms during the past four years.

Gov. Arnall was and is part of a broad progressive coalition developing in the South. The most progressive coalition of the South-ern people, the sharecroppers and small farmers. Also included are part of the urban middle class and some southern businessmen such as the publisher of 100 newspapers which opposed Talmadge in the primaries.

All these sections of the South-ern people have one aim in common though at present their methods and degree of struggle for that aim are quite different.

★

THAT ONE AIM is to break the stranglehold of Wall Street and the plantation owners on the political and economic life of the South.

Wall Street and the plantation owners want the South to remain in a semi-colonial position with empty war factories, illiteracy, disease, lynchings and poverty as the order of the day.

The democratic coalition being formed is fighting for elementary democratic rights — full employment, right to vote, educational and health facilities, machine-producing factories and the chance for skilled work that goes with them.

The progressives received a temporary setback in Talmadge's minority election.

★

THE COUNTY UNIT SYSTEM was devised as a means of keeping political and economic power in the hands of the plantation owners. Reaction was able, for the moment at least, to steal victory from the progressive majority of Georgia voters who voted for Carmichael.

But there were some positive aspects of the election.

- One million one hundred thousand Georgians registered; nearly 600,000 voted.
- 134,000 Negroes registered with over 100,000 reported voting despite threats and intimidation by the Klan element.
- The liberal Mrs. Mankin's large plurality.
- The clear plurality of almost 50,000 voters for Carmichael over Talmadge.
- Defeat of two Congressional reactionaries, Tarver and Gibson.
- The election of three Arnall men to key posts in the state administration and election of a state assembly which appears to be anti-Talmadge.

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SOME TASKS Georgia progressives face are:

- Exploring the possibilties of stopping Talmadge from being seated as Governor.
- To mobilize to defeat Talmadge's campaign to evade Supreme Court decisions and restore the white primary.
- To campaign for the end of the county unit system.
- To support Mrs. Mankin in her campaign to be seated in Congress on the basis of her large plurality.

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ORGANIZED LABOR must play a leading role in the fight for these demands if it is to escape the Taladge concentration camps of the mid-thirties.

Organized labor can and must carry on further joint political action with the Negro people of Georgia to advance the democratic coalition and defeat Talmadge.

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THE NEGRO PEOPLE will not only work with labor and the democratic coalition but will organize actions of their own. The Negro people who voted, acted like heroes in defying Talmadge and the Klan's threats. Never again must the disgrace of a white primary muddy up the name of Georgia. Sun. 7-28-46

During the campaign the Trotzkyites attacked Carmichael and ignored Talmadge. In state PAC they sabotaged support for progressives because **"the farmer's vote will defeat progressive candidates if CIO endorses them."** This idea was refuted in Alabama where the CIO endorsed Folsom for governor and the small farmers helped elect him.

The recently reorganized Communist Party of Georgia made its main slogan "Defeat Talmadge." The party recognizes that the campaign would have ended with even more positive results if Carmichael and organized labor had raised more sharply the domestic program of Roosevelt whose name retains great prestige with the working people of Georgia.

The people of Georgia have just begun to fight and the reactionaries will have little time to gloat.

Talmadge Is Released From Hospital

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 10-20-46

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Oct. 19. (AP)—The attending physicians of Gov.-Nominate Talmadge of Georgia officially released him Saturday from the hospital here where he was brought several weeks ago suffering a stomach hemorrhage but the time or date of his departure was not revealed at Talmadge's personal request.

His physicians said they had told Talmadge he could leave the hospital now at any time he wished.

They said, however, that the Georgian had specifically requested that his departure be kept confidential since he wanted to return to an undesignated place in Georgia to continue a period of quiet and rest.

His physicians said Talmadge had continued to improve since his recent illness, which was serious at the time. They said he had been advised to continue on his present routine of diet and rest for the next several weeks.

Dr. Mays Analyses Vote

WHITE SUPREMACY WINS IN GEORGIA

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 7-27-46

45a

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS, Courier Columnist

ATLANTA, Ga.—White supremacy alone won for Talmadge in the July 17 election. The white supremacy argument was the one issue that set Talmadge's platform off from the others. On all other isues, such as more pay for teachers, paved roads, good government, et cetera, Carmichael, Rivers, Talmadge and O'Kelley were standing essentially on the same platform. Four years ago I tried to tell my friends that the race issue did not defeat Talmadge in 1942, but rather his discrediting the university system of Georgia. If Talmadge had had foresight enough to lay off the university system of Georgia he would have beaten Arnall in 1942.

In a recent article in The Pittsburgh Courier I stated there that the July 17 would determine whether the preaching of white supremacy alone is sufficient to defeat or elect a candidate in Georgia. Those who contend that a candidate cannot win in this enlightened age by preaching a doctrine of race hatred have only to look at Mississippi and Georgia.

RURAL WHITES BELIEVE IN TALMADGE TALKS

As we analyze Talmadge's victory there are several things we must keep in mind. When a political candidate battles for office on a white supremacy platform he begins with a multiude of sympathetic hearers. There is no doubt in my mind that the vast majority of white voters in Georgia and elsewhere agree with Mr. Talmadge when he says that white supremacy must be maintained. He starts with a great reservoir of support. The more liberal white people disagree with Talmadge when he argues that if Negroes vote white supremacy will be destroyde and Negroes will run the State. The thinking white people know that this is not so. They know that Negroes vote in New York State, but they do not rule the State. They know that Negroes have been voting in North Carolina for about twenty-five years and that Negroes do not rule North Carolina. They see no ill effect of Negroes' voting in Tennessee, Virginia, Kentucky, Texas and Florida. They have no fears that one Negro in Georgia will dominate three white men or that one Negro in ten will dominate America.

But to the vast majority of white people in rural Georgia, they cannot make any such distinction. When Talmadge tells them that if Negroes vote terrible things will happen to white people, that Negroes will usurp power ordained of God for white men only, and that the only way to keep these things from happening is to elect him Governor, they believe him. He appeals to their emotions, their fears, and their prejudices with the fervor of a rural Baptist preacher calling sinners to repentance. He does it so convincingly that even some hard-boiled intellectuals believe him.

It all adds up to this: the human mind can be made to believe any lie, however fantastic, if told convincingly and if repeated often enough. The power of the radio becomes obvious in this case—the power of the human voice over the printed word especially with the non-reading public and the illiterate and the near illiterate. Talmadge's great strength comes from rural Georgia and small towns. Talmadge won this race with Governor Arnall against him and with the vast majority of the newspapers of the State against him; I believe 120 of them. The Courier

COUNTY UNIT VOTE MUST BE CHANGED

Things were happening so fast that the prejudiced Georgians began to look to Eugene Talmadge as the white man's savior; two Federal courts and the Supreme Court saying Negroes had a right to vote; 130,000 registered Negroes on the books in Georgia; a Federal decision against interstate segregation on buses; district judges restraining the purge of Negro registered voters; the dead FEPC which Talmadge implied was still alive and argued that it meant Negro employment in all white concerns up to 40 per cent—all these Talmadge used effectively to the very end. Crusading with a messiah complex, Talmadge made a great impression upon the rural and small town mind. Unfortunately less than half of the million registered voters went to the polls. A larger voting constituency might have helped Carmichael. Negroes voted in large numbers and this may allay the fear of Negroes' voting in the future. Pittsburgh, Pa.

Somehow this county unit vote in Georgia must be changed. It is grossly unfair. Rural Georgia runs the State. There are 159 counties in Georgia. Eight of them have six unit votes; thirty of them have four unit votes and one hundred twenty-one of them have two unit votes each. It means that three small counties in Georgia with a total population of 10,000 have six unit votes, the same number Fulton County has with a population of a half million. Carmichael won by many popular votes. The county unit system defeated Carmichael. What Talmadge's fourth term in office will mean to Georgia and the South we will begin to know next January.

As Mr. Talmadge seeks to further enslave Negroes, he enslaves tens of thousands of white people; the Negroes and whites will be free together or the chains of slavery will bind both to a system of stagnation and injustice. It cannot be otherwise. Sat. 7-27-46

Arnall Bluffing on Klan, Talmadge Tells Newsmen

Atlanta Constitution

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Eugene Talmadge swapped words with a group of big town reporters over the air Friday night for the nation to hear.

Georgia's governor-elect had a ready answer for every barbed question, but nothing much new came out of the broadcast that Georgians hadn't been hearing for months.

Talmadge did allow that he didn't feel disposed to try to bring the poll tax back to Georgia. Its repeal, he said, permits many poor white folks to vote. He's only against Negroes voting. He says he'll carry out his campaign pledge to prevent them from voting henceforth.

How about 18-year-olds? That's all right, so long as they are white. It seems, he observed, a good many 18-year-olds voted for Talmadge.

How about the county unit system which enabled him to be elected without the popular vote? It's a great thing; other states should follow Georgia and use it.

Wouldn't repeal of all election laws, to circumvent the Supreme Court decision that Negroes can vote, imperil the county unit system that permits rural Georgia to dominate state affairs?

No, says Talmadge. It still would have the protection of the State Democratic Committee, as it has.

What about the Klan?

"Don't ask me. I'm not a member. Ask the present governor, Ellis Arnall. He's a member. He's a gold card in it." (Arnall denied a similar charge made against him several weeks ago.)

What about Arnall's "fight to the death" on the Klan?

"Oh, he won't do that. It's all a bluff."

Lynching Record

Talmadge denied flatly 14 Negroes were lynched during his three former administrations. "It's a lie," he said.

When names of some of the victims were read to him, he said: "It's erroneous; it's based on wrong information."

He expressed the view his campaign of "white supremacy" had nothing to do with the recent massacre of four Negroes in Walton County.

Asked what he'd do about the Walton killings if he were governor, he said:

"That's Arnall's business."

The interview was over the Mutual network on the "Meet the Press" program.

Four interrogators shot questions at the governor-elect from a studio in Washington. They were Ernest K. Lindley, of Newsweek magazine; Lawrence Spivak, American Mercury; Arthur Sylvester, Newark News, and Lorraine Nelson, Atlanta Constitution. Talmadge answered them at WATL here.

Minority Rule

Talmadge Wins Against Georgia's Will

F. M. New York, N.Y.
Jun 7-19-46

Although he trailed by more than 18,500 popular votes, Gene Talmadge was nominated for his fourth term as Governor of Georgia by virtue of the State's antiquated voting system.

With returns from 1431 of 1735 precincts, Talmadge led James V. Carmichael, by 249 to 141 unit votes. The popular vote was: Talmadge, 235,688; Carmichael, 254,369. Former Gov. E. D. Rivers had 52,583 popular and 18 unit votes.

Georgia's unit voting system assigns from two to six unit votes to a county depending on population (206 are needed for a majority). The maximum of six penalizes urban areas.

Carmichael was the choice of Georgia's liberal incumbent, Ellis Arnall, and had the support of some 100,000 Negro voters, who went solidly for him in the large cities where their votes didn't help under the unit system.

In victory, Talmadge crowed: "Most Negroes know their real friends are Southern white men. No Negro will vote in Georgia for the next four years."

Rep. Helen Douglas Mankin, a

Gene Talmadge, hoisted aloft by supporters.

liberal, representing the Fifth District, including Atlanta, was beaten for renomination by James C. Davis, 8 unit votes to 6, though she led in popular votes 33,675 to 26,175.

Post Mortem

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: Although election post-mortems are believed to serve little purpose, I think the people of Georgia should realize that, should Talmadge not prove his worth during his coming four-year term, citizens have E. D. Rivers to thank for the deed.

On the basis of present returns, Talmadge has 238 county unit votes; Carmichael 154, and Rivers 18. Thur 7-25-46

It was interesting in checking over the list of counties to see that Talmadge won over Carmichael by small margins in 19 counties with a unit vote total of 44. Had Rivers pulled out and these counties gone for Carmichael, the final unit vote would have read: Carmichael 198; Talmadge 194. This does not allow for the original 18 unit votes Rivers took; Carmichael would have needed only eight of these to have taken the State on the first ballot.

Believe it or not, but in nine of the 19 counties which gave Talmadge small majorities, Carmichael lost the counties by less than 100 votes. Consider Wilkes where the margin was 30 and Rivers' vote 282; or Walton where the margin was 78 and Rivers polled 503; or Thomas where the margin was 298 and Rivers' vote was 1,033; or Rabun where the margin was 99 and Rivers polled 457; or Murray where the margin was 64 and Rivers took 117; or Montgomery where the margin was 23 and Rivers polled 67; or Harris (of Harris County Journal fame), where the margin was 20 and Rivers' vote 62; or Meriwether where the margin was 17 and Rivers' total 167; or Franklin where the margin was 163 and Rivers polled 617; or Decatur where the margin was only 24 and Rivers' vote was 352; or Crisp where the margin was 54 and Rivers polled 243! And so on the list reads for another eight counties.

Mr. Talmadge has said he wants to be Georgia's best Governor in history. Voters of all candidates will heartily indorse this desire, but Mr. Talmadge must do some fancy stepping to achieve his goal in the light of his own past and the excellent record established by Gov. Arnall. Georgia servicemen held up their heads with pride when fellow Americans complimented them on Arnall; previously Georgians would be scorned with "He's from Georgia—you know, Talmadge's State." Georgians should think about eliminating the unit rule.

O'DONALD MAYS.

Athens.

Estimated 100,000 Negroes Ballot For First Time

Charleston S.C.
News and Courier

Atlanta, July 18.—(AP): Repudiating a new liberalism espoused by Ellis Arnall, Georgia has reverted to Southern tradition and sent 61-year-old Gene Talmadge back to the governor's office.

It marks the fourth time over the years that Talmadge, beaten for the governorship four years ago by young Arnall, has been elected governor of the South's "empire state".

Complete returns from 146 of the state's 159 counties tonight gave Talmadge the Democratic nomination—equivalent to election—over the Arnall candidate, 36-year-old James V. Carmichael.

Talmadge, whose political showmanship and unruly forelocks have become familiar to a generation of Georgians, was nominated in yesterday's primary apparently without the popular vote. Fri.

Earlier this month in Mississippi, Senator Theo (The Man) Bilbo and Representative John Rankin, like Talmadke, won on an issue of "white supremacy", but few negroes were qualified to vote there and even fewer voted.

100,000 Negroes Vote

But Talmadge, who advised "wise" nogroes to stay away from the polls, won in a primary in which an estimated 100,000 negroes voted for the first time, as well as thousands of 18-year-olds.

The incomplete returns gave Talmadge 226 county unit votes, 20 more than is necessary to nominate. Carmichael had only 128 unit votes. Ex-Governor E. D. Rivers, who ran a poor third, had 18. Hoke O'Kelley, the fourth man, had none.

The county unit vote is the only thing that counts in the Georgia Democratic primary. Carmichael, it appeared, would get the popular vote. The count stood: Carmichael 307,126; Talmadge 296,751; Rivers 67,196; O'Kelley, 11,520. 7-19-4

Besides the unit votes in counties which have completed tabulations, Talmadge was leading in seven counties with 14 unit votes, and Carmichael was leading in six counties with 24 unit votes.

No Comment From Arnall

The returns came from 1,599 of the state's 1,746 precincts.

As returns showed conclusively the result of the torrid primary, there came no comment from Arnall, who is prohibited by the state constitution from succeeding himself.

Exuberant in victory, Talmadge said: "I had to win for the good of the South and the nation. No negro will vote in Georgia for the next four years."

While negroes have voted recently in Deep South primaries there was nothing like so large a negro vote as there was in Georgia. There are negligible voting restrictions in Georgia and the poll tax was repealed in 1945.

The negro vote—135,000 negroes were registered against about 850,000 whites—went apparently almost solidly for Carmichael who had the blessing of dynamic young Governor Ellis Arnall.

Arnall, who four years ago handed 61-year-old Talmadge the bitterest defeat of his long career, sparked the fight in Georgia for lowering the voting age to 18 and repealing the poll tax.

The governor thwarted an abortive movement to circumvent the supreme court decision that negroes can vote in the South's Democratic primaries—real election in the one-party states.

Talmadge was elected on a platform calling for restoration of the "white primary" in Georgia. This he would do by repealing all laws relating to primaries and leave them regulated only by the Democratic party.

County Unit System Used

The county unit vote, rather than the popular vote, counts in Georgia. Based on population, counties have two, four or six unit votes. The candidate getting a majority in a county wins its unit votes.

The unique unit vote system, incidentally, provided a muddle in the most interesting of the state's congressional contests, involving Helen Douglas Mankin, the state's first regularly elected congresswoman.

Mrs. Mankin represents the Fifth district, which includes Atlanta (Fulton county) and two smaller counties, she was elected in a special election a few months ago, with the negro vote the balance of power.

Piles Up Popular Vote

For 14 years the popular vote had prevailed in the district.. But for yesterday's primary the lame duck Democratic committee decreed the unit system. Atlanta has far more population that the rest of the district. 7-19-46

Mrs. Mankin piled up an impressive popular vote over Judge James C. Davis, who led 8 to 6 in unit votes. Mrs. Mankin never recognized the old committee, appointed her own, and the state committee will probably have to decide whether the unit or popular vote will count.

The state's youngest congressional candidate, 30-year-old W. H. Wheeler, ex-army officer, led Representative John S. Gibson in the Eighth district. Representative Malcolm Tarver trailed Henderson Lanham in the Seventh district.

Record Vote Is Forecast In Georgia

Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Va

Negroes Ballot In First Primary

Thurs. 7-18-46

ATLANTA, July 17—(UP)—Eugene Talmadge, three times Governor of Georgia, and liberal James V. Carmichael, who represented forces that sent Talmadge into political retirement four years ago, battled it out tonight in a see-saw race for the governorship in a State primary marked by a record turnout of voters.

Returns from the first 70 of Georgia's 1,735 precincts gave Talmadge 53 unit votes to 19 for Carmichael and two for former Governor E. D. Rivers.

Carmichael had 5,509 popular votes, Talmadge, 5,181, and Rivers, 1,615.

ATLANTA, July 17—(AP)—The heaviest vote in history was indicated in today's Georgia Democratic primary, open to Negroes for the first time and in which Eugene Talmadge sought the governorship again on a white supremacy platform. Tues. 7-18-46

Charges old custom was not easy. Charges prosecute them."

primaries to Three Talmadge opponents out the window of wholesale purging of voters' promised to uphold the rights of old voters he lists were under Federal investi- the Negro to the primary ballot. back, declaring gation. In Greenville, in Western Nomination in a Democratic pri- t through re- Georgia, Sheriff C. H. Collier re- mary in Georgia is equal to elec- laws, if elect- ported seven white men burned a tion. aking the pri- cross in the Negro section last mary affair. night. He said the seven were arrested but later released because "I don't know under what law I State legislator, backed for Gov-

Switch Not Easy

James V. Carmichael, former

Parting company with the age-

While the Southern custom of

whites crowded polling places throughout the day. Separate voting booths were set up for Negroes in most cities, but both races used the same booths at some points.

Long lines of both Negroes and whites was tossed out today, Talmadge told whites would toss it right back, Talmadge said he would restore it through removal of regulatory laws ed. He proposes making Democratic primaries a strictly party affair.

ernor by incumbent Ellis Arnall, declared Negro voting was not an issue. He said, "Good, honest government" was the issue and that Talmadge introduced the racial question to make voters forget his record of "dictatorship."

To this, Talmadge retorted, "I didn't write the Supreme Court decisions about our time-tested white primary and against segregation on buses."

Also in the Governor's race were E. D. Rivers, former Governor, and Hoke O'Kelly, war veteran, of Logansville.

County Unit System

Nomination is under a county unit system, similar to the electoral college in a presidential election.

There are 159 counties. Eight of the larger counties have six unit votes, 30 have four, and the remainder two each. A plurality of the popular vote entitles a candidate to the county's unit vote. Thus, three small counties with a total unit vote of six and total population of around 7,000 or 8,000, can equal the vote of one six-unit county with 100,000 or more voters. Times 7-18-46

There are 410 unit votes and a majority is required for nomination for Governor. If one of the candidates fails to receive a majority, the two top men will enter a run-off on July 31. Polls closed at 6 P. M. (Eastern Standard Time), except in Fulton County (Atlanta), where the closing hour was 7 P. M. Due to the unprecedented registration of more than 1,000,000, it was expected the count in some centers would not be completed before tomorrow morning.

Georgian Visits New York

News & Courier Charleston, S.C.

Having been defeated by the voters of Georgia, with the help of a county unit system that implements the traditional American form of representative government, the Arnall faction is carrying its story to broader fields. The assistant attorney general of Georgia has been in New York, ostensibly to investigate Northern connections of the Georgia Ku Klux Klan. He discovered a convenient sounding board in Attorney General Nathaniel L. Goldstein of New York.

The New York newspapers are full of stories about the Klan, and The Herald Tribune publishes a three-column picture of the visiting Georgian with a display of documents alleged to show a connection between the Klan and the Nazis. Naturally, New York politicians welcome the Klan issue, especially when it comes up on a silver platter from the South. Sun 8-16-46

Mr. Goldstein, the New Yorker, reported that one of the "top three candidates" in the recent Georgia campaign for governor had come to New York State to seek funds from the New York Ku Klux Klan. Mr. Goldstein did not name the candidate, but it is not difficult to figure out whom he means. Now comes the emissary of Governor Ellis Arnall, allying with Mr. Goldstein, who later that same day addressed 1,000 negroes in convention on New York State's "Crusade against native Fascists". He described "the Bilbos and the Rankins and the Talmadges in our midst" as "thorns in the side of our democratic body politic", but never a word about the Marcantonios and the de Lacys.

The News and Courier has repeated to the point of boredom that it has no use for masked orders, but there are other thorns in the side of the body politic that need plucking more immediately if the republic is to survive as it was originally conceived.

Georgia's Electoral College

News and Courier

Not only the Left Wing press, which might have been expected to moan at the election of Eugene Talmadge as governor of Georgia, but the "conservative" New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune also are deploring "minority rule" in our neighboring Southern state. Georgia's county unit system which put Talmadge into office despite the lack of a popular majority is being treated as though it were something un-American. The Associated Press, supposedly without political bias, reported that "only in Georgia" could this have occurred.

Have our esteemed newspaper colleagues overlooked the electoral college which chooses not the governor of any state, but the president of all the states? Four times in United States history has "minority rule" chosen a president: Lincoln in 1860, Hayes in 1876, Cleveland in 1892 and Wilson in 1912. Charleston, S.C.

The system of checks and balances written into the constitution of the United States, and if it had not been so written the states would not have ratified it in the first place, deliberately throws out majority rule as the sole factor [illegible] government. Nevada with 110,000 po[illegible] has the same total of two senators as [illegible] York with 13,000,000. The object, as [illegible] Georgia, was to give rural dwellers a break in competition with the herded thousands in city wards. 7-23-46

Talmadge for the Georgians

News and Courier

Like their cousins in Mississippi, the Georgians have shown resentment at outside interference by reelecting a man who has been vilified and pilloried up and down the country. Without attempting comparison of Senator Bilbo and Governor Talmadge as individuals, we view the pressures exerted against them as coming from the same quarter and the Georgians have acted as any other freemen would in refusing to be pushed around. Friday

James V. Carmichael, a pleasant young man whom Ellis Arnall was backing against the gallus-snapping Talmadge, was quoted Wednesday night as counting on votes from the larger cities to pull him out of an early slump as returns were received. But Georgia's county unit system, a truly American conception of representative government, does not give as much numerical strength to the herded voters of the cities as democrats would demand. Charleston, S.C.

In a sense, though not literally, the battle lines in Georgia were drawn between country and small town folk on the one hand, whose language Talmadge speaks like a native, and the slicker ideas of the cities. Fortunately for Georgia, the big city does not yet dominate the state. Largest in area east of the Mississippi river, Georgia is a segment of the union well worthy of political study.

The triumph of Talmadge should be interpreted not so much as Georgian admiration for a demagogue as their devotion to a home-grown, indigenous and independent way of life, as it has been known in happier years of the past. With all his obvious faults, Gene Talmadge is a Georgian through and through, and the Georgians seem to like him. Who shall challenge their right to have him for their governor? C 7-19-46

AN UNSOUGHT EXPLANATION

Herald Tribune

We do not know just why Dr. Holley, (a man who made a substantial contribution to the educational and political outlook of Negroes when he left Georgia) made an explanation of his voting for Mr. Talmadge. Nor do we know who is interested in having an explanation from him. We cannot understand how any sensible person could expect Negroes or any other group to vote against themselves, against their future, against their own preservation. For the sake of their own self-respect, they could do nothing else than vote against a candidate who said over and over that he did not want their votes and who stated in unmistakable language that he intended to keep them from ever voting again. They simply voted for self preservation. We understand why Mr. Talmadge fears Negroes' voting en bloc, and we suggest a way to keep them from doing so as long as they have the right to vote: find some other issue than keeping them down—like equal opportunity for all people to enjoy basic human rights, equal opportunity to earn a decent living, equal educational opportunity, and equal opportunity to grow into the best citizens in accordance with their capacities and abilities.

The promises Dr. Holley speaks of, are inconsistent with the campaign promises, the governor elect made to his constituents, and Dr. Holley knows it. "Governor Talmadge is interested in helping the Negro take his place in the new South . . ." What place? This statement from the doctor is of the same piece with that of another Negro educator who says, "There is certainly a beautiful affection between the races in the South that right thinking folks hope and trust will never be lost." The trouble about these statements is, who and what will determine the Negro's place in the new South, and are all of the Negro's wants and wishes satisfied in just making a living. Sun. 9-25-46

GEORGIA IN THE LIMELIGHT

Herald Tribune

Mr. Eugene Talmadge was nominated in the primary for the governor-ship. In a one party system this is tantamount to election. We had hoped against hope that he would have been defeated. We are more hurt than disappointed: We are as a first reaction, sickened and inclined to be discouraged that the people of Georgia showed such apparently complete agreement with his attitude toward Negroes and their right and aspirations to participate in the government under which they live and which they are compelled to support. He magnified into an issue an ogre, a long delayed right confirmed by the highest court in the land. Aside from the abuse he leveled at them, a people who he knew could not answer back, he set up the awful picture of Negroes' voting en bloc as an immediate threat to white supremacy. He exaggerated the effect of the balance of power, ignoring entirely the working of the democratic process. His two previous administrations and his campaign promises as to what he intends to do, mean that the prospect for Negroes in the Empire State of the South are black indeed. They are not too rosy for white people who had hopes of seeing Georgia emerge from under the cloud which covered her prior to Mr. Arnall's administration. But gloomy as the prospect may be, there is yet hope as long as there are white people in this state, who believe that 1,084,000 human beings essentially law abiding, struggling to become citizens in fact, can be converted into a valuable asset to the state. Mr. Talmadge's threat to put the Negro "in his place," a place which he designs for him, can not be carried out without holding back the state's progress. Keeping Negroes in comparative ignorance, failing to provide equal health services, keeping him poverty stricken, means keeping the state backward. It is a truism that to keep a man down one must stay down with him. We have hope in the people who believe in justice and democracy, call them "carpetbaggers," "scalawags," or agents of Moscow as he will. Negroes will go down fighting with the best of their ability, to become citizens of the great state of Georgia. Georgia Is In The Lime Light.

[illegible]on Retracted

[illegible] magazine New York

[illegible]he wake of Georgia's primary, bo[illegible]old Editor J. B. Hardy sat down and penned a bitter editorial for his Thomaston *Times:* N.Y.

". . . In the country counties, where ignorance and prejudice rule, and there is a Negro problem, Ole Gene [Talmadge] got his big votes; but in the city counties, where education and enlightenment reign, [James] Carmichael piled up a huge vote."

That was strong talk in Hardy's own country county. The day after his paper came out, ten men called on Editor Hardy at his home. Unless he went down to the office and apologized, they said darkly, they could not be responsible for what might happen. He went along with them, found 100 angry men waiting outside the *Times* and decided to eat a bite of crow. He had not aimed that editorial at anybody in Upson County (it had voted for Carmichael), he said, and if he had hurt anybody's feelings, he was sorry. He would say so in the next issue.

But the more he mulled it over, the more Editor Hardy felt that it was he who had the apology coming. Last week he wrote another editorial. Its title: "Free-dom of the Press Cannot Be Displaced by Mob Rule." Its nub: ". . . It has always been our policy to discuss public men and issues as we saw them. . . . We . . . will not be intimidated by any threat, spoken or implied, of mob rule. . . ." News 8-5-46

Gene Stricken In Florida With Stomach Ailment

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. Sat 10-5-46

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Oct. 4—(UP)—Eugene Talmadge, colorful Georgia political leader and next Governor of the State, fought against illness Friday night in a Jacksonville hospital, where he was rushed early Friday in serious condition.

An old stomach ailment, aggravated by the grueling pace he set for himself in the recent Georgia Governor's race, put the 62-year-old Talmadge in bed less than a week before he was to officially accept the nomination to the State's highest office next Wednesday at the State Democratic Convention at Macon.

Talmadge was seized by stomach hemorrhages Thursday night at a hideaway on Jacksonville Beach, 18 miles from here, where he had gone to rest and build up his strength for the rigors of starting the new State Administration after his inauguration in January.

The illness cut short work he was doing on his speech to the Democratic Convention delegates, accepting the gubernatorial nomination. He had planned to reiterate the white supremacy theme that highlighted his campaign and call once more for the Legislature to change the laws so that Negroes can never again vote in a white primary in Georgia as they did in the one on July 17.

Talmadge was rushed to Sisters of Charity Hospital here by ambulance and put under the care of a surgeon and two physicians. He responded favorably to blood transfusions, and his condition late Friday was officially described as "favorable."

Talmadge's wife and son, Herman, who managed his father's political campaign, flew to his bedside. They said they may return to Georgia late Friday, but it was extremely doubtful if the Governor-Nominate would be permitted to leave for some time. Doctors said it would be four or five days before X-rays can be taken to determine the nature of his trouble.

News of Talmadge's sudden attack was a surprise, even to some of his close friends.

Early this week the Governor-Nominate, although appearing gaunt and tired, showed up at a fair in Atlanta to judge a cattle show and the next day appeared in the judge's stand for a horse show at his home in McRae, Ga.

Although making a great show of being in tip-top shape, Talmadge had begun to impress his close associates of late of being worried over his health.

He made a particular point during his recent campaign to impress the people with his continued vitality. But when the speaking was over, the often went to his hotel room and fell into bed in a state of near exhaustion. The day after he had won the nomination to the governorship for a fourth time, he admitted to reporters: "This race took 10 years of my life."

After the campaign, Talmadge began slipping away unannounced from his Atlanta law office on long junkets, trying to relax through travel. Once he showed up in California and a few weeks later flew to Mexico City.

Talmadge had not actually been ill since the summer of 1940 when he underwent an operation for hemorrhoids from which he completely recovered. The Constitution

Young Talmadge, interviewed in the hospital corridor, said his father's illness would not altar plans for next week's State Democratic Convention. Atlanta, Ga

"I don't know whether he will be able to make a speech accepting the nomination," he said. "But actually his presence is neither necessary nor required at the convention." Sat. 10-5-46

RALPH McGILL

45a

Eugene Talmadge Pinch-Hits Today

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. Sun 9-15-46

(Editor's Note: Ralph McGill is on vacation. His column today was written by Eugene Talmadge, Governor-nominate.)

On the 22d day of August, I left Atlanta, Georgia, at 2 o'clock in the morning for Mexico City, in Old Mexico. We went by a four-motored plane to Brownsville, Texas. I did a good deal of looking out the window after sunrise. The part of Texas I flew over looked quite different from Georgia. In the semi-arid country, I saw streaks of white sand which I was told were rivers, but had dried up. The Rio Grande did not look as large as the Oconee where I crossed.

We flew on to Mexico City. In looking out the window, I could see the snow-capped mountains about 100 miles south of Brownsville, Texas. Just before getting off the plane at Mexico City, I inquired as to the size of the city. I was surprised when they told me it had over 2,000,000 people. We arrived at Mexico City about 3 o'clock p. m. We drove from the airport to the hotel and was I scared. They have no traffic rules in Mexico City, the first one getting to the corner—all right. However, I saw less bent fenders than here in Atlanta. Pedestrians have no right-of-way on the streets. When they cross the streets, they must run. Old ladies get about hurriedly and old men, too, when they cross the streets. One member of our party made a clever remark. He said he had read in the Bible about the "quick and the dead," and he had at last seen it. If not quick in Mexico City, you were dead.

On my trip over, I met Louis Wagoner, who attended college at Auburn, Ala. Mr. Wagoner lives in Mexico City. His father was in the textile mill business. He could speak English and Spanish very fluently and offered his company and Packard car to carry us anywhere in the city. This was certainly a treat.

The next day after we arrived, we called Mr. Wagoner and went out about 15 miles from the city to see the canals with the canoes bedecked with flowers. The canoes were paddled along with oars and they would take you for a ride for one peso, or about 20 cents in American money. While riding along, other canoes would paddle up alongside us and the troubadours would serenade us. Others would sell us flowers and trinkets. The canoes were paddled and the selling conducted by full-blooded Aztec Indians, usually the old man, his wife and children down to 4 and 5 years old. It was nice, with plenty of green around us, and off in the distance, the snow-capped mountains. The weather was just about like we have here in Atlanta in the middle of October, just right for the ladies to show off their fur coats the year around. I noticed the men wore suits about like our fall clothes. In this particular section, I noticed they planted corn about like we would plant sorghum cane, in about three-foot rows with a good ear to every stalk. Upon inquiry, they told us they got two crops per year and sometimes three crops. One member of our party got out of the car and pulled an ear of corn. The ears were about roasting ear stage and were good-sized ears. I observed several hills of corn with four stalks of corn to each hill and good ears on every stalk. The hills were just a good width apart. All the labor was being done by Aztec Indians.

The next day, our friend, Mr. Wagoner, drove us to Puebla, 60 miles from Mexico City. In this section, the people were practically all full-blooded Aztec Indians. We could see them busy, working in the field, grazing their cattle, sheep, donkeys, goats and turkeys. I saw one man busy grazing five turkey gobblers. He kept them herded close together with a whip. This seemed to be his daily occupation. Then you would see another man, his wife and one or two children grazing two or three goats, two or three cows, or two or three donkeys. They would be accompanied by a dog. I saw no fences. The cattle ran loose and were guarded.

Walls But did I see plenty of walls? Every little house was surrounded by a wall about three feet thick and about eight feet high, and if they happened to be prosperous, there was a great, high iron fence on top of the wall. Building of walls has required a lot of labor, time and money in Mexico. I think they would be better off by building less walls and more fences.

We passed by a church in one Indian village where they were having their annual dance. We stopped and the road patrolman told us they would see the Indians about letting us visit the church and watch them dance. The Indians seemed honored and put on a dance for our entertainment. A few of the Indians spoke broken English. I was informed that at that time every year, they met and danced around that church for one week. A little farther from that Indian celebration, we reached Cholula, a city about the size of Jonesboro, but it had 365 churches within sight of each other. They are all Catholic. I asked why they had so many churches, and they said they had one for each day in the year. The Aztec Indians are a religious fanatic people. They all visit a church for a short time each day. The next day they visit a different church.

We went to the old cathedral that is built on top of a pyramid where the old Aztec Indians buried their dead. This pyramid seemed to have been built up to a very high level. We could not see where the dirt and rock came from, but it was immense—about three-fourths of a mile through the base and as high as 750 feet. On top of the pyramid was a great cathedral about two acres square. Inside was lined with solid gold. I put my hands on the gold and wondered how it had escaped the tyranny and robbery of bandits, but when I looked at those old Aztec Indians with their bolos, that knew the people at least a hundred miles in every direction, I realized that bandits would have a hard time getting a gold piece out even if they were lucky enough to take it from the walls of the church.

Puebla We drove on into Puebla, which is a modern city for Mexico, I saw aPckard cars in the show windows, advertised for so much cash, ready for the buyers who had enough money to drive them out. I also saw nylon hose for sale without OPA regulations. I did not see anything that you could not buy in Mexico and carry it home with you if you had the money. Plenty of meat and everything.

The following day we visited Chapultepec. This is on the outskirts of Mexico City and was a palace that was built for the Austrian Emperor who was sent over by Napoleon III to rule Mexico when the French took it over. This old palace is the last word in expensive architecture and grandeur. They have the old carriage that Maximilian rode in. This carriage is inlaid in solid gold. Maximilian was a blond and finally the Mexicans said it was not proper for a blond to rule over Mexico, a city of 99 percent decided brunettes. In Mexico, they developed a great civilization. We shall never this palace and government. Maximilian tried to escape, but sub-silently who or what they were, but you can see their eerily mitted to the fate of about 20 percent of all the rulers of Mexico and temples, and the motifs of their art are woven into the textiles and baked into the pottery that you can buy from and was killed. Sun. 9-15-46 the hands of their descendants." And another advertisement read-

I bought a rug and two jackets from the Aztec Indians. The rug that Mexico asked to do something. They adhere to the old customs of two cost about 280 pesos or about $70 in American money. I think it thousand years ago. I was interested in this from some of the literature would have sold for a great deal more than that in the States. It advertising Mexico. "Long years ago, bronzed men crossed the civilization is inlaid in solid gold. Maximilian rode in. This carriage bridge that has now disappeared, from Asia to America. is beautiful. All the merchants and salesmen on the road from He built well. Mexico still worships in 16th century cathedrals, Mexico City to Puebla are Indians. The Aztec Indians are a busy, whose ornate carvings are little changed with time. Mexico still happy, hospitable and friendly people. They go in a run when

governs in the stone palaces of the Spaniards, and still lives in houses haunted by the ghosts of a fabled past.

No Uplifters Eighty percent of the people of Mexico are Aztec Indians. They live separately and entirely from the white people. They are happy. They are industrious. They are prosperous. Why? There are no uplifters in Mexico. The Aztec Indian is satisfied with his way of life. He is a contributor, not only in a material way, but in a spiritual and historical way, to the value of life. Where two separate races of people live together, I think the best policy is in Mexico. Some of our great uplifters here in the United States should take a trip, not in the poorest part of Mexico which is the Northern part where the races have mixed, but in the Southern part of Mexico, where they stay separate and pure.

Much obliged to Mr. Ralph McGill for asking me to space for him today. I hope he reads all of this.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
TALMADGE FACTS 9-18-46

Editor Constitution:
In the Constituion of Sunday, Oct. 15, in the pinch-hitting Wed. column of Government Nominate Talmadge, sre some figures and comments on Mexico which will probably revolutionize the treatises of other statisticians sociologists, anthropologist and the like, Mr. Talmadge said:

"Eighty percent of the people of Mexico are Aztec Indians. They live separately and entirely from the white people. Constitution They are happy They are industrious. They are prosperous. Atlanta, Ga. Why? There are no uplifters in Mexico. 9-18-46-Wed. The Aztec Indian is satisfied with his way of life. Where two separate races of people live together, I think the best policy is in Mexico." Constitution

Of course, Mr. Talmadge's report on Mexico post dates the reports of other published accounts; for he has recently made an airplane excursion to Mexico City. Atlanta, Ga. To some, it may seem strange how statistics can change almost overnight, especially when formulated by one who is known to be "so competent" in such matters."

We find in La Poblacion indigena de America, desde 1492 hasta la actualidad, Institution Cultral Espanola Constitution Atlanta, Ga. 1945, the following figures concerning the population of Mexico:

		OF TOTAL POP.)
Indians	5,427,396	27.9%
Mestizos (Mixed Indians)	10,619,496	56. .6%
Negroes	80,000	.4%
Mulattoes	40,000	.2%
All other races	3,279,173	16 .9%

Atlanta, Ga. 9-18-46-Wed.

According to the Encyclopedia Britannica Year Book published in 1946, "approximately 55 percent of the population was Mextizo (Mixed Indian), 29 per cent Indian, 15 per cent white, with foreigners and others making up less than 1 per cent."

As to the prosperity of the Indians in Mexico, space here does not permit discussion. Suffice it to say, however, that the discrepancy between Talmadge judgement on this point and the judgements of authorities, hereto considered reliable, are very great indeed. 9-18-46-Wed.

Permit the writer to suggest that in the future we use the term "Talmadge Facts" instead of the usual word. The connotation of this suggested term is rapidly coming to be appreciated nationally if not internationally. Perhals the time is ripe for the introduction of a new, but very meaningful, term in our daily vocabulary.

W. HARDING HUGHES.
College Park.

Justices Uphold Validity Of Ga. Unit- Vote Count

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Tues. 8-27-46

Three-Judge Ruling Paves Way For Free Rein For Talmadge

Injunctions that would have invalidated the July 17th primary which saw Eugene Talmadge nominated as Governor of Georgia although he ran second to James V. Carmichael in popular votes, were denied Monday by a special three-judge tribunal in U. S. District Court here.

Plaintiffs immediately announced they would appeal the decisions The suit of an Emory University professor and an Atlanta woman civic leader had sought to have the suit system declared void and the nomination of Talmadge as governer canceled.

The judge ruling against the requested interlocutory injunction were circuit Judge Samuel H. Sibley and District Judges Frank M. Scarlett and Louis W. Strum.

The plaintiffs had claimed that the county unit system violated the equal rights provision of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution. The judges ruled, however, that 'The amendments relating to abridging the right to vote on account of race, color, or sex are not involved here. The equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment is alone relied on.'

TO FILE APPEAL

An appeal in the decision will be filed "as soon as we have prepared the necessary papers, Charles S. Reid, Atlanta attorney and former attorney and former chief justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, said Monday. The appeal probably will be taken to the U. S. Supreme Court, Alex W. Smith, an attorney for the plaintiff in the congressional suit, said.

The court declined to interfere in the companion suit challenging the constitutionality of the congressional race in the Fifth Georgia District. Both names of Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, the incumbent who won the popular vote in the race, and Judge Jas. C. Davis, who won the unit vote race, will appear on the November general election ballot.

The court said, in the Talmadge decision, that "The Constitution of the United States has nothing to do with state elections, save as specially provided in certain of the amendments..... Our system of government, state and federal, has never sought nor demanded that each voter should have equal voting influence, though that might seem an ideal of democracy. In our Federal Government under its constitution each state has in the Senate, two 'unit votes,' wholly regardless of population, in the making of all laws, and in confirming treaties and appointments to federal office."

ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The decision pointed out that in the electoral college choice of a president, there have been presidents who did not receive a majority of the popular vote. It admitted that there is a glaring inequality between Chattahoochee County and Fulton County in representation in the Legislature and in applying the county unit rule to a primary.

The special tribunal opined that perhaps the remnant of Chattahochee County ought to merge in to an adjoining county and that perhaps Fulton County, which has absorbed Milton and Campbell Counties, ought to have the representation of these counties added to its own. The remedy for "these exceptional situations," the court said, "is to be sought through changes in the law, rather than by appeal to courts of equity to upset the law as unconstitutional because of a hardship that has arisen."

Further, the tribunal said it considered the case in its general aspects as one of party politics, that the courts 'should not meddle unless the duty to do so is plain' and that 'it would be going too far for a court of equity to undertake to prevent the secretary of state from performing his functions under laws confessedly valid or to interfere with his transmitting the returns of the general election to the legislature."

CANDIDATES ACCEPT

The judges pointed out that the candidates accepted the county unit rule and "none of them is complaining of its applications" and concluded that "we will briefly say that on the ultimate merit we do not think the State of Georgia has been shown to have deprived the plaintiffs of equal protection of the laws."

The suit of Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell, Emory University political science professor, and Mrs. Robert Lee Turman, former president of the Atlanta League of Women voters contended that a vote in a small county allotted two unit votes would have as much as 100 times the value of a vote in Fulton County, arbitrarily pegged at six unit votes. Governor - nominate Eugene Talmdage won the primary designation under the unit vote system, although he trailed James V. Carmichael, backed by Governor Ellis Arnall, by about 14,000 popular votes. Under the unit vote arrangement, Talmadge had in excess of the 206 votes required for nomination.

The companion suits were heard Friday, August 16, before a crowded courtroom.

Georgia's Salvation Is Its Own Affair

The Courier-Journal

IN REFUSING to upset Georgia's peculiar county unit voting system, the U. S. Supreme Court has left Georgia's salvation up to Georgians. And despite one's wishful hopes that an obviously inequitable voting law might have been expunged, and that EUGENE TALMADGE might not again be Governor of Georgia, the court's decision is not a complete surprise.

The fact that these suits were filed as an outgrowth of TALMADGE's victory under the unit system despite a minority of the popular vote, did not improve their prospects. Georgians have voted for many years under the unit system. TALMADGE won under that system. Georgians knew beforehand that unless JAMES V. CARMICHAEL, his principal opponent, commanded a majority of the unit votes, he would lose. And he did.

The county unit system is inequitable. It was designed to be. But it was established at a time when cities were smaller, to weigh the ballot in favor of rural voters. The obvious reason was a fear that the State's largest cities, should a popular vote determine, would perpetually elect the State's governor and control all its legislation. Tues. 10-29-46

Since then, however, populations have shifted. The cities are greater, and in some few cases, the rural populations are smaller. Meanwhile, the smallest counties still command two unit votes, and the largest counties, no more than six. The result is that inequity of the system has stretched out of all proportion. As pointed out in the suits, a single vote in one rural county has 106 times the weight of a vote in Atlanta. Tues.

So aside from the personalities motivating the suits which the Supreme Court has just thrown out, the county unit system ought to be abolished. At very least, it might be readjusted to a more sensible relationship to populations. But until enough Georgians, rural and urban alike, acknowledge the injustice in it, the system stands. And until enough Georgians get out and vote, the candidate who, like TALMADGE, possesses an army of wool hat boys in the back woods, will always win.

Supreme Court Holds to Ruling

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

On Unit Vote

Tues. 11-26-46

WASHINGTON, Nov. 25—(AP) The Supreme Court has refused to reconsider a recent decision by which it rejected an effort by several Georgia residents to void the nomination of Eugene Talmadge as Governor.

The Court by the decision tossed out a complaint that rights of some voters were infringed by the nomination of Talmadge in Georgia's county unit election system. Talmadge won the nomination although he trailed James V. Carmichael in popular votes.

Reconsideration was asked by Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell and Mrs. Robert Lee Turman.

The Court dismissed the case without hearing arguments and wrote no opinion explaining the views of the six-judge majority.

The Court at the same time Monday declined to reconsider its dismissal of a parallel case brought by Earl P. Cook, a Georgia Tech student. Cook challenged the nomination of Judge James C. Davis in a contest with Rep. Helen Douglas Mankin for the Democratic nomination to Congress in the Fifth Georgia District.

Citizens Seek Rehearing Of Georgia Unit Vote

Defender Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 11-23-46

45a

By JOHN L. LeFLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

ATLANTA — A "strong" motion for a rehearing of the case against Georgia's county unit voting system was filed last week in the U. S. Supreme court by attorneys representing Mrs. Robert Lee Turman, and Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell of Emory university.

The original case sought to keep Eugene Talmadge off the ballot on the basis that he was nominated illegally. The motion for rehearing contends that the high court passed on the merits of the case without allowing the petitioners a hearing, and allowed an allegedly illegal election system to become a bad example for other states.

The motion contends the question is still moot, although denied by the Supreme court, because election results have not been turned over to the state legislature for recheck and final approval. It protested further, that the court disposed of one of the most important legal controversies in its history without giving litigants a hearing. The court, in a preliminary inquiry on its own jurisdiction determined the merits of the case involving grave constitutional issues without benefit of supporting briefs, it continued.

Two Points in Question

Two things are open for consideration, the motion pointed out. First, whether the results of an unconstitutional election, not yet consummated, but leaving official duties to be performed by one of the respondents should be upheld. Second, whether an injunction is issued against the respondent or not, a judgment should be given, condemning the law.

The motion, signed by Charles S. Reid, former chief justice of the Georgia Supreme court, and W. D. Thompson, Atlanta lawyer, came as a result of the Georgia primary election. In last July's balloting, Talmadge, runner up in the popular vote, was nominated over majority vote winner James V. Carmichael, because of the unit system.

The high court ruled against hearing the original petition by a six to three split decision. Truman appointees Fred M. Vinson and Burton voted against the hearing which was supported by Justices Black, Murphy, and Rutledge.

2 Georgians Ask Court To Bar Talmadge Race

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Suit Wants County-Unit Vote Declared Illegal As Violation of 14th U. S. Amendment

Sat 8-4-46

By the Associated Press.

Brunswick, Ga., Aug. 2.—Two Georgia Democrats asked the Federal District Court here today to prevent Eugene Talmadge from being the Democratic Party nominee for Governor by declaring illegal the State's unique county-unit voting system.

Cullen B. Gosnell, an Emory University political science professor, and Mrs. Robert Lee Turman, a women's Democratic Party leader, asked the court to declare the county-unit law unconstitutional because it violated the 14th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution.

Popular Vote Trails.

Talmadge won the July 17 Democratic primary with 242 county-unit votes. He had 297,245 popular votes, less than his chief opponent, James V. Carmichael, who had 146 county-unit votes and 313,389 popular votes.

In a companion suit, along the same lines, Earl P. Cook, a Georgia Tech student, sought to set aside results of the Fifth District congressional race.

Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, the incumbent U. S. representative, topped her chief opponent, Judge James C. Davis, in popular votes, but trailed in unit votes. The State Democratic Executive Committee has ruled that both names will appear on the November general election ballot.

Injunctions Denied.

Sat 8-3-46

The suit specifically petitioned the court to enjoin Secretary of State Ben W. Fortson, Chairman Lon Duckworth of the State Democratic Committee and Miss Grace Cannington, committee secretary, from certifying nominees in the recent party primary.

Judge Frank M. Scarlett denied injunctions in both suits. However, he ordered the whole affair placed before a three-judge Federal Court in Atlanta August 16.

Talmadge said simply "No comment" when told of the suit.

The suit aimed at Talmadge and other State officials contended that the county-unit method of voting "deprived these plaintiffs of equal protection of their right to have their votes, as residents of more populous counties effective on the same or approximate basis as residents with far less population."

Votes Range From 2 to 6.

The county-unit plan provides that the candidate receiving a plurality of popular votes in a county will receive that county's unit vote. The unit votes range from 2 to 6. In case of a tie popular vote the two high men split the unit vote.

Attorneys filing the suit charged in the petition that the 14th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution.

Sat 8-3-46

(The 14th Amendment protects the rights of citizens to vote for electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, for Representatives in Congress, and for executive and judicial officers and members of the Legislature of a State.)

Too Hard on Georgia

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Your editorial of July 21 ("A Mockery of Popular Rule") is, I believe, too severe on our sister State, Georgia. The Democratic primary there was not an "election" in the sense in which your editorial quotes the United States Constitution. Georgia, in adopting a county unit vote has merely applied the principle underlying our Federal methods which use a unit system for States, as Georgia does for counties. It is close kin also to our Federal system which provides equal representation in the Senate regardless of the population of the several States.

Mon 7-22-46

In the old Reconstruction era we had the carpetbagger and the scalawag, the latter being a local white politician who, despairing of getting elected by the votes of white men, appealed to the carpetbagger to have the Negro place him in office. The new Reconstruction forces seem to be composed of the same basic elements, with the CIO needling Negro votes into a Georgia Democratic primary in support of "scalawag" white candidates who sensed their weakness among white voters and appealed to the Negro to place them in office.

Sat. 7-27-46

E. S. C.

Richmond.

A Georgian to Virginia

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

During the past few weeks my State of Georgia has been the subject of bitter comment in the editorial columns and in the VOP of your paper.

Mon 8-5-46

Let me say that no one regrets the election of Gene Talmadge more than I do. Georgia's election has focused attention of the nation on our county unit system. We hear it screamed that the majority should rule and that it is unfair for a man to be elected unless he is the top man in the popular vote. (But not so in presidential elections—a candidate for President can have a popular majority and be defeated.)

Our county unit system has its good side, too. There has never been a machine in Georgia that could elect its own year in, year out. Talmadge has run for Governor five times and for the Senate twice. He has been beaten both times for the Senate and once for Governor. Not even "Ole Gene" can build up a successful machine under the county unit system.

Richmond

This is not so in a large number of our States, Southern or otherwise. The machine in Tennessee is unbeatable, because one man controls one city. Until Huey Long's death he ruled Louisiana with iron hand. And so it goes in Illinois, Missouri, New Jersey, Massachusetts, New York City, Minnesota, and, lo and behold, the Old Dominion itself!

Virginia

However, even ardent supporters of our county unit system will admit inequalities exist. For instance, Fulton County (Atlanta) should have more than a mere six votes when the smallest county in the State has two. Fulton should have 25 or 30 unit votes, and the other counties graded down accordingly. But even if this redistribution never occurs I should prefer our system to that of Tennessee or Virginia, which permits one man to select the officers of the State.

Mon. 8-5-46

Until the people of the Old Dominion prove their ability to see through their political haze and refuse enslavement to a machine which has controlled for a generation, we of Georgia feel they should not sit in judgment on us.

HOWELL COBB.

University.

GEORGIA'S MISFORTUNE

New York Times

If Eugene Talmadge, the one-gallus friend of the common man, in such cases as the common man can prove himself to be of Anglo-Saxon origin, is the next Governor of Georgia it will not necessarily be because the majority of Georgians want him. Mr. Talmadge has lifted himself back into the Gubernatorial chair by virtue of a State law which sees to it that in close contests the majority does not have its way. In practically every State in the Union the electoral dice are loaded in favor of rural populations. Even in New York, upstate districts can outvote much more populous downstate districts. In many instances this happens because reapportionment cannot keep pace with the growth of cities. In Georgia it happens because the persons who decide such things there believe, or pretend to believe, that voters living on the land are wiser and purer than voters living in cities.

Fri. 7-19-46

Mr. Talmadge has won in the primary election, which in a one-party State determines the issue, because of Georgia's county unit voting system. Under this ingenious arrangement Fulton County, with about 400,000 population, can be outvoted by the four counties of Echols, Dawson, Glascock and Webster, whose total population is around 20,000. Under these circumstances we cannot call Georgia's primary results a trend. They are merely a bit of hard luck which the majority of Georgians share and in which they have our sympathy.

Fri. 7-19-46

Constitutionality Of Unit System Attacked

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Sat. 8-3-46

BRUNSWICK, Ga. — (SNS) — An attempt through the courts to block the nomination of Eugene Talmadge for his fourth term as governor was begun Friday as a suit was filed in Federal District Court here. The suit attacks the constitutionality of Georgia's county unit system.

The suit was filed by Charles S. Reid, former chief justice of the Georgia Supreme Court and John L. Tye, Jr., Atlanta Attorney, on behalf of Mrs. Robert Lee Turman of Fulton County, and Cullen B. Gosnell of DeKalb County.

Mrs. Turman is a member of the League of Women Voters and Gosnell is head of the political science department at Emory University.

Talmadge was nominated under the county unit system in the July 17 primary, receiving a majority of the county unit votes, but trailing James V. Carmichael in the popular vote. Under Georgia's one-party system, nomination in the Democratic primary is tantamount to election.

VIOLATION CHARGED

Contending that the Georgia primary law, which uses the county unit system in the nomination of state officials, asked that Secretary of State Ben Fortson Chairman Lon Duckworth of the State Democratic Executive Committee and Miss Grace Cannington, secretary of the committee, be restrained from certifying the nominees of the July 17 primary.

Another suit and companion to the first to have the recent "gift" Congressional District race declared unconstitutional was filed by Attorney Alex W. Smith of Atlanta, former president of the State Bar Association, on behalf of Earl Cook, a student of Georgia Tech.

Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, incumbent, won the popular vote majority over her opponent Judge James C. Davis, who carried the county unit vote majority. The State Democratic Executive Committee, announced last week that both names would appear on the general election ballot.

The injunctions were denied in both suits, however, Judge Frank M. Scarlett issued a rule nisi requiring the defendants to appear before a three-man judge federal court in Atlanta August 16.

THREE JUDGES

With Judge Scarlett will be Circuit Court Judge Samuel H. Sibley, of New Orleans and District Judge Louie W. Strum, of Jacksonville. No Georgia judges were appointed because none was available to sit on the court, said Judge Scarlett.

Judge Scarlett ordered that the three defendants be served with the rule nisi and that Governor Arnall and Attorney General Eugene Cook also be served.

PRIMARY LAW

The Turman-Gosnell suit contended that the primary laws violated that clause of the fourteenth amendment which states:

"No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the United States nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

It further charged that the authorization of the county unit votes is "a deliberate, express and unreasonable discrimination in varying degrees against all voters residing in any but the smallest counties."

Sat. 8-3-46

the suit only "on a purely professional basis. We are not engaged to participate in any political merit of the system."

Atlanta, Ga.

50 YEARS OF UNIT

The county unit system has been in effect in Georgia for more than 50 years in the election of all state officials and candidates for the United States Senate. Congressional committees are given the option of using either the county unit or the popular vote system, but the county unit system has prevailed in most districts

DISCRIMINATION CITED

Examples of discriminations against registered voters in the more populous counties follows:

In Fulton County (Atlanta) "it requires 106 plus votes to have the same value as one vote in Chattahoochee County.

"So it also requires 71 votes in Fulton County to have the same value as one vote in Chattahoochee County. The suit stated that 84,550 votes were cast in Fulton County in the recent primary and that 26,770 votes were cast in DeKalb County. In Chattahoochee County 265 votes were cast.

Fulton and DeKalb Counties have six unit votes, Chattahoochee has two. "thus making the vote of one person in Chattahoochee County, in Atlanta, said he equal to 160 plus votes in Fulton County and 33 plus in DeKalb County."

Talmadge in a statement said "no comment" on the suit.

"PURELY PROFESSIONAL BASIS"

Daily World

Attorney Reid said, in a formal statement that he was acting in

The system is based on membership in the House of Representatives, each county being allowed two delegates to the state convention for each representative in the Legislature. Under this system the eight heaviest populated counties in the state have six convention delegates each, the 30 next largest counties have four delegates each, and the other 121 counties have two delegates each. The designations are six unit votes four unit votes, and two unit votes, respectively. 8-3-46 Sat.

Since there are only 205 members of the House, and therefore 410 delegates in a state convention the 121 counties that have a two vote of 242, or much more than a majority of the 410 delegates making up a state convention. This, of course, gives the small rural and mountain counties complete control of party conventions.

Prior to 1916 the county unit system was just a habit of state executive committees and in 1866 it was changed to the popular vote system by a state committee appointed by the late Governor Hoke Smith. The change became an issue in the 1906 campaign and Governor Smith was defeated by a small popular vote majority.

In 1916 the late Cecil Neil, of Columbus, then president of the State Senate, redrafted all state primary laws into the Neill Act, which made the county unit system the law insofar as state offices are concerned.

TO CERTIFY NOMINEES

Lon Duckworth, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee said a suit filed in Federal Court in Brunswick challenging constitutionality of the county unit system would not affect his certification of Eugene Talmadge as the Democratic nominee for governor. Duckworth said he had not received official notice of the suit, but that he planned to have certificates for the general election ready for filing with the secretary of state by August 5.

Federal Suit Challenging Talmadge Begins; Violation of the Constitution Is Charged

Times, New York, N. Y. Sat. 8-17-46

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., Aug. 16—Eugene Talmadge heard in the Federal court here today arguments in a suit filed to prevent him from becoming Georgia's Governor next January. The suit sought invalidation of the Neil Act of 1917, which legalized the county-unit system of counting votes in primary elections.

Representative Helen Douglas Mankin, in a surprise move just before the court adjourned, intervened to ask it to dismiss a parallel suit, also attacking the county-unit system, filed in connection with her campaign against Judge James C. Davis. Mrs. Mankin intervened through her attorney, Houston White. She was not present in court.

The background of the two suits, in which the court is expected to hand down a decision in a few days, is that Mrs. Mankin, in the Fifth Congressional District race, and James V. Carmichael, in the campaign for Governor, received a plurality of popular votes and a minority of county-unit votes in the primary.

Individuals who voted for them brought actions to restrain Ben Fortson, Secretary of the State of Georgia, from certifying their rivals as Democratic nominees on the ground that their constitutional rights as citizens of the United States were abridged by the county-unit system of tallying.

Although the complainants in both suits alleged that their rights under the Fourteenth Amendment had been infringed by the State of Georgia, the arguments presented by counsel were based on different constitutional principles.

In the injunction case to keep Mr. Talmadge from taking office, O. D. Murphy, appearing for the State, argued that the right to vote in State elections does not originate in, and is not protected by the Federal Constitution.

He said that the complainants, Mrs. Robert Lee Turman, president of the League of Women Voters, and Cullen B. Gosnell of DeKalb County, had voted in the primary in full knowledge that the county-unit system would be employed to determine the victor, and that they were now suing merely because they were dissatisfied with the results.

"They want to change the rules after the game is over," he said, adding that they would have been better advised to seek aid from the Federal Government before the primary.

In the suit over the Congressional race, Croom Partridge, appearing for Earl P. Cook, a student at Georgia Tech who filed the complaint, contended that Article 1, Section 2, of the Constitution, by providing that members of the House of Representatives shall be elected by the electors qualified to vote for the members of the more numerous body of any State Legislature, was violated by applying county-unit evaluation to Congressional elections. Sat. 8-17-46

Judge Samuel H. Sibley, who presided over the court, of which other two members were Judge Frank M. Scarlett of the Southern District of Georgia, and Judge Louis A. Strum, of the Northern District of Florida, took the proposed intervention under advisement. Judge Sibley told Mr. White:

"I don't believe you have the right to intervene to stop somebody else's lawsuit." He pointed out that Mr. Cook, the complainant, alleged his own rights, not those of Mrs. Mankin, had been abridged.

In the Talmadge case, Mr. Murphy pleaded that the Federal Government, through its judiciary, refrain from interfering with the election of a Governor of Georgia.

As a practical matter, he told the judges that, should they declare the nomination of Mr. Talmadge unconstitutional, the situation would be obscure, as the 1945 State Constitution does not cover such a contingency.

The lawyer said he supposed that either Governor Ellis Arnall would carry on the duties of office until the General Assembly enacted appropriate legislation, or else the Lieutenant Governor, to be elected for the first time under the new constitution, would succeed to the governorship.

Charles S. Reid, former Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, headed the counsel seeking the Talmadge injunction. He told the court that plans of weighing votes in favor of rural areas had been invalidated by State courts in Tennessee and Kentucky.

Let Every Man's Vote Count Equally

SO FAR as the letter of the law runs, the United States district court in Atlanta may have been unexceptionally correct in upholding the Georgia unit vote system under which Jeeter Gene Talmadge was elected governor even though he received 14,000 votes less than his opponent. The real question, however, is not whether this system is legal, but whether it is fair. And if it is not fair, the law ought to be changed.

Under the Georgia plan, each county in the state is given from two to six so-called unit votes. Even though a candidate may fall far short of receiving a majority of the State-wide vote, he is declared elected if he gets a majority of these unit votes. What can be the purpose of such a system, if not to flim-flam the voters? It is an obvious device for getting a man into office even though the people do not want him there.

It will be all the worse if Talmadge succeeds in restoring the poll tax in Georgia—as he has threatened to do. Then, only a small minority of the citizens will be able to vote and, once again, a small minority of these will control the outcome of elections. The sending of senators and representatives to Washington under such a system is an insult to the citizens of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and the northern and western states in general. It will mean that a little handful of people in Georgia can elect two United States senators whose votes can offset those of the two senators from New York—even though the latter are elected by hundreds of thousands of votes. This makes a mockery of representative government. It gives a few bigoted bosses in the South a horribly disproportionate influence on the policies of the nation.

In our opinion, the appellate court in Atlanta did itself no honor when it undertook to defend the Georgia unit vote system by pointing to the Electoral College method of choosing our presidents. For that College itself has major weaknesses, among them precisely the danger that it can bring to office minority chief executives. It furnishes a precedent for the Georgia system, but it furnishes no logical argument for that system—or for itself.

It would have been far better if the three appellate judges in Atlanta had simply said that they could find no ground for upsetting the Georgia system, thus passing the question on to the United States Supreme Court. It may be that the Supreme Court also will find no legal justification for upsetting the unit plan. It is to be hoped, however, that it will not try to defend it by citing an anachronistic parallel.

If the court cannot touch so obvious a device for thwarting the popular will, Congress and the Georgia legislature ought to act. Perhaps there is not much to be expected from the legislature; certainly, if Congress tries to act, there will be a great hue and cry about violating the sanctity of the Constitution. Such protests, however, are sound and fury signifying nothing. Sun 9-1-46

After all, federal offices are involved in Georgia elections. If the Federal Government could stop vote frauds in Kansas City and if Congress can pass an anti-poll tax bill, then surely a way can be found for acting against an equally offensive interference with the democratic expression of the people's will.

Throughout this broad land of ours, one man's vote ought to count as much as another's. Our democracy will not even be mechanically perfect until it does.

GVMR The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Since its inception in late July, I have watched with keen interest the work of the Georgia Veterans for Majority Rule. Refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court even to hear their cases challenging the legality of the grossly unjust county unit system was a bitter disappointment to me and many others.

I understand that a motion for reconsideration has been filed, and I earnestly hope that Justice Rutledge's dissenting opinion on the original denial of a hearing will have enough influence with his brother justices to bring about the hearing of the suits. Atlanta, Ga.

It seems foolish to say that no constitutional guarantees are violated by a system which gives to some Georgia voters 106 times the voting strength of others. (This, of course, was the decision of the Federal District Court in Atlanta when the cases were heard here in August.) It is heartening to me to know that Justice Rutledge's opinion is apparently the same as mine. He said in a written opinion that the cases involved issues which "are obviously important." He said further, "In my judgment, they have not been conclusively adjudicated by prior decisions of this court."

I have been in the Navy for six years and am still in it. I put in a lot of combat duty in a war this country fought against Fascist countries where minority rule reduced the will of the people to nothingness. It was a sickening blow to me to come home and find somewhat the same situation in my own State of Georgia.

These lawsuits against the county unit system should be won, because they are right. It seems entirely clear and simple to me that the right of a voter to have his vote count is as fundamental as his right to cast that vote. The county unit system is bound to violate the U. S. Constitution, because there is obviously no "equal protection of the law" when one person in Chattahoochee County can outvote 106 in Fulton.

Georgia Veterans for Majority Rule is an organization which was formed to sponsor these suits. I hope that all Georgians who believe in the democracy which countless Americans gave their lives to preserve will send them generous contributions. They need money to defray the costs of an informational program on the county unit system and these lawsuits—which suits were brought on behalf of all Georgians. Contributions should be sent to 804 Forsyth Building. Sat. 11-9-46

ALBERT SMITH.

Atlanta.

American Political Issue

News-Courier

Comments of the "Liberal", or democratic, press, adverse, indignant and sometimes abusive, upon the election of Eugene Talmadge in the Georgia primary, most of them voices of great cities in the North and West, are directed against three features, or factors, in the contest and reveal the principal and antagonistic division among the Americans.

They denounce the "county unit plan", and, by necessary implication, turn against the American system upon which the republic was founded. They say that "the majority should rule", that everybody should have the "right" to vote. They do not object to Georgia's admission of the 18 year olds to the polls. They repudiate the principle of conferring upon a "unit", whether state or county, representation for senators, regardless of numbers of inhabitants, in conventions and in the Electoral College. They insist that Mr. Carmichael should be governor of Georgia because his majority over Mr. Talmadge was 11,000. Jul. 8-6-46

Of Mr. Carmichael's supporters, 100,000 were negroes, who voted as a "bloc". The "Liberal" critics are offended that the balance of power in Georgia's primaries has not been yielded to Georgia's negroes who voted as a Congo tribe would under orders of their chief. It sadly disappoints them.

The critics object, in the second place, to the Talmadge plan of repealing laws relating to the primary, by which any band or group of persons, Presbyterians, Free Masons, Roman Catholics, white-skinned or black-skinned persons, retreating from the decision of a packed court, might assemble, excluding other persons, and nominate candidates for ward alderman or governor. That is the South Carolina plan already adopted. The News and Courier holds it to be just, reasonable and inseparable from any conception of American liberty. We hold that Mr. Smith or Mr. Jones may, if he wish, invite 50 men and women to dine with him in his home and nominate candidates, that he has the right to shut his doors to persons not wanted. The South Carolina plan is no more than expansion of the principle and practice. White voters during certain hours on a certain day go to a room and cast ballots. Negroes are not invited and therefore are not admitted.

Charleston, S. C.

The "Liberal" critics insist that voters, inasmuch as they have the constitutional right to vote in general, legal elections, therefore have the right to break into nominating clubs, or primaries, and ground their criticism on the saying that voters in these clubs, or primaries, because they may have the majority of the electors, are holding the election that decides. In short, they contend that races, or sects, or persons of a political or religious creed, having a majority of the electors, are without right to exercise its power on the legal election day.

The third count in the indictment of Georgia is that in the cities, Atlanta among them, the votes for Mr. Carmichael were "largely centered" and that the small rural counties and their villages had advantage not arising from numbers. They had it, and that precisely is what The News and Courier commends in the county unit plan. Jul. 8-6-46

The pregnant and dangerous political issue, not yet clearly defined and understood by the American people but already joined is whether or not the United States shall be governed by the thronged and herdible voters of the great cities and industrial centers. Those, The News and Courier among them, who adhere to the Calhoun doctrine of government by the "concurrent" rather than the "numerical" majority, are called "reactionaries", and if reactionaries they and we be it is in the knowledge that the republic was organized by the acceptance of it.

Before Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Jefferson was a "Democrat", in the belief that the "yeoman farmer", the small landowner and homeowner, would be the ruling element in the country, as great cities and industrial communities were not then existing and not then foreseen.

The News and Courier is convinced that in South Carolina, security of all the people is fortified by Jasper county's equal representation in the state senate with that of Charleston and Spartanburg, and, without discussing the goodness of influence of the senator of Barnwell or the lack of it, it would not have Barnwell's voting weight in the senate reduced that the state might be relieved of it. So, in conventions, counties, large and small, rich and poor, have representation for their senators even as the state has representation for them in the Electoral College. That J. Q. Adams, Lincoln, Harrison and Wilson were elected presidents when democratic majorities were against them calls for no weeping and rending of garments.

The democrats, who call themselves "Liberals", are not sure that government by Great Cities will be perpetuated, and for that reason they cry out for Southern succor to be had by conferring the balance of power upon the negro voters in Southern states. In their Harlems they control it, they herd it, and they would extend their control of them to Georgia and the whole South. Jul. 8-6-46

To save themselves from this city mastery and dictation, not only Southern but all states of relatively small population throughout the country can have recourse to the Electoral College, and the day soon may dawn when so they will by choosing electors not slavish to the party lash.

The people of South Carolina have, politically, more in common with the peoples of Maine, Vermont, Colorado and Wyoming than they have with the peoples of New York, Illinois, Massachusetts and other city-ruled states.

M. L. ST. JOHN

Bills Would Prevent Minority Victories

The Constitution Atlanta Ga.
Wed. 7-24-46

As the discussion continues over Georgia's county unit system which saw the man who received the greatest number of votes for Governor in history defeated, some people are beginning to recall bills introduced by House Speaker Roy Harris in 1945 and Rep. Claude Pittman in 1946. Gubernatorial Candidate Jimmie Carmichael, who was defeated on the county unit basis while getting more popular votes than Eugene Talmadge, can, of course, have no complaint of the county unit system. He championed it in his campaign. Editor Ralph McGill recently observed that you have on the one hand Georgia's county unit system which gives too much power to the sparsely settled rural areas, and, on the other hand, Tennessee's popular vote system that permits a big city political boss to run the State. He suggested a revision of the county unit system to give the heavily populated areas a greater voice in government, while at the same time retaining the county unit system.

A bill to prevent a minority candidate from being elected to any Statehouse office was introduced by Harris in 1945. It was withdrawn a short time later, when Harris feared it looked like it was aimed at Talmadge, who always has run best in an open field. (Harris was not friendly to Talmadge at that time, but he didn't want to aim a bill at a particular person.) A year later, Pittman introduced virtually the same bill in the House. It got lost in the shuffle of a heavy docket in a short session.

This bill would retain the county unit system intact. But it would prevent a person without the popular votes from taking advantage of the county unit system.

The bill simply said that a candidate must get 51 percent of a county's popular votes before he could receive that county's unit vote. Under the present system, the candidate receiving the most votes in a county gets that county's unit vote. So, in a field of four gubernatorial candidates, a person can take the unit vote by receiving only 26 percent of the popular vote.

Would Be Runover Under this bill, Talmadge would not have received enough county unit votes in the recent primary to win the nomination. There would have been a runover. With the popular vote split chiefly among Carmichael and Rivers, Talmadge carried 21 counties in which he failed to receive 51 percent of the popular votes. These counties had a total of 90 unit vote. This would have left Carmichael with 90 unit votes instead of 148 that he received under the present plan. Ed Rivers would have dropped three counties and eight unit votes, to leave him with only 12 unit votes instead of 20. While O'Kelley received no unit votes under the present plan, his popular vote meant the difference in victory for the other three candidates in some counties.

However, Talmadge would have been knocked out of the nomination by this proposed system, while Carmichael would have lost more county unit votes than Talmadge under it. Because in **The Counties** Here are the counties carried by Talmadge without receiving 51 percent of the popular 19 counties with a unit vote of 58, he received less than 51 percent

votes: Barrow, Brooks, Calhoun, Douglas, Grady, Gwinnett, Harris, Heard, Jenkins, Long, Meriwether, Murray, Oconee, Paulding, Rabun, Rockdale, Thomas, Tift, Union, Walton and Wilkes.

Carmichael carried the following counties without receiving 51 percent of the popular votes: Bartow, Butts, Camden, Carroll, Charlton, Chattooga, Floyd, Greene, Habersham, Hall, Jackson, Jasper, Muscogee, Stephens, Talbot, Walker, Ware, White and Whitfield.

Counties going into the Rivers column without 51 percent of the popular votes were Brantley, Cook and Lowndes.

Condolences To Georgia

Eugene Talmadge has been nominated for governor of Georgia, largely because of that state's county unit system which makes it possible for a candidate to win without leading in the total popular vote. At this writing Talmadge seems to be sure of 100 counties with a convention strength of 234 unit votes. But, by the same token, he is behind Carmichael to the tune of more than 25,000 ballots. Carmichael's support was in the big cities, while Talmadge is again the darling of the small rural counties. He used to brag about being the choice of communities without streetcars. He can still make that claim.

His election comes as no surprise to many observers in and out of Georgia. This was Talmadge's year, in view of the fact that a political straitjacket, together with other factors, were bound to work in his favor. He was beaten four years ago because he was up against a shrewd campaigner who used to a fare-thee-well all of Talmadge's past mistakes, and who could use them because the country was at war and Georgians, like most other Americans, were solicitous about national unity. Talmadge, the Negro-baiter; Talmadge, the Roosevelt-hater, was seriously handicapped by the climate of opinion in which he had to operate. The sins he had committed against the University of Georgia were still fresh in the public mind. It was simply not his time to make the required showing.

This year it was altogether different. He ran in circumstances infinitely more conducive to his success. Georgians, like the rest of us, have suffered a collapse of moral resolution. Postwar confusion and laxness have tended to make a man like Talmadge much more embraceable. If he was damaged four years ago by what he had done to higher education in his raking up of the race issue, he was helped this time by his defense of "white supremacy." Decisions of the Supreme Court and a large registration of Negroes implemented his demagogic appeals to likeminded or frightened voters in that great mass of small counties which have put themselves in his column.

He was opposed by Carmichael, who was a "good government" candidate, and by former Gov. Rivers, who was all for "expanded services." But the former was never able to overcome the fact that he started as an unknown, had too little affirmative to offer and largely confined himself to attacking Talmadge and all his works. As for Rivers, it is now plain that he undertook to stage his comeback too soon. Georgians have only average memories, but four years are too short a period in which to forget the stench of the Rivers administration. The truth of the matter is that, other things being equal, Talmadge was the only man in the race who dealt forthrightly enough with issues that struck a large body of voters as being immediate or relevant.

Interestingly enough, he divided with Carmichael the backing of vested interests with a political stake. That did not hurt him even in the hinterland which has reelected him. It did not hurt him elsewhere. The Georgia press was overwhelmingly against him, but at least one metropolitan newspaper long regarded as the mouthpiece of certain banking interests came out for him. It is not assuming too much to conclude that Talmadge had other "big money" backing. He prides himself on being the wearer of Tom Watson's mantle, but his populism is like his red galluses—merely a decorative detail which does not keep him from being *persona grata* with gentlemen who know where his heart is.

So Gene Talmadge is to be governor of Georgia for the fourth time, even though he is not the majority choice of the voters. Again the vicious county unit system has swept him into power—in the teeth of all that the embattled forces of intelligence and self-respect could do to the contrary. We in Alabama are hamstrung by a scheme of apportionment which makes a mockery of the democratic principle. But that injustice is small compared to the strangulation wrought by the county unit system of Georgia. Unless our neighbors get rid of that abomination, they will continue to be at the mercy of the Talmadges and their imitators.

Unit Vote

Editor, Constitution: Please inform John Couric that he made an error in his election story in saying that this is the first time that a candidate for Governor was elected without receiving a majority of the popular vote. It happened about 1932, when Talmadge received a majority of unit votes but lacked some 30,000 getting half the popular votes. Abit Nix was runner-up with six candidates in the race, and would have been Governor had popular vote majority been required. I will never be satisfied until we discard the undemocratic unit vote, and a considerable majority of our people with whom I have talked favor the popular vote plan.

J. FRANK LEE.

Royston, Ga.

Judges Hear Case Opposing Talmadge

ATLANTA, Aug. 16 — (AP) — A prediction that court interference with the election of Eugene Talmadge to his fourth term as Governor of Georgia would result in "political chaos" in the State was made in Federal Court today by one of his attorneys.

Attorney B. D. Murphy made the statement before a three-judge tribunal hearing a petition that the election of Talmadge be stopped by court order on grounds that the country unit system under which he was nominated in the Democratic primary violates the equal rights provision of the United States Constitution.

Under the county unit system which permits the State's 159 counties from two to six unit votes depending upon population, Talmadge was nominated over James V. Carmichael, backed by Governor Ellis Arnall, without receiving popular vote approval.

The suit was brought by Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell, Emory University political science professor, and Mrs. Robert Lee Turman, former president of the Atlanta League of Women Voters. They contended that as residents of populous Dekalb and Fulton Counties (Atlanta) which have six unit votes each, their ballots had many times less weight in nomination of the Governor than those of citizens of less populous two-vote counties.

Ballots Prepared

Secretary of State Ben W. Fortson, Jr., already has prepared the official ballot for the November general election and sent it to county ordinaries for printing. Talmadge is the only gubernatorial candidate on the ballot.

Attorney W. D. Thompson, representing the plaintiffs in the case, contended in court today, however, that the election of Talmadge still could be blocked. He said that from the time a voter dropped his ballot in the primary box until the State Legislature, acting upon certificates of the Secretary of State, declared the Governor elected, it was one continuous process, governed by State law, and stemming from an unconstitutional primary.

During Thompson's argument Circuit Judge Samuel H. Sibley, who with District Judges Frank M. Scarlett and Louie W. Strum made up the court, commented:

"It looks like if you're right we'd sort of be wrecking the general election."

There was no indication when a decision would be announced.

Fulton Distranchised

Editor Constitution: In the recent Democratic primary election for Governor, Chattahoochee County, with two unit votes, cast a total of 242 ballots. Echols County, with two unit votes, cast a total of 619 ballots. Towns County, with two unit votes, cast a total of 242 ballots.

In other words, the three above named counties with a total of six unit votes, cast a total of 1,102 ballots. Yet, Fulton County, with six unit votes, cast a total of 92,550 ballots.

By going a little further, in order to show a majority of unit votes, I will add Clay County, with two unit votes, which cast a total of 798 ballots. Thus, you see, four of the smallest counties in the State, with a total of eight unit votes and a total of 1,900 popular votes, had more power than all of Fulton County's 92,550 popular votes.

Can this, by any streetch of the imagination, be called democracy? Can it be called majority rule? Can it even be called just plain common sense?

The voters of Fulton County are virtually disfranchised when it comes to taking a part in a State-wide election.

R. H. CARPENTER.

Atlanta.

Note to Fulton Voters

Editor Constitution: I notice that quite a few of your Fulton County voters are very much dissatisfied with the amount of weight which their votes carry under the county unit system.

Now, why do they not (since they value their vote so highly) move to Chattahoochee County, where their vote would be equivalent (according to their computation) to 382.2 votes per person?

Who knows? Perhaps it would not be long before Chattahoochee County, with such good citizens moving in, would become a very close rival to Fulton County.

W. A. HEWELL.

Meigs.

Co-operative

Editor Constitution: It is normal for a game to be competitive. But a well-ordered government should be co-operative. A game represents its participants. A government represents its people, not alone those who vote, but all of its individuals.

Therefore, both the government of a State and the United States are obligated to declare as Governor and Lieutenant-Governor the two receiving the highest number of all the votes legally cast—and the same rule for President and Vice President.

B. D. PORTER.

Fayetteville.

Georgia's Unit-Vote System

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Much has been said concerning the unit system used in the election of certain officials in Georgia and the way Talmadge used this system in winning nomination for Governor. The strange and seemingly unpublished part is that Talmadge won because of a unit system he had sought to destroy many times.

In each Georgia Legislature there is usually an attempt made to abolish the unit system. This measure was defeated only last year due chiefly to the influence of Governor Arnall, who favored the unit system. As a whole the people of Georgia favor the unit system, and it was not, as many seem to think, forced upon them by Talmadge.

Those who have branded the unit system undemocratic should remember that our President is elected in this manner, and it has happened once, as in Georgia, that the candidate receiving the largest popular vote lost the electoral college vote.

JESSE E. WIKLE.

Richmond.

Vote Supremacy

The 105 counties which nominated Talmadge have less than half of the State's citizens. Forty-five of them have decreased in population between the last two census reports. The 54 counties which repudiated Talmadge have considerably more than half the State's white citizens, and pay about three-fourths of the taxes. How long will they be willing for a minority group to dictate the spending of these taxes, the rules by which they live?

"Equal justice under law" can scarcely be expected from a nominee whose first statements have threatened wholesale abrogation of law, whose reckless irresponsibility has already precipitated racial conflict. Shall we dumbly submit to four years of this? Must it always be a disgrace to be a Georgian?

Fortunately the Federal Constitution, which apparently is not legal in our State, is still in force nationally. It states specifically that representatives to Congress shall be elected by the people in the States. Obviously it is unconstitutional for Fulton County's half million citizens to be arbitrarily disfranchised.

Let's establish vote supremacy in Georgia.

L. B. CRAMER.

Atlanta.

The Curmudgeon

Editor Constitution: In an article in the Atlanta Constitution, the curmudgeon, Ickes, complained about the Georgia County Unit system giving one voter more influence than another. Ickes is a voter of Illinois, whose legislature has not re-apportioned Congressional Districts since 1910 census. Accordingly, one district in Chicago suburbs has over 10 times as many voters as a rump district in Chicago's Loop section.

Last Spring the U. S. Supreme Court in a five to four decison decided that the judiciary had no right to interfere with such matters, as it was a matter for the Illinois legislature and the people who elects it. Why doesn't Mr. Ickes do something about his own state before condemning Georgia? His late wife was a member of the Illinois legislature during this period.

Georgians do not criticize Illinois because small district elects a Negro Congressman, as it is their business. Why has not Georgia man, who unlike the Negro has no power outside of the same right to elect a governor, Georgia?

HIRAM HART.

Columbus, Ga.

Make It Hot for Gene

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Violation of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution has been cited in two suits challenging the validity of Georgia's primary law, which provides for the county unit system of nominating State officials.

The amendment provides that:

> No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . . nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Sat. 8-10-46

Plaintiffs charge that the Georgia election laws violate this amendment because they "deprive them of the full and fair value of their votes" as compared with other votes.

While it is not likely that these suits will get to first base when heard in Atlanta's Federal Court on Aug. 16, we have hope that they will so focus attention upon this obsolete practice that eventually there will develop sufficient resentment to chuck it out.

It was because of the county unit system that Gene Talmadge was returned to power, although he failed to win the popular vote.

Speaking on a radio broadcast Friday night, old Gene insisted that he had won the popular vote as well as the unit vote since he did not count the nearly 100 thousand colored Georgians, all of whom, "but one," cast their ballots for Carmichael.

Naturally, we're in favor of anything that will make it hot for Gene.

Talmadge Case Hearings Begin

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 8-24-46

Federal Court Tries Ga. Voting System

ATLANTA — Firing another volley against Klan efforts to capture political control of the state, Georgia liberals sought invalidation of the undemocratic county-unit voting system in Federal court hearings which began this week.

The suit seeks nullification of the Neil Act of 1917 legalizing the county-unit voting counting which defeated James V. Carmichael in the gubernatorial campaign and Representative Helen Douglas Mankin in the Fifth Congressional District. Both candidates were heavily supported by progressive labor and Negro voters.

Citizenship Abridged

Supporters of the two liberal candidates initiated court action to thwart certification of Talmadge and James C. Davis—rival of Mrs. Mankin—as Democratic nominees on the grounds that their full rights as citizens of the United States were abridged by the county-unit system.

In the suit to keep Talmadge from taking office next January, the complainants pointed out that their rights under the Fourteenth Amendment had been curbed by the State of Georgia. However, O. D. Murphy, arguing for the State, said that the right to vote does not originate in, and is not protected by the Federal Constitution.

Murphy attempted to show that the complainants Mrs. Robert Lee Thurman of the League of Women Voters and Cullen B. Gosnell of DeKalb County, were merely displeased with the results of the election rather than with the archaic voting system.

Violates Constitution

In the suit on the Congressional race, Croom Partridge, who appeared for Earl P. Cook, a Georgia Tech student who filed the complaint, argued that Article 1, Section 2, of the Constitution, was violated by applying county-unit evaluation to Congressional elections.

Representative Douglas intervened before the court adjourned to ask dismissal of her suit filed in connection with her campaign with Judge James C. Davis. Judge Samuel H. Sibley, who presided over the court told her attorney, Houston White, that he took the proposed intervention under advisement.

Georgia Citizens Sue To Oust Talmadge

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 8-17-46

BRUNSWICK, Ga. — Georgia progressives, forcing a stake into the heart of Southern reaction, this week filed suit in Federal court in a move to block another four years of Talmadge hate.

Filed in Brunswick, Ga., the suit challenges the constitutionality of the antiquated, unfair unit system by which red-galluses Eugene Talmadge won the Democratic nomination even though a majority of the State's voters rejected him.

Talmadge, scheduled to return to the State Capital Jan. 1, received 246 unit votes from Georgia's rural districts to 146 for Arnall-blessed James V. Carmichael, who swept the popular vote.

Blamed For Lynchings

"Gene's" white supremacy platform is blamed for the Walton county mass lynchings in which two Negro couples were killed by a white mob July 25.

The suit charges that the unit system is in conflict with the 14th Amendment, which stipulates that "no State shall make or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . ."

Forces that backed Carmichael plan to carry the fight to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Georgia's election law, dating back to reconstruction days, stipulates that primary elections are to be decided on the unit vote basis. Each of the State's counties is allotted extra units up to a maximum of only six.

Carmichael swept densely populated areas such as industrial, metropolitan Fulton county, where he polled 58,193 popular votes but received credit for only six unit votes.

Chattahochee, a backwoods county, had only 265 votes, which counted for two full unit votes. It was charged that one vote in Chattahochee county equaled 106 votes in Fulton county. Most of these rural white counties rallied to Talmadge.

A companion suit asked that the Fifth Congressional District race also be declared unconstitutional. In this contest, Rep. Helen Douglas Mankin, liberal incumbent, carried the popular majority but Judge James C. Davis carried the county units.

Mrs. Mankin protested to the State Democratic Committee and it was decided to certify both Mrs. Mankin and Judge Davis as Democratic candidates in the November election, which is decided by popular vote.

The suit filed against Georgia's unit system is expected to have far-reaching significance. It is predicted that the U. S. Supreme Court will ultimately decide the issue.

Meanwhile, Talmadge, in Atlanta, said he had "no comment" to offer on the suit. He continues to deny that there were any lynchings in Georgia during his three previous terms as the State's chief executive despite conclusive proof offered by the NAACP of numerous instances of 14 mob murders in his state while he was in office.

OFFICIALS HEED BILBO'S ADVICE ON INTIMIDATION

Lousiana Weekly

Town Marshal Kills Prominent Negro

Saturday 7-13-46

Many Stay Away

Violence Was Pattern Late Reports Show

There were no reports of violence on election day, July 2, when Negro citizens voted in the Democratic primary for the first time in the history of the state, but beginning with the very next day following election day and almost daily since that time there have been increasing reports of intimidation, violence, brutality, and even death visited on Negro citizens on election day, facts which greatly reduced the number of Negro voters. 7-13-46

The intimidation, violence, brutality and death visited upon Negroes on election day, together with similar pre-election day incidents, followed the frantic urging of the white people of the state by Senator Theo. G. Bilbo to keep Negroes from voting at any price, by implication even the use of murder. 7-13-46

A candidate for reelection to the United States Senate, Bilbo was joined in his violent race baiting, but in a lesser degree, by the four other senatorial candidates, Ross A. Collins, former U. S. Congressman; Tom Q. Ellis, State Supreme Court clerk; Nelson Levings, World War II Navy Commander, and Frank (Peachtree) Harper, one time Peachtree salesman and South Mississippi farmer and small business man. 7-13-46

The results of the election show Bilbo with a majority of slightly over 3,000 votes over the combined total of his opponents. With a conservatively estimated 5,000 Negroes, including veterans qualified under a state law exempting them for paying poll tax, eligible to vote in the election had it not been for the actual violence and fear of violence on the part of Negro voters widespread over the state, it appears certain now that there would have to be a second senatorial primary.

Negroes Are Not Molested In Mississippi Vote

JACKSON, Miss., July — (AP) —Backed by a promise of Federal protection, negroes joined white persons today in voting in Mississippi's Democratic primary election.

They were not molested.

The issue of whether negroes could vote had been highpointed during the campaign by an appeal by Senator Theo G. Bilbo, who seeks re-nomination, to "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to use whatever means are necessary" to keep negroes from the polls.

Twenty-five negroes were among the first 45 persons to vote in the 31st precinct at Jackson. Across the street, in the 32nd precinct, one negro was among 30 early voters.

Negro voters had the assurance of Attorney General Tom Clark in Washington that the Justice Department would back up the Supreme Court's ruling which, he said, "leaves Federal law in this question clear."

Bilbo in campaign addresses has defied the Federal government to enforce negro voting rights and has offered his legal services to defend "anyone who gets in trougle" preventing negroes from cating ballots.

Rep. John E. Rankin, who also has often spoken for white supremacy, has urged "law-abiding negroes" to stay away from the polls. Rankin, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Affairs is one of four representatives facing opposition in today's Democratic primary. The other three are unoprosed.

The Democratic primary is equivalent to an election in one-party Mississippi.

Second Primary

However, Bilbo's opponents all deny the incumbent will receive a majority today. Each admits Bilbo will lead the balloting, but each claims he will be in a second primary with the senator.

Running against Bilbo are former Representative Ross Collins, Tom Q. Ellis, lerk of the State Supreme Court, Naval veteran Nelson T. Levings, and former State Senator Frank Harper.

Rankin, who didn't bother to leave Washington during the campaign, is opposed by Claude F. Clayton and Charles G. Hamilton in the First District.

Rep. Arthur Winstead of the Fifth District faces his former campaign manager, J. O. Hollis. In the Sixth District, Rep. W. M. Colmer is opposed by Grover C. Doggette of Laurel. Rep. Dan R. McGehee of the Seventh District has three adversaries—Stewart C. Brown, C. A. Sullivan and John Bell Williams.

The polls close at 6 p. m., Central Time.

Miss. Mobs Whip Voters

Hitamer

Houston Chron

By JOHN E. ROUSSEAU, JR.

NEW ORLEANS — Mississippi's reign of terror, suggested and approved by United States Senator Theodore G. Bilbo during his recent campaign for re-election, burst with full fury on Negroes who sought to cast ballots last Tuesday in the Gulf Coast section of the state. And despite radio broadcasts and news stories published over the nation to the effect that Negroes voted peaceably in Mississippi's election on July 2, investigators sent into that state by the New Orleans Branch of the NAACP reported Friday that three Negro men and one woman who sought to vote were severely beaten at Gulfport, while scores were intimidated and refused the ballot at Pass Christian, Miss. Saturday 7-20-46

Details of the alleged violence committed by mobs of whites who "guarded" the polls and either frightened or assaulted Negroes who sought to vote have been sent to the national office of the NAACP by Daniel E. Byrd, executive secretary of the New Orleans branch NAACP; and to the Department of Justice by the Rev. Father George T. J. Strype, S. S. J., pastor of St. Philomena Catholic church at Pass Christian. 7-20-46

Information received by New Orleans NAACP investigators disclosed that V. R. Collier, 36-year-old war veteran; his wife, Mrs. Ernestine Collier, who is a school teacher; J. T. Hall, a prominent undertaker; and R. E. Daniel, 36-year-old war veteran, were brutally beaten on Tuesday when they attempted to vote in the Democratic primary, at Gulfport. All have resided in Gulfport for the better portion of their lives, it was learned.

It was learned from reliable source that the Gulfport incident was reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation at Jackson, Mississippi, on the same day and protection was requested. The FBI agent is quoted as saying that it was his duty to "investigate, not protect."

A signed affidavit from twelve Negro veterans described how they had been denied the ballot at Pass Christian on Tuesday. This affidavit was notarized by C. R. Jones, a white justice of the peace residing at Pass Christian, and was signed by Eugene H. Roberts, Daniel C. Charlot, Jr., Edward Watson, Jr., Steve Hunter, Jr.; Joseph R. Venable, Thomas E. Guyot, Jr., Leon E Brady, Edward M. Benoitz, Godfrey W. Benoitz, John J. Cotton, Harock B. Labat, and Thomas Spencer.

The affidavit charged that the deponents had appeared at the City Hall in Pass Christian, Mississippi, to vote in the election for United States senator and sundry offices but were met at the doors by Eaton Gariga, the bailiff, who turned them away saying that no Negroes would be allowed to vote.

Concerning the Gulfport affair, it was learned that Collier and his wife went to the city hall between 12 and 1 p. m. on election day and attempted to cast their ballots. They were directed into the east wing of the building by a police officer, it was learned.

In the corridor about 15 unkempt white men were standing and when the couple approached, spread out fanwise to block them, NAACP investigator declared. "You people don't vote here today," the couple was told, "you come back tomorrow; that's your voting time."

Before Collier had chance to reply, he and his wife were set upon by the whites who began beating and kicking them, then finally dragged them to the porch from which they threw Collier to the street. The police officer stood by and made no attempt to stop the assault, the NAACP learned.

Other reports were to the effect that Collier was threatened by men who flashed long knives and that he and his wife were obliged to run in the effort to keep the mob from trailing them.

Interviewed the next day, Collier declined to make a statement but his face was swollen and one eye practically closed, NAACP investigators reported.

Hall, the undertaker, was also reportedly beaten for trying to vote and was later jailed after reporting the incident to the chief of police, approached by other white men who accompanied a policeman. Daniels He was charged with being drunk and disturbing the peace, it was learned.

Daniels, a veteran of 40 months in the army, is reported to have gone to the polls on July 2 and had been told to go to a side door. He entered and was asked if he had voted before and if he had voted the Democratic ticket before. When he answered in the affirmative, he was told to go to the ward school and vote.

As he started out of the building, he was approached by a group of white men who struck him and told him never to enter that building wearing his hat, reporters learned.

On leaving the building he was was placed under arrest, taken to Harrison county jail and beaten so severely about the head and face that his hearing may be permanently impaired, NAACP investigators reported.

He was beaten into unconsciousness then kept in jail until 11 p. m. and released on $250 bond, it was alleged. He is charged with being drunk and with disorderly conduct.

Hall and Daniels are to be tried on Saturday it was learned.

Supporting their stories, NAACP investigators submitted photographs of the beaten men, however, the investigators would not affirm or deny the report that they had been successful in taking photographs of the mobs, declaring that all evidence had been turned over to the Department of Justice.

Bilbo's Election Has Its Points, Says Carter

The News Birmingham, Ala. Sat 8-17-46

BOSTON, Aug. 17—(AP)—Hodding Carter, Greenville, Miss., publisher declared Friday night that Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) sits in the Senate "as a horrifying warning of what the combined forces of bigotry and anger and fear can produce in a democracy."

He added, however, in a radio broadcast:

"If you interpret the South only through its Bilbos you are doing the South a grave wrong . . . this thing which Bilbo today epitomizes in the nation's mind is not all Southern."

Carter continued: "As a citizen of Mississippi and of the United States I believe it may be a good thing that Bilbo has been returned to the Senate. He can do Mississippi less harm in Washington than he can at home.

"Surely, it is better for us that he should be ex-officio mayor of Washington than again governor of Mississippi."

Carter, publisher of The Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, and this year's winner of the Pulitzer prize for a series of editorials on racial, religious and economic tolerance, spoke in reply to a broadcast by Bilbo last week.

Referring to Bilbo's two terms as governor of Mississippi, Carter said, "he left it bankrupt . . . its university in disrepute and blacklisted . . . its institutions in political and moral chaos, its name a byword for political degradations."

Primary Season

Times N.Y. N.Y.

These are the days that try men's political chances: the season of the primaries is in full swing. By last week seventeen States had completed their primary elections. The week's big news came from Mississippi where Senator Theodore G. Bilbo on Tuesday won the Democratic nomination by a margin of more than 4,000 votes over the combined total cast for his four opponents. Thus he was assured of another six years in the Senate; in solidly Democratic Mississippi nomination means election. Sunday

Tomorrow a major primary election will be held in Minnesota, which will be in a sense a test of the strength of Harold E. Stassen, former Minnesota Governor, recently a Navy captain and now contender for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1948.

Last month, in Nebraska, Mr. Stassen received an indirect setback when his Senatorial nominee, Gov. Dwight Griswold, was defeated in the primary by isolationist Senator Hugh A. Butler. In the Minnesota campaign Mr. Stassen has backed Gov. Edward J. Thye, an advocate of international cooperation, for the Republican Senatorial nomination. Governor Thye's opponent is Senator Henrik Shipstead, a consistent isolationist. "The Man" Bilbo (so nicknamed because of his habit of referring to himself in the third person) campaigned with the battle-cry of "white supremacy." Many reasons were cited for his success at the polls. One was the apparent indifference of the white electorate. Of a large part of the total white population of more than 1,100,000 fewer than 200,000 voted. Of the total Negro population, of well over 1,000,000 the vote numbered only in the hundreds.

State To Take Action Against Negro Ballot

JACKSON, Miss., July 12—(AP)—Sen. Theo G. Bilbo, presiding at a "victory celebration" here last night, called for a special session of the Legislature to change the elec-

Bilbo Calls On Home

tion laws so as to keep Negroes from voting, took barbed verbal shots at his political opponents, and welcomed all voters "back into the fold."

Bilbo said the celebration was staged not "to crow," but to mark "the greatest victory of our lives because we have defeated our enemies outside of Mississippi — the enemies of the South and all the South stands for—the South's enemies from Maine to San Francisco, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf."

Bilbo said his election was a victory over "the Drew Pearsons, the Walter Winchells, Jim Dombrowskis, of the so-called Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Aubrey Williams, of the Southern Farmer; the PAC-CIO; the magazines Life, Saturday Evening Post, Time, Collier's The (Memphis) Commercial Appeal; The (New Orleans Times-Picayune; The St. Louis Post-Dispatch; The Philadelphia Record; Washington Post; The Chicago Defender; Pittsburgh Courier; Old Lady Roosevelt; Harold Ickes and Hank Wallace, together with all the Negroes, Communists, Negro lovers and advocates of social equality who poured out their slime and money in Mississippi."

* * *

BILBO THANKED his campaign workers and the laundry in Jackson which laundered his clothes during the campaign.

Turning to his proposal for a special session of the State Legislature, Bilbo said:

"I want to urge the governor of this state to immediately call a session of the Legislature to enact such laws as will not violate the decisions of the Supreme Court but at the same time will perpetuate the plans and purposes of the state constitution of 1890 that has kept the ballot box clean and white for 56 years."

BILBO VOTE TOPS OPPONENTS BY 4,102

Times New York, N.Y.

Small Majority Is Indicated in Mississippi Senate Race, Thus Avoiding Run-Off

Thurs. 7-4-46

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., July 3—By a narrow margin that will not be exactly known until the official canvass Saturday of yesterday's primary vote Senator Theodore G. Bilbo carried the field against the combined forces of his four opponents for his third Democratic nomination to the United States Senate. No run-off will be necessary, and his nomination amounts to election in this one-party State.

[Unofficial returns from 1,645 of 1,701 precincts reported by The Associated Press gave Senator Bilbo 96,395, Ross Collins 18,590, Tom Q. Ellis 57,288, Frank Harper 1,397 and Nelson T. Levings 15,333. On these figures Mr. Bilbo had a majority of 3,787.] Thurs. 7-4-46

Representative John E. Rankin, who, like Mr. Bilbo, was publicly outspoken against Negro voting in the Democratic primary, defeated two opponents, and no run-off will be necessary in his district.

The only incumbent in the Mississippi Congressional delegation who will have to contest a second time for the nomination is Representative Dan McGhee of Jackson, who failed to obtain a majority in his district. He has a slight plurality over his closest contender, John Bell Williams, a veteran who lost an arm in the second World War. They will race each other in a run-off on Aug. 27. Times Thurs 7-4

Despite the warnings by Mr. Bilbo and Mr. Rankin to Negroes to stay away from the polls, several hundred voted throughout the State and there was no disorder. They were mostly veterans who, by a new State law, were allowed to register and vote without payment of poll tax. New York, N.Y.

Anti-Bilbo Vote Split

Mr. Bilbo's closest rival was Tom Q. Ellis, former clerk of the State Supreme Court, who proved his State-wide vote-getting powers when he was elected to that post a few years ago. Former Representative Ross Collins, who has never shown much strength outside his own district, surrounding Meridian, was a poor third.

The votes cast for the four unsuccessful rivals were anti-Bilbo ballots, according to general opinion here. Mr. Ellis, who entered the race only at the last possible legal limit for filing, waged a carefully neutral campaign, avoiding even the mention of rivals' names. He denounced "intolerance and blasphemy" impersonally, and called for "constructive leadership" in the State. Thurs. 7-4-46

Mr. Collins made savage personal attacks on Mr. Bilbo, but Mr. Ellis seems to have been the beneficiary of many of the votes the former representative weaned away from the Bilbo standard. The fourth and fifth candidates were Nelson T. Levings, naval veteran of the Pacific campaign, and Frank Harpere, former State Senator.

Mr. Bilbo's strength with the Mississippi electorate, like that of Mr. Rankin, is hard to explain, even by his supporters. It seems to be based on a feeling of personal loyalty to him, which has descended from father to son during his long political life in the State.

Views of Opposing Voters

Watching the election returns last night were two elderly voters, one a veteran printer, the other an attorney and sometime county official. Being on opposite sides of the Bilbo fence, they engaged in an amiable argument over his political merits.

The printer, representing the pro-Bilbo side, said he had voted for him every time he has stood for office in Mississippi. As a result, he went on, "when I write Bilbo about something in Washington, I get action." He added that his five daughters, their husbands, and four grandchildren also voted for Senator Bilbo every time they got a chance. Thurs. 7-4-46

"If Bilbo went to Washington and stole the Capitol, I'd still be for him," the printer said by way of conclusion.

The attorney, on the contrary, has never voted for Mr. Bilbo. His reasons for this determined opposition were as nebulous as were those for the printer's partisanship. He protested that he had known Mr. Bilbo all his life and counted him as a friend. He mentioned a legal favor he had done for Mr. Bilbo once in his earlier career when the latter was under indictment "for some kind of devilment."

Pressed by the printer for his reasons for opposing the Senator, the attorney lodged a general charge that "Bilbo is always double-crossing his friends," and retired from the lists.

Bilbo in Martyr Role

The Senator's record as Governor seems to be an asset to him, although Mississippi Governors usually retire from that office in a deluge of unpopularity. Those who refer admiringly to his Gubernatorial record assert that he was thwarted by political opponents in the ambitious projects he attempted to get through the Legislature, but that succeeding Governors picked up his pioneering ideas and carried them to successful realization. Thurs 7-4-46

This kind of sentiment fits nicely into the reputation for martyrdom on which Mr. Bilbo thrives. A protege and political descendant of the late Senator James K. Vardaman (one of the "willful men" castigated by President Wilson for filibustering the armed merchant men bill just before the first World War) Mr. Bilbo has followed his mentor in cultivating the role of a man of the people.

He was elected to the Senate for the first time in 1934, over former Senator Hubert D. Stephens, as "the poor man's friend," a slogan that was highly popular during the depression. In 1940, he capitalized on the unpopularity his opponent in the run-off, former Governor Hugh L. White, carried with him out of the Governor's mansion.

It was not until the 1946 campaign that he raised the racial issue which has brought such national notice to the Mississippi primary in an off-year. While he has always been on the side of "white supremacy," as are all other successful political figures in this State, there has never been a question of Negroes voting in Democratic primary elections here since the reconstruction epoch.

Thus, as Eugene Talmadge is doing in Georgia, Senator Bilbo was able to threaten eventual Negro control of the State's political life as the possible penalty for voting for his opponents, although all four of them probably hold roughly the same ideas as he does about the Negro's place in southern life.

Mississippi's population is about evenly divided between Negroes and whites. It is almost entirely rural in character. Jackson, the largest population center in the State, lodges about 100,000 of the State's 2,000,000 inhabitants in its city limits and immediate environs. Thurs. 7-4-46

The influence of the "outside" criticism of Mr. Bilbo for his advocacy of preventing Negroes from voting in the primary is a matter of considerable debate among experienced political observers here today. They seem agreed that the charges of intolerance and bigotry leveled against him from the North did not alienate a single member of Mr. Bilbo's ardent personal following.

The point in dispute was whether this "northern interference" had helped to swell his vote, by attracting to his camp individuals resentful of out-of-State derogation of the Mississippi Senator. Nelson T. Levings, former commander in the Navy, who ran fourth in the race, expressed the view that enough extra votes were thrown to Mr. Bilbo in this manner to give him the narrow majority avoiding a second election, in which Mr. Levings believed Mr. Ellis could beat him.

"We could beat Bilbo if the newspapers outside the State would ignore him," said Mr. Levings.

HOW BILBO SQUEEZED THROUGH

Times New York, N.Y.

The population of the State of Mississippi in 1940 was 2,183,276. It is considerably more today. Of this 1940 population 1,074,578 was Negro. A few hundred Negroes voted in last Tuesday's primary elections. The results were determined by a white electorate drawn from a white population of more than 1,100,000. Of these fewer than 200,000 actually voted in the primaries in which Senator Theodore Gilmore Bilbo of Poplarville was a successful candidate to succeed himself. The Borough of Manhattan had in 1945 a population of about 1,900,000. Of these 453,936 cast their votes for Mayor last fall. That is to say, Manhattan, with at least 300,000 less than the population of Mississippi, cast about 250,000 more votes than Mississippi. On the Manhattan scale the white population alone in Mississippi should have produced about 300,000 votes, or about one-third more than it did produce. Tues. 7-5-46

The active voters of Mississippi evidently wished, in somewhat more than one case out of two, to be represented by Mr. Bilbo, and they will be. But Mr. Bilbo was actually chosen, not merely by a small minority of those who would have voted if voting conditions in Mississippi were what they are in New York City, but by a minority of the potential white voters of his State. Many Mississippians, doubtless accepted Bilbo because they resented "outside interference"—though they should bear in mind that a Senator is a Federal official and helps make laws for outsiders as well as insiders. We don't have to conclude, and this is a comfort, that a majority even of white Mississippians positively wanted him.

Who Elected Bilbo

The News and Courier

The Northern agitators who, by incessant interference forced the Mississippians to be on the defensive and to renominate Mr. Bilbo for United States senator, are now deeply concerned about what they have done and are undertaking to undo it. They demand investigation of the Mississippi primary. The investigators can make clear to the intelligent Americans the causes of the result in Mississippi by examining the files of the "Labor" and pinkish magazines published in Northern cities, the accounts of picketing Mr. Bilbo's home in Washington and the proceedings of the "Liberal" and C. I. O.-PAC organizations. The political pharisees in other states have made it impossible to elect a Lamar, a John Sharpe Williams or a Leroy Percy to the United States senate in Mississippi. Charleston, S.C. Wed. 9-11-46

Northerners Elected Bilbo

The News and Courier, Charleston

In the "one party states" of the South where nomination in the primary is "equivalent", it is almost unknown that a candidate is nominated, if there be two or more other candidates who are taken seriously, in the first primary. In the Mississippi primary T. G. Bilbo was renominated for United States senator, although three other candidates sought the nomination. Newspapers in the remote cities, New York for example, are deploring the result. They do not know it, but they are responsible for it. They forced the Mississippians to defend themselves against dictation. They chilled the opposition of men to whom Mr. Bilbo is not acceptable.

Were conditions reversed, were the South the powerful and populous section, if it had the national organs of publicity and the barrels of money, and undertook to "educate" the Pennsylvanians or the New Yorkers, they would elect and reelect their Bilbos. In truth some of these distant states have had and they have representatives in their public life no better than the Bilbos. Will The News and Courier name them? Certainly not. It is not a doctor to practice on New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Illinois, and it confesses sorrowfully that its disinfectants are not sufficient for its South Carolina. Foreign doctoring is inseparable from quackery. Sun. 7-7-46

A Scared Bilbo Wins

The News

Sen. Theo G. Bilbo apparently has a strong hold on enough voters of Mississippi to assure his continuance in office. But there is enough opposition to him and his ways to give him cause for worry every time he runs for office. Lit. 8-6-46

So it was in this week's Democratic primary. Bilbo, on the basis of unofficial returns, has a clear majority of around 4,000 votes over his four opponents, and thus will not be forced into a runoff. But there are 100,000 voters in Mississippi who would not

Many of them, perhaps most of them, are deeply anti-Bilbo, courageous of white Democrats, voted in willthe Democratic primary. There are, it is head certain now, many good citizens of Mississippi who do not share Bilbo's form of race prejudice. Lit. 7-6-46

ened government is the fact that many Ne-
per groes of Mississippi, with the help and en-
bilbo courage ment of white Democrats, voted in
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"Bilboism" On The Skids"

The Black Dispatch

A large number of liberals who fought against the re-election of "The Man" Bilbo are openly lamenting this week election returns from Mississippi, but few seem to observe the advances made in democratic thinking down in Dixie despite the re-election of this disgusting exponent of white supremacy. To our notion a lot of good news eminated from Mississippi last week that should be properly checked and evaluated. Oklahoma City, Okla.

For instance, Senator Bilbo actually received a total of 97,000 votes while his opponent received 93,000—a difference of only four thousand rests between the people down in Mississippi who believe in good government and brotherhood and the class of folk who think like Senator Bilbo thinks. It should be kept in mind that Senator Bilbo raised an issue down in his home state which the returns show is ceasing to be an issue. Senator Bilbo declared he was running on a "white supremacy" platform, and almost half of the citizens of that state indicate by their vote that this false issue does not impress them. Sat. 7-13-46

We doubt seriously that the whole picture of what is happening down in Mississippi, as its citizens drift towards right thinking, is reflected in the figures given above. It should be remembered that Mississippi has a total population, according to the U .S. Census, of 2,183,796, and that 1,077,469 are colored. All of the voters who cast ballots in last Tuesday's election, with the exception of a handful, were white. Disregarding how the Negroes would have voted had they been unmolested in their suffrage rights, it should be kept in mind that only 9 per cent of the total white electorate voted. How would the other 91 per cent of the white voters cast their ballots had they themselves not been disfranchised by poll tax laws? How much resentment rests in the hearts and souls of this 91 per cent white vote against laws that place the ballot in the hands of the rich and denies it to the poor?

Mississippi passed its existing restrictive suffrage legislation in 1890. It provides first of all that a two-dollar annual poll tax must be paid. It is cumulative. That is to say, the state does not forgive the tax year by year. Across a ten-year period a voter who has never voted would owe $20, and that is the basic reason why more than half a million whites in a state where the per capita income is the lowest in the nation, are unable to meet the vicious challenge of a cumulative poll tax on election day. It would be interesting to know what the "peckerwoods," as Senator Bilbo insultingly calls them, would do if the unrestricted use of the ballot were placed in their hands.

And then after using an economic club to disfranchise white people, and in the name of white supremacy, the ruling class Mississippians place another prohibition on Negro voting. They have a literacy test for the blacks. This fools many whites who cannot see that they are just as thoroughly disfranchised with an economic election tool (the poll tax) as the blacks with a literacy requirement for registration. On the literacy question the Mississippi law says:

> "A person shall not be registered unless he is able to read any section of the Constitution, or, in case he cannot read, unless he is able to understand any section thereof when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof."

Presentation of the poll tax receipt is a requirement when the elector appears and offers to vote, and thus the nuisance value of the poll tax is materially increased for the poor whites as the poor blacks who must move from plantation to plantation annually, are unable to preserve anything of value. With the almost total disfranchisement of the whites and the blacks, it is interesting to know that almost fifty per cent of the voters are slowly opening their eyes, and show by their votes that the old hue and cry about black domination has lost its charm. Sat. 7-13-46

Down in Dixie it is slowly dawning on the white masses that the backwardness of the South is closely related to restrictive suffrage laws. When the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South met in Atlanta December 21,-1944, it was clearly brought out that in the 13 southern states, bedridden with poll tax and other restrictive measures, only 27.9 per cent of the electorate cast their ballots, but that in the North, where every citizen has the untrammeled freedom to use his vote as he chooses, 61 per cent of the potential cast their ballots. Oklahoma, despite its early-day experience in disfranchisement, shows the highest average in voting strength of any commonwealth in the South, showing an average of around 55 per cent, while this year the record shows Mississippi, in its senatorial race, dropped down to 9 per cent.

There are those who argue that outside influences were responsible for the re-election of Senator Bilbo, and that if the state had been left to its own self-determination, "The Man" Bilbo would have gone down into defeat. We are not too deeply impressed with that sort of logic. The rich experiences of humanity teach that persuasion has efficacy and virtue. Of course, many people misnomer as force what we characterize as persuasion. The argument is made that people revolt against force, entirely forgetful that it was the application of force that brought about the independence of this nation, and it was the application of force that later brought about the freedom of the slaves.

How many Black Dispatch readers believe that England would voluntarily have released the American colonies from her clutches and that the slaveholders would have reacted similarly to freedom for the blacks without outside interference? How many religionists are impressed with the thought that Christianity can be advanced by withdrawal of missionaries from foreign missions? Sat. 7-13-46

Force is necessary in the life of humanity to compel men and women to sit down and contemplate upon truth. That's why organized society has created laws and penalties. An individual will not halt to think about personal excesses until nature penalizes his health. There's vision, understanding and virtue in force, and usually force has to arrive in the form of outside interference.

We think the South would not be looking critically at itself today, and Mississippi wou'd not have expressed itself last Tuesday as it did, had it not been for the outside interference of President Roosevelt, who a number of years ago caused an economic survey to be made of the resources down in Dixie which so exposed sectional improvidence and excesses that prominent citizens below the Mason and Dixon line started thinking soberly as they had never thought before since Appomattox.

The CIO is another outside influence that is going to be helpful to the Southland in its thinking. Of course there will be resentment, but resentment will provoke discussion, resulting in a trend of thought never before occurring in the South. The CIO is going to teach the southern poor-white that no workman, regardless of his race, can have security down in Dixie so long as a destitute black man stands outside the door of Dixie's industrial establishment. The CIO is going to bring outside vision in to prove that the man without work in actuality sets the salary norm of the man who works. Sat. 7-13-46

What most people fail to realize is that progress is a snail. The election returns from Mississippi last Tuesday prove that Senator Bilbo is on the way out. The Black Dispatch does not believe he can survive another election, for

BILBOISM AND DEMOCRACY

Now that the citizens of Mississippi, the white ones at least, have given Bilbo a vote of confidence and sent him back to the Senate, the time has come to explore the meaning of this election. However you look at it, there is one thing certain; too many Americans are embracing democracy with one hand and stabbing her in the back with the other. Further, as long as any man can get elected to the highest legislative body in the United States on the platform of Bilbo, our democracy is in grave danger.

We have read the editorials in many of the great daily newspapers and most of them hold that Bilbo's victory was "regrettable." Some like the New York Daily News seeks to "explain" away the shame of this election by pointing out that the South is still angry at Thaddeus Stevens and the Yankees who freed the slaves at the point of a musket. None of these newspapers, however, seem to be alarmed over Bilbo's victory nor do they seem to regard Bilboism as a menace to our democracy. Sat. 7-13-46

Here is a man with a live bomb in his hand threatening to throw it at the very foundation of our republic, and the great newspapers of our country dismiss him with a slap on the wrist. Frankly, we don't understand some of our good white folks. They talk democracy until they are blue in the face

but they would not be caught dead practising it. They are ready to fight every nation on earth and all of them combined to defend democracy so they alone can have the exclusive privilege of kicking it to death. Detroit, Mich

Bilbo, Talmadge and their ilk have openly urged the citizenry to defy the laws of our government and the fundamental principles of our Constitution. And what is worst of all, this treasonable line is supported at the polls on election day. Further anyone who condemns these demagogues too loudly does so at the risk of becoming an outcast in our society. In other words, right makes wrong and wrong makes right.

This lying, double-crossing, treacherous, double-dealing, hypocritical, two-faced, immoral philosophy of preaching democracy while practicing fascism makes a sneak-thief like Joe Stalin look like Little Orphan Annie. Democracy is a way of life, not a way of talking. We in America have got to face the facts of life and the cross-eyed leadership which insists that democracy be limited to white folks must be denounced and opposed at every turn. Pat 7-13-46

Because Bilboism is aimed primarily at Negroes, there are some racial and religious minorities in America who may think they are escaping this evil. Just as sure as death and taxes, unless Bilboism is checked soon, every Catholic, Jew, and foreign-born person in America is going to become the object of persecution. It is the nature of the fascist term to attack that part of the body politic in which will meet the least resistance. Hating Negroes is popular in some quarters and there is a great "tolerance" for the Negro-baiter. The white-supremacy dictator finds an easy spring-board to power.

The Ku Klux Klan started out as an organization dedicated principally to the re-enslavement of Negroes. It was not long, however, before the burning crosses were planted in the front yards of Catholics, Jews and other groups. Hitler started out denouncing Jews but wound up putting Christian ministers in concentration camps and making slaves out of German children. Yes, Joe Stalin and his gang started out to give new freedoms to the Russian peasants and wound up dictating what they should read, say and write. Detroit, Mich

Shall we Americans whose forefathers started out on the premise that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness" prove unfaithful? Shall we give them the lie? This is the big question before us and our democracy hinges on the answer.

THE PHILIPPINES

Not even the braying of Senator Bilbo can drown out the cheers for freedom which rang out in the newest member of the family of nations on Independence Day. Our government acting in the great democratic tradition of the founders of our republic has fulfilled its promise of independence to the people of the Philippines. President Truman officially proclaimed the independence of the islands and hailed the birth of a new republic.

It is fitting that we should show the world that unlike Britain and Russia, we have no imperial designs on our neighbors nor have we any fears that impel us to seek protection through expanding frontiers. We shall rely upon the power and strength of genuine friendship and maintain the policy of the "good neighbor." We hold with President Manuel Roxas who declared: "Our two countries will be united by the unbreakable bonds of mutual respect and affection—bonds forged in the common struggle in peace and war for the greatest happiness and welfare of our two peoples."

Bilbo Wins But at Same Time Loses

Call

Kansas City

Negroes Ignore Intimidations And Go to Polls

JACKSON, Miss.—(ANP)—Ignoring the declarations of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo that every "red-blooded Anglo-Saxon Mississippian will use every means possible to keep Negroes from voting" in Mississippi, white election officials here last week were described as "very cooperative" when Negroes voted in a Democratic primary for the first time since the Reconstruction. Ballots were refused, it was said, only in cases where the voter failed to comply with primary statutes.

Few disorders were reported, and even in Biloxi where a red-lettered sign in the business district warned, "Negroes, vote at your own risk," colored persons voted. In Meridian, only one Negro attempted to cast a ballot, and he was said to have failed to qualify. Call

According to the demands of liberal organizations that Negro voters be protected, federal authorities had served notice that action would be taken if qualified Negroes were denied the right to vote. As the voting proceeded in an orderly manner, despite tension engendered through pre-primary threats by Bilbo and his kind, federal intervention was unnecessary. 7-12-46

Heaviest Vote in Capital

The heaviest Negro voting took place here at the state capital, where the first person casting a ballot was Percy Green, editor of the Jackson Advocate and a local NAACP official. A Republican, Green's paper is the official organ of the State Republican committee. At precinct 30, Negroes voted in the Bilbo home.

"I don't see how any one could have been nicer," Green said of election officials: "There was no sign, no expression that anyone wanted to deny us the ballot. And there was no sign of any trickery or indication that our ballots might not be counted."

T. B. Wilson, real estate operator here and president of the recently formed Mississippi chapter of the Progressive Voters league, also seemed satisfied at the treatment of Negroes he observed at the polls.

Qualified electors in the all-Negro community of Mound Bayou, normally a Republican stronghold, also participated in the Democratic primary, although the sheriff challenged their right because of party irregularity. The three Negro judges overruled the county official's contention, and permitted Negroes to vote for the first time in the town's history in a Democratic primary. 7-12-46

Whites Also Challenged

The challenge, made to Mound Bayou, was also said to have been made to white voters who must "be in harmony with the party" as provided by a 1942 state statute.

Inconsistent with the general pattern of voting, Pass Christian, where 18 Negroes voted in a city election recently, denied the right to vote to them last week. There was no disorder, but an investigation will be made of an incident where four Negroes, approaching the polling booth, allegedly were refused entrance by an election official. An estimated 1,500 Negroes voted throughout the state.

Senator Bilbo, whose announced vote lead is challenged by other primary candidates, concluded that outside influences advocating social equality were attempting to tell Mississippians how to vote in an effort to break down racial barriers. He said while only a few would try to vote in this primary, that year by year the Negro vote would increase until "in years to come they will control Mississippi politics." Kansas City, Mo.

FEPC Chief Issue

Bilbo, who may have to undergo a run-off as he did in 1934 when the late Sen. Hubert D. Stephens was his opponent, used as a chief campaign issue his fight against the Fair Employment Practices committee. Call

Nelson T. Devings, of Gulfport, a defeated primary candidate, charged Bilbo with "stealing the election," and demanded a recount of the ballots.

"We have just begun to fight," Leavings said as he announced organization of a "last-ditch battle to prevent the re-seating of the tub-thumping advocate of 'white supremacy'." Friday 7-12-46

Although Bilbo carried 76 of 82 counties, he won by a slim majority, and it was thought he might be scheduled for the run-off.

BILBO WINS AGAIN

Cartoon

An Editorial From The New York Herald Tribune

Like the cantankerous Old Man of the Sea perched on the shoulders of Sindbad the Sailor, Theodore G. (The Man) Bilbo is exceedingly hard to dislodge. The voters of Mississippi had an opportunity to terminate Mr. Bilbo's career in the Democratic primaries Tuesday, but through inertia, resentment or contrariness (perhaps all three) renominated him. Thus, despite the public indignation at his record, despite the considerable forces of tolerance and sanity arrayed in spirit against him, his re-election in November to another six-year term in the United States Senate is assured. Sun. 7-13-46

There are several reasons why Bilbo's defeat would have been a victory for the American people. It would have removed from the Senate chamber an elderly ranter who seems to have a peculiarer type of citizenship, a more deep South community in the deep South can bluster could not keep them away. long continue to bar Negroes from In most Mississippi communities this basic freedom when Mississippi, recent stronghold of Bilbo's "white supremacy," concedes their right to vote and admits them to the polling place. In the long run, that is more important than who shall represent Mississippi in the Senate for the next six years.

Bilbo's indignation at his record, and discriminating use of American citizenship. Bilbo's genius for placing his energy and thoughtful and oratory on the wrong side of al- of the ballot. Detroit

Mississippi primaries But the Mississippi total loss. For the the new voters were treated with the history of the decency and consideration. Where went to the polls election officials sought to bar They went hesitatingly them with technical obstacles, they hundreds out of Mis- backed up by the courts and voted. Negro population of Regardless of the outcome, enough to count. They peaceable march to the polls of they moved forward, Mississippi's first Negro voters is their places in the ranks a healthy sign of progress. No

were not a total first time in the state, Negroes were Only a few hundred sissippi's Negro population. Only a few hundred in some cases, but they went, stood their ground and voted. They were run, that is more important than who shall represent Mississippi in the Senate for the next six years.

Call

Kansas City

Detroit

Detroit, Mich

Call

Call

Detroit

Detroit

Call

Call

Call

Bilbo Stirred New Forces In His State

Courier Journal

THE worst was feared, and even expected, from Mississippi's primary election. Now that it has come in the renomination of THEODORE G. BILBO for the Senate, with more votes than his four opponents combined, there isn't much for Mississippi and the country generally to do except look for a silver lining.

Actually, one may be found. BILBO's strength is, in a way, a reflection of the weakness of his opposition. The most likely champions to unhorse him remained in their tents, for good or doubtful reasons. He won largely because he had created a vast, unwholesome excitement by raising the false issue of threatened Negro domination of politics and intrusion into social customs. As shrewd and talented a demagogue as lives today, he preyed on fear, prejudice and ignorance. And his opponents either sought to play his game, without his knack at indecency and hoodwinking, or dodged the issue entirely, and so were overwhelmed by the flood of emotion that he set loose. Louisville, Ky.

However, it became apparent toward the last of the campaign that truth and morality were gaining ground and moving up fast. BILBO's incitements of race and religious prejudice, his lawless proposal to keep Negroes from voting "by any means," were bringing rebukes within his own State. Negroes themselves, who had never voted in Mississippi in this century, began stirring restlessly, made conscious of race as never before, moved by intimations of dignity and power that had never occurred to them.

The few who braved his threats and voted were unmolested at the polls or in their homes, and this fact has given them a new sense of the security of democratic institutions. BILBO won, on a vicious yet deliberately contrived issue, but election day was none too soon for him. The reaction was setting in, the tide was rising, as every observer of the campaign has testified. BILBO won, but because the forces against him moved too little and too late. But they are there. 7-5-46

And this is the very gleam of the silver lining. BILBO has started something that looks to be bigger than he is. Circumstances helped him. There were court decisions on Negro voting that were too fresh to be absorbed into proper judgment. There was an excess of zeal by crusaders in other parts and by national publications that fairly screamed of his iniquity. They gave him a chance which he, of all men, is adept at seizing. It was another Yankee invasion. They are against BILBO, he would have his neighbors know, not because his name is BILBO, but because he has been tireless in defense of your traditions, my friends. Reconstruction and its carpetbaggers were conjured up with every breath. But those circumstances have run their course. An awareness has been stimulated that is certain to make pointless any attempt to revive them. The base of Mississippi's electorate will be broader in the future, and this is always bad for demagogues. Friday

The Tinkling Brass

Birmingham News

First press reports yesterday from Jackson, Miss., stated flatly that Negroes were voting, that the Democratic primary throughout the state was being conducted in peaceful fashion, except for Mr. Rankin's encounter with a photographer. True, Negroes were voting in small numbers. One report said that "not many were qualified."

Banner-led by Theodore Bilbo, ably seconded by John Rankin, what during the days before the election seemed to be a booming bass crescendo of protest and determination to keep Mississippi's Democratic primary "white," yesterday appeared to have been only tinkling brass—very flat, very stale brass. Wed. 7-3-46

Why did Bilbo do it? Perhaps "The Man" himself does not know clearly. Perhaps he was somewhat irritated by the fact that *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's* and other publications focused a hot light on him; his irritation at that, however, may not have been purely an angry, dissenting irritation. He may have been "eating it up." Bilbo has never quailed before opposition.

Observers in the South who believe in a fair base of franchise for effective democracy and prosperity of the region yesterday could breathe a sigh of relief that no such demonstrations as had been feared had developed. Negroes were calmly, peacefully voting. One Negro editor said, "I don't see how anyone could have been nicer," when referring to the election officials. Wed. 7-3-46

Yet, while no fireworks were evident, it would be an error to assume that all is sweetness and light in Mississippi. The signs which emanated from the state—the great freedom with which Bilbo was able to carry on his disgusting spectacle—point out dangers. That those dangers are less than had been feared is a fact for thanksgiving.

Overcoming The Causes

Birmingham News

President Truman asked a group of educators who had called upon him to help "overcome those prejudices which cause wars—religious prejudices, economic prejudices, misunderstandings between races and people of different languages." It is a good cause, one in which not only educators but also all citizens should do their part. 7-18-46 Thursday

For prejudices are deep-rooted and of many sorts. There are many things happening in America today which tend to strengthen not only American prejudices but also prejudices against us. We are doing things which build in the minds of other peoples fears of our intentions.

What, for example, of the American attitude toward food? Millions of people in Europe and Asia are hungry. Death by starvation is a common thing. Diseases of malnutrition are widespread. Women stand in line for hours to get a loaf of bread or a little bit of rice. But in this country, garbage collections are heavier than ever. In two weeks of February, 1946, the Street Department of New York City collected 125,000 cubic yards more of waste than it did in the same period in 1945. Such facts as that encourage prejudices among cold and hungry people of other lands, despite our broad programs of relief.

And what about the election of politicians like Bilbo who batten on prejudices? When men of his sort are elected to office, can we go before the world with clean hands and plead our lack of prejudice? Can we contribute much toward tearing down the prejudices that divide nations when our internal prejudices are still so powerful?

The list is much longer. But perhaps enough has been indicated to suggest that if Americans would help toward reducing prejudices in the world, they have much need for beginning at home.

Victory for Mr. Bilbo Today

Atlanta Constitution

Harried Mississippi, with relatively few of her voters expected to go to the polls, will return Theodore Bilbo to the Senate today. Atlanta, Ga.

Bilbo recently was voted the worst man in the Senate; termed by Sen. Taft "our shame." Tues. July 8-2-46

Once a Mississippi Legislature said of him that he 'was not fit to sit in the company of decent men.' 7-2-46

He has campaigned against Jews, Negroes and Catholics. He has written insulting letters to Americans of Italian ancestry beginning: "Dear Dago." To Jews he has addressed letters beginning: "Dear Kike." Atlanta, Ga.

Mississippi is blackmailed by him and afraid of him. Sunday 7-2-46

His opposition is split four ways.

No candidate of strength has offered, fearing Bilbo's filth and wit.

So, he will be elected again.

It is well, in passing to remember that such a man, or any like him, answers something in the minds and prejudices of some Americans. That any thoughtful person should join in support saying: "Oh, of course he is crazy, but harmless," is profoundly disturbing. 7-2-46

Tomorrow he, or any other like him, might campaign against those of Greek descent, or of Syrian or Norwegian. Hitler was a clown in 1923 supported then by some Jews who thought him "harmless."

They come and go, these kind.

And they come with less frequency. Even Mississippi, ashamed and afraid, is showing signs of greater shame. Even though she votes him in, not even Bilbo can find much joy in the doing or the method of it. Sun 7-2-46

Greetings from the Southland

Sirs: Time Magazine New York

"Buttinsky Damyankees" (TIME, July 15). That is just what re-elected Senator Bilbo to another term in the Senate. He may be all that you say he is or say is not, but it is none of the business of . . . damnedyankees

You should keep in mind the fact that our Constitution was framed by Southerners; that for the first 80 years of our national life, Southern men were the leaders of the nation. You think you are better than anybody who lives in the South, and you never lose an opportunity to "rub it in" on the Southern people. New York

If you had any political sense and had stayed out of the campaign in Mississippi, Bilbo would have been defeated. . . . Sun 8-5-46

E. E. PATTON
Knoxville, Tenn.

One-Armed Hero Of War, 27, Unseats Mississippi Veteran

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 7-28-46

JACKSON, MISS., Aug. 27.—(AP)—John Bell Williams, 27-year-old one-armed war veteran, ousted Dan R. McGehee today from the post McGehee has held for 12 years as representative from Mississippi's Seventh Congressional District.

Williams defeated the 61-year-old McGehee in a run-off Democratic primary, equivalent to election in Mississippi.

With his lead mounting at every count, Williams had 14,292 votes to McGehee's 11,352 in tabulations of returns from 191 of the sprawling district's 316 precincts.

McGehee had a slight lead of 855 to 804 in his home county of Franklin. Nearly everywhere else in the 15 county districts the Williams a large and growing margin.

Williams, a lieutenant and AAF pilot in the war, lost his arm in an air crash in British Guiana in which his four crew members were killed. They were on their way to North Africa.

Discharged from the service, he was appointed and later elected prosecuting attorney of Hinds county which includes the State capital of Jackson.

A $1,500,000 airport at Raymond, his home, has been named for him. Wed. 8-28-46

Eight weeks ago McGehee and Williams ran one-two in the first primary in which a field of five candidates participated. McGehee polled 15,186 votes and Williams drew 13,778 out of the 39,364 ballots cast.

Desultory at first, the run-off campaign warmed up in recent weeks with the burning of three fiery crosses in the Jackson area and a verbal battle

One Negro leader at Jackson said the crosses—sometimes the symbol of the Ku Klux Klan—were burned in an effort to "intimidate and cower" Negroes for their political activity.

But a number of Negroes cast ballots in a peaceful atmosphere today. The voting throughout the 15 counties was light. Polls closed at 6 p.m.

Bilbo Leads in Early Returns; Rankin, Cameraman Tangle

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C. Wed 7-15-46

Jackson, Miss., July 2.—(AP): Senator Theodore G. Bilbo long time champion of white supremacy, seeking another term in the senate, jumped into the lead tonight on early returns from Mississippi's first Democratic primary in which negroes were allowed to vote.

The count from 40 of the state's 1,713 precincts gave Bilbo 2,654 votes; State Supreme Court Clerk Tom Q. Ellis 2,004; former Representative Ross A. Collins 366; naval veteran Nelson T. Levings 277, and former State Senator Frank Harper 27.

Most negroes who could qualify were allowed to go peacefully to the polls, and no acts of violence were reported in connection with their balloting.

And Eaton Garriga, who served as a bailiff at Pass Christian where 18 negroes participated in a municipal primary several weeks ago, said that election commissioners there voted before the polls opened this morning to deny the ballot to negroes today.

But for the most part, reports indicated that registered negroes who sought to vote were challenged only for legal cause, such as non-payment of poll taxes or questioned adherence to the Democratic party. Only a thousand or so negro ballots were cast, in all, but the number represented a good proportion of the total registration.

Negro leaders at Jackson said they saw no indication of intimidation or trickery.

There was an altercation at Tupelo, where another outspoken advocate of white supremacy, Representative John E. Rankin, cast his vote.

Associated Press Photographer Allen W. Snipes attempted to make a picture of the 64-year-old, slightly-built Rankin outside of the polling place.

Rankin attacked Snipes, tearing off his shirt, scratching his neck and arms and snatching his camera. The considerably-larger Snipes did not attempt to strike the congressman.

Later, Rankin said that Snipes violated his rights by trying to make a picture of him and by photographing Mrs. Rankin in the act of voting. Wed. 7-3-46

The incident was given prominence in a radio appearance by Rankin's 37-year-old opponent, Claude F. Clayton, and Rankin went on the air with a reply. The third candidate in the First district is Charles G. Hamilton.

Each hoping to force Bilbo into a runoff primary, the senator's four opponents closed their campaigns with expressions of confidence. All conceded that Bilbo would be high man in the race, but all predicted that he would not obtain the outright majority needed for nomination in today's voting.

The Nation Today

BY JAMES MARLOW

WASHINGTON, July 5 — (AP) — Sen. Bilbo's reelection in Mississippi calls for fact-finding.

It's this: Does his racial prejudice represent the thinking of white Mississippians?

He pitched his campaign on "white supremacy" and told whites to keep Negroes from the polls.

This was all-out racial prejudice. He was elected. This was the third time he's been elected senator. After his victory he said:

"I made the same fight and have the same convictions that a great majority of Southerners have."

Did he? 7-5-46 Fri.

He certainly was the choice of the majority of Mississippians who actually voted.

They gave him 97,000 votes to a combined vote of 93,000 for his four opponents. The total vote cast, almost entirely white, was about 190,000.

But—the majority of white Mississippians who voted for him were only a small minority of the 500,000 white persons old enough to vote in Mississippi.

(About 500,000 Mississippi Negroes are old enough to vote, but only a handful did so in this election.)

B'ham Alabama

THE 97,000 VOTES BILBO GOT was 19½ per cent of the 500,000 potential white vote. His opponents 93,000 was 18½ per cent. So the total vote cast, 190,000, was only 38 per cent of the 500,000 potential vote.

(Some of those who stayed away from the voting booths may not have had the money to pay their poll tax, but the rest probably lacked enough interest in the issues to go to the polls.)

So it would seem Bilbo's racial-prejudice campaign got the results he wanted.

For his prejudicial talk during his years in Washington, Bilbo has been criticized by writers and commentators, particularly Northerners.

When the campaign started, some Mississippi opponents of Bilbo said in effect:

"Mississippians resent the Northern attacks on Bilbo. They resent outside intrusion. It turns them toward Bilbo. Fri. 7-5-46

"If the outsiders would lay off, we could handle the situation here and maybe defeat him."

That, to this writer, seems a negative approach. It overlooks, or sidesteps, three main points:

1. THE WHOLE COUNTRY has an interest in any senator, no matter who, since he can help or block legislation affecting the whole nation and the welfare of millions.

2. The cry—"Let us handle our own problems"—is the one always raised by Southern Democratic senators when they filibuster to death things like the anti-poll tax bill. The poll tax stays.

3. It is asking people who resent Bilbo's tactics to remain quiet in the simple hope that Mississippians—if they can forget Bilbo by not hearing of him—may vote against him some time.

Racial discrimination — the issue Bilbo raised—is a very real thing in the South where Jim Crow laws and racial segregation are the law of the land. B'ham, Ala.

In Mississippi, racial consciousness is acute since the population of 2,000,000 is roughly half white, half Negro.

White voters know the changes they could expect if Negroes, able to use their strength through the ballot, got power.

The problem of Negro voting will become more, not less, intense in the South, the more Negroes try to vote. Fri. 7-5-46

For those outsiders and Mississippians who shudder at racial prejudice, what's the answer?

It's an old problem, cutting deep, and probably will be long in solving. Better educational and economic chances for whites and Negroes would help.

Mississippi Muddle

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

The Port Gibson (Miss.) Reveille blames New York and Washington for the re-election of Bilbo and Rankin to the U.S. Congress because Northerners meddled in Southern elections. Sat. 7-27-46

Because of this Northern interference, it is argued, many voters cast ballots for Bilbo and Rankin who had never voted for them before.

That seems to us to be very poor reasoning. It would indicate that Mississippi voters pay more attention to the outside criticism than they do to their own obligations.

Mississippi newspapers ought to confess that Bilbo and Rankin won because they got the majority of the votes, of all of the people who can vote in Mississippi.

They ought to confess, too, that this majority in Mississippi is so backward, poor and unlettered that it chooses poor candidates rather than good ones. 7-27-46

Finally, the Mississippi newspapers ought to confess that the educated, decent and upstanding Mississippians are in such a minority that they have no control over the elections of their State.

Bilbo Appears Winner, But Has Some Regrets

Birmingham News Birmingham, Alabama

JACKSON, Miss., July 4—(AP)—Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, Mississippi's vociferous exponent of white supremacy, who apparently was renominated for election in Tuesday's Democratic primary, is sorry that he wasn't in a Southwide election.

In a telephone interview from his Poplarville home, Bilbo, who made white supremacy the No. 1 issue during his campaign for renomination against four opponents, said:

"We have met the enemy and they are ours. We will now sing 'God Bless Mississippi.' The only regret I have is that I could not have been in a Southwide election because I made the same fight and have the same convictions that a great majority of Southerners have." Thursday

With only 43 of the state's 1,701 precincts missing, Bilbo, self-dubbed "The Man," held a 4,102 majority on the basis of unofficial returns from the Democratic primary in which Negroes voted for first time. 7-4-46

* * *

THE UNOFFICIAL RETURNS showed that Bilbo polled 96,847 votes; Tom Q. Ellis, State Supreme Court clerk, 57,336; former Congr. Ross Collins, 18,613; Nelson T. Levings, naval veteran, 15,396, and Frank Harper, Peachtree salesman, 1,397.

On the basis of the unofficial returns, only one of the four incumbent members of the National House of Representatives with opposition in the first primary faces a runoff. He is Rep. Dan R. McGehee, of the Seventh Mississippi District, who probably will tangle with John Bell Williams in the second primary. 7-4-46.

Apparently nominated and therefore reelected in one-party Mississippi are Reps. John E. Rankin, also an outspoken supporter of white supremacy, from the First District; Arthur Winstead, Fifth District, and William Colmer, in the Sixth.

Reps. Jamie L. Whitten, Second District; Will M. Whittington, Third, and Thomas G. Abernathy, Fourth, faced no opposition in the primary.

MISSISSIPPIANS FILE A COMPLAINT

AGAINST SENATOR BILBO

Declare His Election 'Tainted With Fraud and Duress'

JACKSON, (Miss.) Sept. 16 (UP).—The first complaint from within Mississippi against Senator Theodore Bilbo's recent re-nomination is in the mails en route to Washington, it was revealed tonight.

Some fifty white and negro qualified voters in Mississippi filed a sworn statement, charging that Bilbo's election was "tainted with fraud and duress and achieved by force and violence."

Percy Green, negro editor of the Jackson Advocate, said that among the signers was a white Methodist minister from McComb, Miss., the Rev. Joseph A. Smith, brother of "Strange Fruit" Authoress Lillian Smith.

The statement was filed jointly by the State Progressive Voters League and the Jackson branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was sent both to the congressional subcommittee investigating Bilbo's election, and to the Senate privileges and elections committee.

The sworn statement today is similar to the one filed ten days ago by the National Negro Council of New York, asking that Bilbo be denied his seat in the Senate.

At the time that the council representatives appeared before the Senate committee, Senator Allen Ellender, Democrat, Louisiana, a member, commented that all complaints against Bilbo seemed to come from out of Mississippi.

The brief en route to Washington tonight was the first action taken from within the state, following Bilbo's primary victory on a white supremacy platform. In Mississippi, a primary is tantamount to an election.

O'DWYER BACKS DRIVE TO ABOLISH 'BILBOISM'

The Times New York, N.Y.

Mayor O'Dwyer, in a message last night to guests at the "Unseat Bilbo" winner of the Civil Rights Congress at the Hotel Pennsylvania, warned against "dangers which lurk in the wake of Bilboish."

"I share with you the firm conviction that Bilboism, as a way of life, is inimical and offensive, not only to our history and traditions, but to the good sense and democratic disposition of our people," the Mayor wrote in a message that was read at the dinner. "It is important that support be rallied for your nation-wide drive on Bilboism." Fri. 10-18-46

Representative Helen Gahagan of California, here as a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations Assembly, asserted that the world body was meeting "under a charter whose very foundation stone rests on belief in the fundamental equality of men."

Other speakers were Hyman Blumberg, executive vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and State chairman of the American Labor party; Percy Greene, publisher and editor of The Jackson (Miss.) Advocate; Paul Robeson, actor; Dashiell Hammett, author, and Rabbi William F. Rosenblum. George Marshall, chairman of the board of Civil Rights Congress, welcomed the guests. Samuel Neuberger served as toastmaster.

THE Watchtower by ROY WILKINS

Chronicle

NO one who had any idea of the realities of the situation expected Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo to lose in the primaries in Mississippi July 2. The significant—really revolutionary—aspect of the election was the participation of Negroes in the hitherto White Democratic Primary. This was what made July 2, 1946, a red-letter day in Mississippi, and not the rantings of Bilbo.

Lit 7-13-46

Roy Wilkins

It seems reasonable to believe that in another six years when Bilbo's term is over, neither he nor any man like him could be elected to the United States Senate. Within that period both the Negroes and the whites will have learned something they only felt dimly last week. Either Bilbo will change his tune by 1952 or he will not be elected.

First estimates of the number of Negro voters range as low as 2,000 in the whole state, with some as high as 5,000. The number is really not important. The important thing is that in the face of threats and intimidations by Bilbo himself, Negroes went quietly about the business of registering and voting. Last week 2,000 were unafraid. Next year 20,000 will be unafraid, and soon Mississippi may join Georgia where 116,000 Negroes have registered to vote in the primaries July 17.

Didn't Much

A special writer for the New York **Herald Tribune** gave his personal observations on this quiet fearlessness in Jackson, the capital city. He says:

Sat. 7-13-46

"In view of Senator Bilbo's call to the red-blooded Anglo-Saxons of Mississippi to use any means whatever to prevent the Negroes from voting, it was ironical to see a line of 16 Negroes standing on the porch of the senator's former home in Jackson, waiting to vote at a polling place on the porch where the senator used to sit. The Negroes, some of them veterans and their wives, others white-haired men and women, formed a line before the tables. With politeness on both sides, their papers were examined and ballots were handed out, the Negroes signed the poll book, marked their ballots and dropped them in a box."

Mississippi is the last stronghold of disfranchisement of the Negro. Progress has been made everywhere in the South on this issue except here. But July 2 tells the story of the beginning of the end of a system of political slavery and exploitation. From now on, no matter what temporary setbacks, we go forward.

Senate Group May Deny Bilbo Seat

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Opponent in Race Says He "Stole" Election

WANTS RECOUNT

Shady Financial Deals Charged to Hate Artist

Sat. 7-13-46

WASHINGTON

Possibility that Sen. Theodore Bilbo, the nation's No. 1 hate peddler, who was re-elected by a narrow margin last Tuesday, may be barred from taking his Senate seat loomed this week.

Bilbo faced the prospect of being refused recognition in the upper house, because of a complaint which has been registered by another candidate that Bilbo had "stolen" the election.

Before the July 2 primary, Sen. Glen H. Taylor (Dem., Idaho), had demanded an investigation of Bilbo's campaign by the Senate Committee on Elections and Privileges.

Senator Taylor's charges of irregularities were referred to a special Senate committee to investigate expenditures and contributions of which Senator Edwin C. Johnson (Dem., Col.) is acting chairman in the absence of Senator Allen J. Ellender (Dem., La.).

Group Fails to Act

But the special committee failed to act, because no complaint had been received from any candidate or voter in Mississippi. But an opening was left for future action by Senator Johnson, who promised an investigation should any complaints come from Mississippi.

Charges against Bilbo were made Friday by Nelson T. Levings, former Navy commander, who polled 15,396 votes to Bilbo's 96,847. He flatly asserted that Bilbo had "stolen" the election.

Levings, who ran fourth in the race, revealed that he would demand a recount and called upon the Senate to "unseat him because of his nefarious and shady financial dealings with grafting war contractors."

The Afro-American

Should the special Senate committee decide to conduct a searching investigation into the election on the basis of Levings's complaint, Bilbo would be prevented from taking his seat in the Senate until the matter has been cleared up.

Baltimore, Md.

Another Protests

Another request from a Senatorial investigation of Bilbo's machinations in connection with the election was made on July 2, the day of the balloting by Ross A. Collins, who ran third in the Mississippi race.

Sat. 7-13-46

Collins, former congressman, wired Senator Theodore F. Green (Dem., R.I.) chairman of the Elections Committee, to investigate charges that Bilbo had received $25,000 from a Missisippi firm in "flagrant violation" of Federal and State laws.

Senator Green passed this request on to Senator Johnson of the special committee.

In his letter to Senator Green, Collins said Bilbo had failed during the campaign to explain satisfactorily the $25,000 payment which he charged was made by the contracting firm of Newton and Glenn of Hattiesburg, Miss.

Lays It On Doxey

He said Bilbo reportedly described the fund as a voluntary contribution to the unsuccessful Senate candidacy of Wall Doxey, present Senate sergeant-at-arms, but that Doxey's official statement of campaign expenditures showed contributions of only $543 and made no mention of the reported $25,000 fund.

Earlier demands that Bilbo be disqualified came from Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare and from Emanuel Bloch, counsel for the Civil Rights Congress. Both of these were directed to the Senate Elections committee.

Bilbo avoided a runoff contest by the slim margin of 4064 majority over the total of his four opponents. Another of Mississippi's hate artists was sent back to Congress on July 2 when John Rankin was nominated, tatamount to election in most Southern States.

Bilbo Hanged in Effigy by 'Corner Boys' Group

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 8-10-46

WASHINGTON

In protest of the outbreak of lynchings in Mississippi and Georgia during the past week, Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo was hanged in effigy from a tree in the vicinity of 24th St. and Benning Rd., N.E., last Wednesday evening.

An estimated 500 persons gathered to view the sham hanging, planned and executed by a young group which calls themselves the "Corner Boys."

For more than an hour, the spectre, labeled with slogans as "Here Hangs Bilbo," and Let's get him out of the Senate," swayed nearly 15 feet above the ground.

Police on Scene

Traffic slowed temporarily as pedestrians lingered to gaze on a replica of what the Time Magazine called the "Prince of Peckerwoods."

Two squad cars of policemen, one each from precincts 9 and 11, arrived on the scene.

With the help of a colored policeman, who secured a ladder from Langston Pharmacy, the white officers hauled down "The Man."

From a reliable resource came the report that no disorder reigned, and no persons were arrested which gave lie to earlier radio broadcasts.

The irony in the affair was that when the effigy was being removed, the song, 'Carry Me Back to Old Virginny," was going full swing in a nearby music shop.

Is U.S. Bigger than Bilbo?

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 7-6-46

As long as Theodore G. (The Man) Bilbo confined his activity to libeling minority groups in letters and in speeches on the Senate floor, it was possible to pass off his rantings as so much hogwash.

But when he openly defies the U.S. Government as he has done in Mississippi's primary election, he immediately becomes distasteful to Americans everywhere—a menace to human decency and good order.

Bilbo Election Violence Told In Mississippi

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 7-20-46

JACKSON, Miss. — A deluge of reports have entered this city stating that Mississippi did use violence and intimidation during the July 2 primary as a means to keep Negroes away from Bilbo-ruled polls, despite early reports of peaceful voting.

Approximately 3,000 Negroes defied Bilbo, some by voting on his front porch, but evidence piling in each day since the election shows positively that at least 2,000 were kept away by Bilboesque public officials and self-appointed poll guards. A total of 5,000 Negroes were qualified to vote.

As reports streamed in, the National Lawyers guild at its annual convention in Louisville last week adopted a resolution calling for a federal investigation of the election, stating that Bilbo had "created an atmosphere of terror which induced the vast majority of qualified Negro voters to refrain from registering and voting."

Wire Senate Committee

At the same time New York Congressional Candidate Grant Reynolds, 22nd district, wired demands to Senator Edwin Johnson, calling for the Senate Privileges and Elections committee chairman to challenge the Mississippian's right to occupy a U. S. Senate seat.

With election day past, a survey shows:

—F. C. Fowler, Choctaw county citizen, was shot and killed on election day by the town marshal. The marshal says he killed Fowler because he tried to draw a gun.

—One Negro is believed dead and several others were beaten in Gulfport in an effort to keep them from the polls. J. T. Hall, wealthy undertaker, was arrested and jailed on election day.

—In Canton a Klan-trained white farmer stationed himself at one of the polling places armed with a club. When a Negro appeared to vote the white farmer clubbed him several times. As the news spread no other Negroes attempted to vote.

—In McComb a 77-year-old man was arrested as he approached the polls. Following the incident no other Negroes attempted to vote.

By inviting intimidation of prospective colored voters "at any cost," Bilbo is inciting to riot, and any blood shed in Mississippi will be upon his hands.

Americans have long reprobated any attempts to pervert elections, so much so that they have made their resistance to such attempts an important phase of their foreign policy.

Not only did they object to such attempts in Poland, but in Japan, U.S. troops stood by to see that "democracy" prevailed in the recent Japanese elections.

If our troops can be so used overseas, why can't they be used to protect the voting rights of colored persons in Mississippi? While it is true that the voters of Mississippi have in their hands the power to draw the curtain on Bilbo's political career, it is expecting too much also to leave in their hands the responsibility of protecting the constitutional rights of all citizens, regardless of race or color.

Here is an excellent opportunity for Attorney General Tom Clark to show that he means business when he talks of protecting the lives and liberties of all citizens. There doesn't seem to be any doubt about the need for it in Mississippi.

Walter White

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

Open Letter To Senator Bilbo

I KNOW it will be a surprise and perhaps a shock to receive this letter of congratulations from a Negro on your re-election as United States senator from the state of Mississippi, whatever doubts there may be about the legality of your election. Sat. 1-27-46

It will undoubtedly be a shock to you to learn that there are some of us who are convinced that you are making one of the outstanding contributions in America towards decent racial relations. Your name has become so identified with the lowest form of bigotry that any race, creed, organization or individual you attack with your undoubted skill for filthy language, automatically becomes the object of sympathy and defense by decent human beings. You added a new word to the American language—the verb or noun, bilbo, which has come to mean the lowest form of ignorance, hate, frustration and filth below any other word in the English language. Variations of bilbo such as bilbodor (a smell more nauseating than any fertilizer factory or outhouse) or bilbored (as the ultimate in insane ranting and vulgarity) are destined to live long after you have passed on to your reward.

Doing Effective Work

THUS YOU have unwittingly and unwillingly made race hatred, your particular brand of ignorance, and everything else you stand for a thing of loathing and ridicule.

The re-election of yourself to the Senate and of your equally loathsome conferee in the House of Representatives, John Rankin, have served to make the state you profess to serve—Mississippi—even lower in the estimation of decent people South as well as North. We know that the hearts of decent Mississippians of both races—of whom there are many despite the fact that Mississippi has re-elected you and Rankin — are sickened that for the next six years their state will be held up to ridicule every time you open your mouth or Rankin speaks in the House of Representatives. We are truly sorry for them. But rant as you will the handwriting on the wall for you and your kind is crystal clear. The United States Supreme Court decision in Smith vs. Allwright means precisely what you, in a rare moment of intelligence, stated during the campaign —that a few Negroes will vote at this election, more at the next and more at each succeeding election.

Can't Get Away With It

This means that even if Mississippi continues to be apathetic or ignorant enough to re-elect men of your kind, candidates for public office are not going to be able to get away with denunciation of Negroes as their sole stock-in-trade. As more Negroes vote despite the cheap threats of men like yourself, the KKK and any others are going to keep their prejudice to themselves or else they are going to go back to the obscurity from which in an enlightened society they would never have emerged.

So keep on spewing hate against Negroes, Jews, Catholics, labor unions, damyankees and everybody else who does not agree with your views. Every time you do so you disgust decent human beings into becoming more articulate against your kind. It is tragic that the state of civilization in the United States is such that this kind of attainment of human decency is possible and perhaps even necessary. But maybe against your intentions or desire you will help to make America a more decent place in which to live.

Miss. Daily Asks Probe of Voting at College

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 8-10-46

AFRO's Story Telling How Students Voted in Recent Election Vexes Jackson Editor

JACKSON, Miss.—The Jackson Daily News has demanded a probe of Jackson Teachers' College as a result of a recent story in the AFRO-AMERICAN revealing how students participated in the recent election.

The Daily News, which wants Jackson College to remain a quiet denominational school and have nothing to do with politics, branded Ralph Matthews, AFRO reporter, who wrote the story, as a "somewhat noted racial agitator."

The editorial, "Headed for Trouble," said in part:

Matter for Trustees

"Here's a matter into which our board of trustees of higher learning and the State department of education should do some investigating.

Jackson College, formerly a colored denominational institution, located in the southwestern suburbs of Jackson, was purchased by the State and converted into a training school for colored teachers.

"As such, the school can and should serve a very useful purpose, but in recent weeks it has developed that a goodly amount of propaganda for political and social equality has had its origin within the walls of that institution.

"It was at Jackson College that two automobiles were loaded up with young colored people on the morning of July 2nd and driven to the former home of Senator Bilbo to be voted.

Writer Called Agitator

"An eye-witness story of the event was printed in the AFRO-AMERICAN, a colored newspaper, written by Ralph Matthews, a somewhat noted racial agitator. Matthews was sent here specifically for that purpose, and in his story he quotes one of the colored persons who voted as follows:

"The young men I met in Mississippi Monday night changed my mind. World War II veterans, attending Jackson College under the GI Bill of Rights, these young men have a vision that is inspiring.

"'We are going to remake Mississippi in our time. We have a long-range program,' they explained, 'but we fire the first shot tomorrow.

Vets' Courage

"'Bilbo has threatened us with violence if we attempt to vote.

"'One of our comrades has already been beaten up for attempting to register, but if they kill us all, we are going to vote against Bilbo tomorrow and we are going to vote at the polling place in his own house.

"'We agreed on an hour to meet and they all showed up on time, two carloads and they voted.

"'As they lined up for their ballots, a number of whites got in a huff and walked away mumbling something under their breaths about refusing to vote with n---rs. Nobody said a word as they stalked away.'

No Retreat for Them

"But the attitude of these young veterans is even more inspiring than their actions.

"'Friends of ours,' they explained, 'have given us the devil for coming back to Jackson College to continue our education.

"'This is a teachers' college and under the GI Bill we could have elected to be doctors or lawyers or have gone north to big white universities, but that would not fit into our plans.'"

"Jackson College is a training school for colored teachers and should not be converted into a hotbed of racial agitation. If present trends and policies are permitted to continue a veritable Pandora's box of troubles will be the result."

Bilbo Charged With Stealing Election; Recount Demanded

P.M. New York, N.Y.

Defeated Candidate Says Winchell, Pearson Responsible for Outcome

Sen. Theodore G. "The Man" Bilbo, apparently assured of renomination by virtue of Tuesday's victory in Mississippi's Democratic primaries, was charged today with "stealing the election."

The charge was made by Nelson T. Levings, former Navy commander, who polled 15,396 votes to Bilbo's 96,847, to run fourth in the race. He said he would demand a recount, and called on the Senate to "unseat him because of his nefarious and shady financial dealings with grafting war contractors." Levings made no further reference to this charge in his 500-word statement. PM 7-5-46

The former Navy officer further charged:

"Bilbo won by default. While our Winchells and Pearsons are directly responsible for Bilbo's re-election because they stirred our morons into action who re-elected Bilbo, there is no excuse for the apathy and lack of patriotism of our more intelligent people whose lack of political responsibility contributed heavily to Bilbo's victory."

All five candidates in the Senatorial contest had opposed "interference by Northerners." The reference to Winchell and Pearson, newspaper columnists and radio commentators, indicates the common sensitiveness to criticism from "damyankees."

Bilbo avoided a runoff contest by a slim 4064 majority over the total of the four other candidates. His closest opponent, Tom Q. Ellis, Mississippi Supreme Court clerk, polled 57,336 votes. Ellis said he would make no formal statement until the official tabulation is completed next week.

"The unofficial majority is small," he said. "I feel I owe it to my friends to await official tabulation."

Bilbo, in what amounted to a victory speech, said that he regretted it could not have been a South-wide election "because I made the same fight and have the same convictions that a great majority of Southerners have."

About 3000 Negroes cast ballots in the election despite threats and intimidations although there was doubt that many of the votes would be counted in the final tally. More than 300 of these ballots were impounded after being challenged on the grounds that the voters were not qualified Democratic registrants and would have supported a Republican candidate had there been one.

The State Democratic Executive Committee said that no recount request had been received from Levings. Earlier demands that Bilbo be disqualified came from Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and from Emanuel Bloch, counsel for the Civil Rights Congress. Both appealed to the Senate Elections Committee for action.

Rep. John E. Rankin also apparently was nominated, which is tantamount to re-election in one-party Mississippi. PM 7-5-46

Only one of the seven incumbent members of the House of Representatives faces a runoff. He is Rep. Dan R. McGhee, who probably will tangle with John Bell Williams in the 7th District.

Re-election of Bilbo And Rankin Confirmed By Canvass of Ballot

Sunday Star Washington, D.C.

JACKSON, Miss., July 6, (UP)—Sen. Theodore Bilbo's re-election for a third term was made official today with the announcement that he received a 3,834 majority over four opponents in Tuesday's Democratic primary.

That primary was tantamount to a general election.

The official election figures released today gave Bilbo 97,820 votes, Tom Ellis 58,005, Ross Collins 18,875, Nelson Levings 15,720 and Frank Harper 1,386.

The figures also showed a 1,808 majority for Rep. John Rankin, also re-elected. Rankin, in the First District, polled 13,513 against 10,074 for Claude Clayton and 1,631 for Charles G. Hamilton. Sun 7-7-46

Rep. Dan McGehee faces a runoff with John Bell Williams in the Seventh District. McGehee polled 15,186 to Williams' 13,778.

William Colmer was elected congressman in the Sixth District over Grover Doggett.

Immediately after the announcement of the official vote, Ellis and Collins conceded to Bilbo. Levings asked for a recount, but his request was denied for lack of cause.

Mississippi Voters (White) Choose Bilbo, Rankin Again

P. M. New York N.Y.

Thurs 7-4-46

Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo and Rep. John E. Rankin, ranting advocates of white supremacy, have been re-elected by the white Democratic constituents, but champions of democracy in Mississippi found signs of hope and progress in the primary results.

Almost complete returns gave Bilbo a lead of only 3787 over four opponents who failed by this narrow margin to gather enough votes to force "The Man" into a runoff primary.

¶ Rankin won in his north Mississippi district, but lost his home county by 33 votes to former Circuit Judge Claude F. Clayton.

¶ About 3000 Negroes cast ballots, despite threats and intimidation, although there was doubt that many of the Negro votes would be counted in the final tally.

The United Press reported that about 300 Negro ballots were challenged and impounded on the grounds that the voters were not qualified Democratic registrants and would have supported a Republican candidate had there been one to support.

As Bilbo trumpeted victory at his Pearl River mansion, he was assailed on at least two fronts:

¶ A demand that he be disqualified from serving in the Senate was made by Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Clark made his demand in a telegram to Sen. Edwin Johnson (D., Colo.), acting chairman of the Senate Elections Committee. Thurs 7-4-46

¶ Emanuel Bloch, counsel for the Civil Rights Congress, returned from Mississippi disclosing that he had found evidence of assaults on Negro veterans, of intimidation of Negroes by election officials and private citizens. The Congress sent telegrams to the Justice Dept. and the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections demanding an investigation, with FBI protection for any Negroes who might testify.

People & Issues

The Worker New York, New York

By Benjamin Davis, Jr.

IT WAS absolutely disgusting to see the way in which the commercial press—including some of the liberal newspapers—handled the Mississippi elections. Most of them carried front page stories with headings which stated: "Bilbo wins as Negroes vote in Mississippi."

This was a premeditated attempt to create the false impression that the elections in Mississippi were free, that Bilbo won fairly and that no one could kick because the Negroes, whom the Mississippi Hitler hates most, got a chance to vote. Under no circumstances should this lie be accepted as gospel truth. Sun 7-21-46

The fact—and the dominant fact—was that the Negro people were almost unanimously disfranchised. A further fact is that the state of Mississippi has about two million population with the Negroes comprising at least half, if not more. So we had a "free elections" in which more than half—or at least, 50 percent of the population—was utterly disfranchised. Neither does this take into account the disfranchisement of the majority of the poor white population of the state who are too poor to pay the poll tax. If such facts as these warrant the impression that the Mississippi elections were "free," then Bilbo is a saint.

* * *

BUT why at this particular moment did the papers play up the Mississippi elections in this manner? The reason is not hard to find. On the same day, the capitalist press was hurling charges at the lawful democratic government of Poland that the Polish elections were "fraudulent." Certainly, it was exceedingly embarrassing to the publishers of the **Times** and **Tribune**, and to the multi-millionaire owners of the Associated Press and the United Press, to charge a "fraudulent election in Poland" and not be able to say something good about the elections taking place simultaneously in the United States. The imperialist bandits, who run the press of America and who are squeezing the American people as one squeezes a sponge, are busy establishing so-called "democracy and free elections" all over the world . . . when there are about 10 states in the Union which haven't had real democracy or free elections since Reconstruction 85 years ago.

The Polish elections were the first free elections that the Polish people have had in the last half century. The Mississippi elections were absolutely the worst in the modern history of our country. While it is true that a few Negroes registered in Mississippi—it is estimated that less than 500 voted—the unexampled bravery and heroism of these few that voted cannot outweigh or dilute the stark fact that the Negroes as a people were denied the ballot.

* * *

THE further dominant fact about the Mississippi "free" elections is that a Senator of the United States, clothed in the political garb and authority of the federal government, actually incited—not once but several times—blatant, fascist lynch violence against Negroes who dared to go to the polls. His words were, "Use any means to keep them (the Negroes—B.D.) away from the polls and if, he went on, "you don't know what I'm talking about, you're not up on the most modern means of prevention." What further proof could there be that the system of lynch law, national oppression and "white supremacy" has its origin in the upper class, the state authorities themselves, rather than originating from the poor whites, although the latter are frequently beguiled into executing these policies against their own best interests!

There can be no doubt that Bilbo's defiance of the Supreme Court, his trampling of the Constitution, his attempt to subvert the government through force and violence did encourage all the Ku Klux rats in Mississippi to attempt wholesale terror against Negro citizens. Sun 7-21-46

The President of the United States did not see fit to do one thing—nor even say a word. His polltax attorney general, Tom Clark of Texas, issued a statement that if anything happened to deny Negroes their voting rights, his office would take notice. What more could have happened? Was he waiting for the whole Negro population to be exterminated? The Polish government has every moral right to send a note to Mr. Truman asking him about the "free elections" in Mississippi—or if it wants to get more personal, to write a letter to Byrnes about South Carolina.

Once more the Truman Administration betrayed the Negro people—when it was its plain duty to guarantee the enforcement of the Constitution in Mississippi. Once more the double-talking Republicans were allying themselves with the polltaxers—with this same Bilbo in the Senate—while Negroes were at the mercy of Bilboism. Sen. Glen Taylor properly raised the issue in the Committee on Rules and Privileges in the U. S. Senate, with precious little help, if any, from Mead or Wagner.

Bilbo should be refused a seat in the Senate. He should be jailed as a lynch inciter—as the criminal wretch he is.

INTIMIDATION, TERROR AND MURDER FEATURE MISSISSIPPI PRIMARY ELECTIONS LAST WEEK

The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Sat. 7-20-46

Two Marshalls Slay Negro Voters; Negroes Beaten at Gulfport

45a

TRAGEDY AVERTED AT NATCHEZ

HOLLY SPRINGS, Miss.—There were no reports of violence on election day, July 2, when Negro citizens voted in the Democratic primary for the first time in the history of the state, but beginning with the very next day following election day and almost daily since that time there have been increasing reports of intimidation, violence, brutality and even death visited on Negro citizens on election day—facts which greatly reduced the number of Negro voters.

The intimidation, violence, brutality and death visited upon Negroes on election day, together with similar pre-election day incidents, followed the frantic urging of the white people of the state by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo to keep Negroes from voting at any price, by implicating even the use of murder. Sat. 7-20-46

A candidate for re-election to the United States Senate, Bilbo was joined in his violent race baiting, but in a lesser degree, by the four other senatorial candidates, Ross A. Collins, former U. S. congressmen; Tom Q. Ellis, state supreme court clerk; Nelson Levings, World War II navy commander, and Frank "Peachtree" Harper, one time peach tree salesman and South Mississippi farmer and small business man.

The results of the election shows Bilbo with a majority of slightly over 3,000 votes over the combined total of all his opponents. With a conservatively estimated 5,000 Negroes, including veterans qualified under a state law exempting them from paying poll tax, eligible to vote in the election had it not been for the actual violence and fear of violence on the part of Negro voters widespread over the state, it appears certain now that there would have to be a second senatorial primary.

The reports of election day violence began with an account of one of the state leading daily papers of the shooting to death of F. C. Fowler, a Chocton county Negro citizen. Fowler was shot to death an election day by the town marshal. The marshal said he shot and instantly killed Fowler when he stopped a car Fowler was driving and Fowler got out and started towards him like he was fixing to draw a weapon.

In Gulfport, leading city along the gulf coast section of the state, a number of Negroes were beaten and among Negroes there is fear that at least one Negro was killed. J. T. Hall, wealthy Negro undertaker, was arrested and lodged in jail on election day. Because of fear it is almost impossible to obtain information from any Negro regarding the election day incidents.

In Canton, just 25 miles from the state's capital city of Jackson, according to a well known farmer who is often deputized for law enforcement duties when anything happens involving Negroes, stationed himself at one of the polling places armed with a heavy club and when the first Negro appeared to vote, who was a well known Negro business man and property owner, he began beating him with the heavy club. The man managed to escape with only a few blows. When the news spread rapidly over the town, no other Negroes attempted to go to the polls and generally stayed in their homes and off the streets.

In McComb in the southern section of the state, much in the news in recent weeks following the reported decision of the Veterans Administration to locate an all-Negro veterans hospital there, a 77-year-old Negro, registered and qualified by exemption from poll tax, was the first to attempt to go to the polls. He was met by a group of men, one of whom after stopping and threatening him, had him arrested and charged with attempting to shove him off the sidewalk. Following the incident no other Negroes attempted to go to the polls. Sat. 7-20-46

At Prentiss, home of the Prentiss Normal and Industrial institute, patterned after famed Tuskegee institute and founded by one of its graduates, J. E. Johnson, protege of Booker T. Washington, after a few Negroes went to the ballot box the voting place was moved. At the new place all Negroes who came near were "advised" by a watchman not to go in.

In Natchez, bluff city by the Mississippi river in the southwest section of the state, a serious election day incident was narrowly averted due to a hurried meeting of white and Negro leaders. Here, according to reports, the near serious incident came about when Negroes going to the polls were told they could not vote. They were later allowed to vote, but all of their votes were challenged. It is doubted that the challenged votes were counted. According to newspaper reports, Adams county, of which Natchez is the principal town, had the largest number of qualified Negroes of any county in the state.

All of the Negro voters in Bolivar county were also challenged. Bolivar county is in the heart of the Mississippi delta and also had a large number of Negro citizens qualified in the election.

Thus is the general terror of a rapidly increasing number of post-election day reports from larger and small towns and communities from all sections of the state with a great many still unreported because of the blanket of fear that still hangs pall-like over the Negro citizens of the state. Sat. 7-20-46

In the meantime, reports say an increasing number of letters from Negroes, especially World War II veterans, who have been denied the right to vote and threatened and intimidated and beaten, are being secretly sent to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Wendell L. Willkie Memorial Bldg., 20 West 40th Street, N. Y.; to the Civil Rights Congress, 205 East 42nd Street, New York City., to Henry Lee Moon, Political Action Committee, 205 East 42nd St., N. Y.

The Mississippi Elections

Pittsburgh Courier
New Orleans Weekly
Sat. 7-20-46

THE war which ended in the atomizing of two Japanese cities was, we are led to believe, and do believe, we fought to put an end to fascism. Looking at the Mississippi elections, we begin to wonder if what we fought to an end is still very much alive right here in America. What is fascism? Have we killed it? Or does it still live within our own borders? Sat 7-20-46

The scholar, the student of government, would define fascism as a particular kind of government in which the state is the dominant influence on the lives of its subjects. The state, not specifically the government, not specifically the people, not the industry and resources, but a kind of combination of these which is actually widely separated from each, is supreme in every instance. Everything must be subordinate to it. That is fascism as the student defines it.

But would a philosopohy of government be enough to cause a war? Considering fascism as merely that, the world is full of it. Nations whose governments could easily be considered fascist fought at our side to lick the axis. A fascist government, defined as above, does not necessarily mean one in which all freedoms are lacking. It seems unlikely, then, that we fought the war not to end fascism as a philosophy of government; we fought it as an agency of intolerance, injustice, and world-wide crime. When our soldiers enlisted in the fight, they thought of fascism in terms of the deaths of the millions of Jews, of the beating and flogging of any person whom the German race theorists described as inferior. Sat. 7-20-46

The living definition of fascism, then, is aggression, horror, intolerance. That is clearly what we mean when we say we are opposed to fascism, or that fascism is evil, or that we fought a war to end fascism.

What happened in the Mississippi elections, then, is pure, unadulterated fascism. Although it is a domestic variety, it is just as virulent and just as dangerous as the German or Italian variety. It is aggressive, horrible, intolerant. It is evil. It was perpetrated by a member of our government, a man who makes our laws. If this man is allowed to remain in his seat as a Senator, what conclusions can we draw but that our government is fascistic or at least that it is warm to and endorses fascism?

MANY Southern newspapers are leading the way in a sane attitude to-ry States it has given ...se to threats and intimidation, but elsewhere it appears to ...st be accepted. In Texas the Progressive ...he Voters' League of Dallas reports that out ...ke pointed out that unless they are forced ...ow of 600,000 Negroes in the State, 150,000 ...have paid the poll tax, and 50,000 are likely ...of exempt, so that perhaps as many as a white ...third will vote in the primary on July 27. ...ri- Moreover, candidates are appealing for a ...me the Negro as they would for white votes.

Bilbo's narrow victory just possible that ...over the field in Mississippi is the last in ...gasp of old-fashioned Bourbonism in the ...South. The stirrings of something like ...a revolution can be heard from below of ...the Mason-Dixon Line.

At any rate, in one department of ...Southern life a big change is taking place. ...Negroes are voting in Democratic pri-maries in State after State. In some the ...

Washington Calling

Times-Dispatch

WASHINGTON—All over the country there will be gloom at the outcome of Mississippi's election. "The Man" Bilbo is back for another six years after a primary campaign of exceptional demagogy on the explosive theme of white supremacy. Sat 7-6-46

One of Bilbo's chief assets was the series of attacks directed at him from outside the State. He told Mississippians time after time that the North was trying to dictate who should be Senator of the sovereign State of Mississippi.

To prove his case, he waved editions of national magazines carrying articles showing Bilbo's record. His listeners were not likely to read such articles. But they understood that outsiders were trying to interfere with their democratic rights. The carpetbag threat is still a bitter memory in the Deep South.

The other string that Bilbo twanged was the promise of Federal benefits—subsidies for farmers, bonuses for the veterans and so on down the line. Though the carpetbag rule ended many years ago, the truth is that Mississippi is an economic colony of the North, dependent on the favors of either big business or big government. Demagogues like Bilbo hold out the promise of crumbs from Washington or New York. Such demagogues are themselves the end-product of a system of colonial dependence.

IN ... an active and effective re-...med at this system. Governor Ellis Arnall, who has made himself the leader of the New South, wants to give his region an equal chance to develop industry and end the colonialism which decrees the South shall be a producer of raw materials. That is the meaning of Arnall's suit in the Supreme Court to compel an equalization of railroad freight rates.

At the same time, Arnall is fighting such ugly manifestations of frustration and fear as the Ku Klux Klan. Besides being an enormously shrewd politician—which you have to be in the South, where politics is really competitive—Arnall has courage and imagination.

This may be wishful thinking, but it's

RALPH McGILL

The Pilgrim From Juniper Grove

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 12-21-46

There was quite a stir around the Golden Gate.

A thin, malarial-looking pilgrim was standing outside the gates, forlorn and silent.

The angels hovered about inside, looking at him.

St. Peter was missing, the gates being securely locked. Only Gabriel stood there, fingering his horn.

"What is wrong, Gabriel?" asked the reporter who got up the items which appear in the Daily Rainbow under the heading, "Nuggets From the Golden Streets."

"I don't know," he said. "All I know is that when he presented his credentials, St. Peter paled and locked the gates. He told him to wait and hurried off to the front office. It must be something pretty bad."

The angels buzzed, and even the Seraphs, who are not supposed to mention ordinary things and who frown on the "Nugget From the Golden Street column as frivolous, looked really interested.

The general opinion was that it must be pretty bad.

So they waited.

Juniper Grove Suddenly the columnist waved his gold pencil excitedly and said, "Here he comes."

And, sure enough, it was. It was St. Peter. He was walking very fast and his face was stern and fixed. His robe billowed about his knees and his harp banged at his shoulders.

They fell back to make room for him.

Glancing neither to the right or left, as was his wont, he walked up to the gate and handed the papers back through the bars to the discouraged-looking pilgrim.

"Just as I thought," he said, "your place is off limits."

"Off limits?"

"Yes. Didn't you serve in the Army? Off limits. Jehovah will go most any place to see how things are, but even He won't go near the Juniper Grove Church at Poplarville, Mississippi."

At that there was a gasp from the crowd about the gates.

The Man All but the two Seraphs seemed to know. The columnist leaned over and whispered, "That's the church Sen. Bilbo built with "gifts" from war contractors and holds a mortgage on. So the parsonage will revert to him."

"Oh," said the Seraphs, moving back from the gate, but peering intently at the pilgrim. "Oh, my, from THAT place. And THAT man!"

"He sure has got a nerve," said one of the newer angels, who promptly was rebuked by those who had been there long enough to know criticism was not allowed.

"Is there any appeal?" asked the pilgrim wearily.

"Well, I doubt it," said St. Peter. "Frankly, I don't think there is much chance of one, although I didn't go all the way to the top. I got this ruling from a new attorney general who hasn't been on the job very long, but so far he has not been reversed."

"I wish you'd try," said the pilgrim. "You see, Sen. Bilbo isn't there very much and, after all, we needed a church. We figured out if he was cutting himself in it would all come out in the wash—either in the Senate committee hearing or maybe before the court up here. We just wanted a church and most of us stayed at home when the Senator was around. He's pretty tiresome, you know."

Verdict "Well, I don't think there is a chance," began St. Peter. But even as he spoke he felt the movement and sound of the crowd behind him.

He turned and looked.

The attorney general was hurrying toward the gate. His face was red and he looked embarrassed.

"I've been overruled," he said apologetically. "I'm glad I got here in time. He looked over the papers and said I was wrong. He said that anybody who had had to be around Bilbo already had had his share of Satan and the bad world and deserved a rest and some good clean air. He also said the church was not off limits. It's a lucky church in that it has always before it the example of the man. It can know wrong fro right from sight. So let him in."

So, the gates swung open, and the pilgrim from Juniper Grove, Poplarville, Mississippi, entered. 12-21-46

SCUFFLE AT BILBO HEARING IN WASHINGTON

The Times New York, N.Y. Sat. 12-14-46

Former Representative Ross Collins (glasses, center) of Mississippi is restrained by police after he knocked Robert Gandy, a witness from the stand.

ASSOCIATE OF BILBO KNOCKED OFF STAND AT SENATE INQUIRY

The Times New York, N.Y.

Ex-Congressman Ross Collins Attacks Witness for Saying He Shared in $25,000 Fund

Sat. 12-14-46

DOXEY CAMPAIGN INVOLVED

Mississippi Contractor Tells of Giving Sum to Bilbo to Aid '42 Fight Against Eastland

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13—The Senate War Investigating subcommittee's hearing today ended in an uproar after former Representative Ross Collins of Mississippi knocked a witness from the stand. Mr. Collins charged that the witness, Robert Gandy, an insurance agent of Jackson, Miss., was lying about him.

The subcommittee was trying to unravel the tortuous disposition of $25,000 allegedly given to Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, by F. T. Newton, a contractor of Hattiesburg, Miss. who was one of the four participants in the $14,000,000 contract to build the Keesler Army Air Field near Biloxi. Mr. Newton had previously testified that he handed Mr. Bilbo three bank drafts for $5,000 each and another for $10,000.

According to his testimony, Mr. Newton gave Senator Bilbo the drafts on Sept. 7, 1942, as a contribution to the campaign fund of Wall Doxey, who was defeated for the Senatorial nomination by Senator James O. Eastland. The drafts were endorsed by Senator Bilbo and then by Mr. Gandy.

Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, who was doing the questioning for the subcommittee, called Mr. Gandy to the stand. For two hours, the members and the spectators were regaled by an hilarious picture of Mississippi political financing.

Run-Off Primary Involved

Mr. Gandy finally testified that part of the $25,000 went to take care of "operating deficits" of some candidates, defeated in the first primary, whose support Mr. Doxey desired in his run-off against Mr. Eastland. He brought up the name of Mr. Collins who, the witness said, had attended a conference with Mr. Bilbo and others.

While Mr. Gandy was talking of this conference, Mr. Collins had moved forward in the caucus room and was sitting only a few feet behind the witness. Senator Ferguson noticed Mr. Collins, and invited him to take a seat at the witness table so that he could hear better.

To get to the indicated seat, Mr. Collins had to push past Mr. Gandy. Mr. Gandy nodded and spoke to him. 12-14-46

"I wouldn't speak to a damned liar like you," Mr. Collins responded, taking his seat.

Mr. Ferguson had asked one or two additional questions, trying to find out how much money Mr. Gandy said that Mr. Collins had "received," when the 66-year-old former Representative jumped to his feet, taking Mr. Gandy by surprise, and knocked him and his chair to the floor. He tried to pummel and kick Mr. Gandy while the latter was floored, but Capitol police got to him before he did the witness any harm.

Wife Strikes Policeman

While the police were holding Mr. Collins, his wife rushed into the melee and beat one of the policemen on the back, demanding her husband's release. She is a frail, elderly woman. She shouted that Mr. Gandy was lying and knew he was lying. She said her husband took no money.

Mr. Mead hastily announced a recess until tomorrow morning. The police released Mr. Collins as soon as Mr. Gandy had regained his feet and walked to another part of the room.

"I have fought Bilbo for thirty-five years," Mr. Collins said when he regained his breath.

Mr. Newton, in his own testimony, said that he gave the drafts for $25,000 to Mr. Bilbo at the Doxey headquarters in the Royal Hotel in Jackson after what he called a "pep meeting" at which various speakers said the Doxey campaign was languishing for lack of funds. The only speaker Mr. Newton could remember was Fred Sullens, editor of The Jackson Daily News.

Taking up from there, Mr. Gandy told the subcommittee that Senator Bilbo endorsed the drafts the following morning and asked him to get them cashed. Mr. Gandy said he went to the Guaranty Bank and Trust Company in Jackson and made to the "committee" by Mayor Leland Speed of Jackson.

When he said that "other commitments" took up the rest, Mr. Ferguson wanted to know what they were. It was then that Mr. Gandy, after some fencing, said that these were to take care of the "operating deficits" of certain candidates, defeated in the first primary, whose support Senator Doxey desired in the run-off against Senator Eastland.

Finally, he said that the first $7,500 disbursed was used to pay a joint note which he and Mr. Jackson had given to cover a draft they had drawn on the First National Bank of Hattiesburg to obtain funds for the campaign. Another $1,000 was used to repay a loan made to Senator Bilbo and Forrest B. Jackson, Mr. Bilbo's lawyer, on behalf of Mr. Doxey. He said it contained only Senator Bilbo, Senator Ferguson then a record of money he had handled personally.

When Senator Ferguson pro-

Sat. 12-14-46

Mr. Mounger as William M. Mounger described by Mr. Mounger as cash, described by him, square and inches square and about eighteen inches thick, to the Royal Hotel and gave it to Senator Bilbo, delivered the six inches thick, to the Royal Hotel and gave it to Senator Bilbo, said. Senator Ferguson said he was reluctant to specify just what disbursements were made. He referred to a sort of cash book he had kept during the "unofficial campaign." $1,000 was used to repay a loan

The New York, N.Y.

Gave Cash to Bilbo, Witness Says

Mr. Gandy took the bundle of

fessed not to understand this solicitude for the eliminated candidates' financial obligations, the witness replied:

"Senator, you haven't been down to Mississippi for an election."

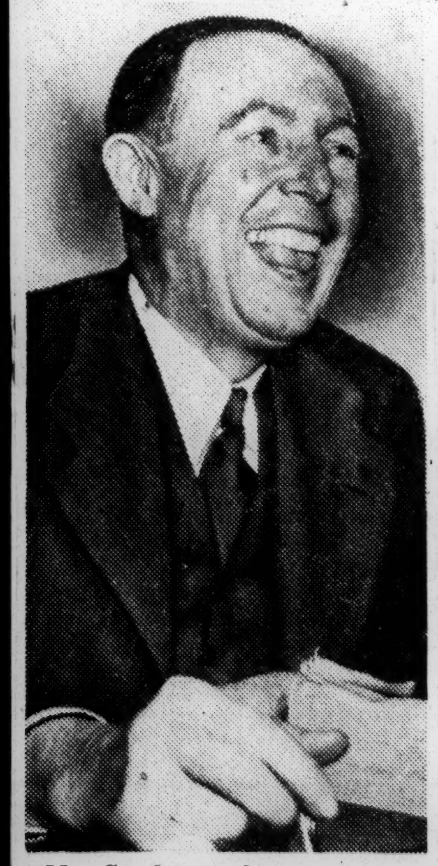
After further pressure, Mr. Gandy said that $7,500 was paid to Roland Wall, one of the unsuccessful candidates, in installments running from August 31 to September 15. He would not agree to a hypothesis advanced by Senator James W. Mead, Democrat, of New York, chairman of the subcommittee, that the installment plan was used to make sure that Mr. Wall remained on Mr. Doxey's side.

Ferguson Is Insistent

Senator Ferguson then wanted to know what other defeated candidates received any of the money Mr. Gandy sparred for some time creating the impression that the information was being pulled from him.

"There are certain courtesies one is reluctant to discuss," he told the subcommittee.

After further persuasion from Senator Ferguson, developing into insistence, Mr. Gandy described of the "conference" which he said



Mr. Gandy on the stand a few minutes before the fracas.

Associated Press Wirephotos

was held among Mr. Collins, Cecil Travis, Charles Snow and George Butler on one side, with himself, Mr. Jackson and Senator Bilbo on the other. The object, he said, was to get Mr. Collins, who had been dropped off in the first primary, to endorse Mr. Doxey in the run-off.

Asked to relate what happened when the group got together in the Robert E. Lee Hotel in Jackson (Mr. Collins said later that the meeting took place in his room there), Mr. Gandy said that Senator Bilbo and Mr. Collins "exchanged a greeting, such as it was," but that they got on friendlier terms as the conversation progressed.

"What made them get friendly?" Mr. Ferguson asked.

"I would say it was just proximity," Mr. Gandy answered.

It was shortly after this testimony when Mr. Collins sprang at Mr. Gandy. 12-14-46

Denies Endorsing Doxey

After the hearing Mr. Collins told newspapermen that he had never endorsed the candidacy of Mr. Doxey, who is now doorkeeper of the Senate. Mr. Collins insisted that he had remained neutral in the primary run-off and had already prepared, at the time of the meeting, a statement to that effect which he intended to issue to the newspapers of Mississippi.

He confirmed that it was he who presented the subcommittee with the charges of improper gratuities from war contractors which are now being heard. He used these same charges when he ran against Senator Bilbo for the Democratic Senatorial nomination last spring.

During the earlier part of today's hearing, the subcommittee heard from B. L. Knost, a contractor from Meridian who also took part in the Keesler Field contract, that he had handed Mr. Bilbo a check for $5,000 about June 12, 1942, for the Doxey campaign fund. He and Michael T. Morrissey, a small Vicksburg contractor who rented some construction machinery to the Government on some of the contracts in question, divided the contribution, he said.

Later, in looking over Mr. Gandy's cashbook, Senator Ferguson found that Senator Bilbo had apparently handed the check to Mr. Gandy to be cashed, but that Mr. Gandy had entered the amount of $5,000 on his records as a loan, not a contribution, to the campaign fund. Mr. Gandy could not remember why he had made this notation, saying it had no importance and that the amount was a bona fide contribution.

Senator James M. Tunnell, Democrat, of Delaware, the other member of the subcommittee, took little part in the questioning. At one point, however, after Mr. Newton had testified to contributing the $25,000 to the Doxey campaign fund, the Delaware Senator asked him if he had ever heard of the Hatch Act, limiting political contributions to $5,000.

"No, sir," Mr. Newton replied.

Bilbo's Pals Tell Of Their Generosity

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

War Contractors Recite Stories Of How They Helped Feather Nest

He Owes A Little

Tues. 12-17-46

Former Long Lieutenant Recalls Matter Of Cash He Says He Gave Him

By WILLIAM T. PEACOCK

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16.—(AP)—War contractor friends of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo told today of giving him a Cadillac car, painting his "Dream House," digging him a lake and engaging in business deals with him to the tune of some $68,000 out of their pockets.

This was aside from $30,000 to $40,000 in cash they said they turned over to the Mississippi Democratic Senator or his associates for the use in an unsuccessful campaign to elect Bilbo's friend, Wall Doxey, to the Senate.

All these men were engaged at or about the time of the gifts in work on profitable war contracts in Mississippi. But they insisted to the Senate War Investigating Committee that Bilbo was not helping them get contracts.

And some said they were still carrying on their books, as debts owed by Bilbo, the amounts they paid out in his behalf.

The committee branched out from war contracts to get testimony also about a $3,000 loan Bilbo got in 1938 from Abe Shushan, New Orleans wholesale dry-goods merchant.

Money For Wife Trouble

At the time it was made, the government had an income tax case pending against Shushan.

J. P. Winchell, Chief Counsel for the Bureau of Internal Revenue, testified Bilbo called him "four or five times" about the Shushan case. He said the claim was for about $80,000 and that Bilbo suggested a settlement for about $40,000.

Eventually, the government took off a $7,000 item and settled the case, in combination with one against Mrs. Shushan, for about $120,000, Winchell said.

Shushan, once a powerful lieutenant of the late Huey P. Long, testified that as he recalled "I paid the whole thing."

The wholesale merchant said he lent the $3,000 to Bilbo as a favor to Grant Stewart of New Hebron, Miss., one of his customers. Stewart endorsed the Bilbo note. Tues 12-17-46

Shushan said he drove from New Orleans to Pearl River, Miss., and paid the $3,000 in cash to Bilbo who needed it, as he understood, "because he was having some trouble with his wife."

"The Man's" War Effort

These were the contractors who testified of dealings with Bilbo:

1. John R. Junkin of Natchez, Miss., who said Bilbo still owes him $1,194.70 for concrete work on a swimming pool at Bilbo's "Dream House" despite a bookkeeping transaction which resulted Bilbo's getting a receipted bill. Junkin had about $500,000 in contracts for work at Keesler Army Air Field, Biloxi, Miss.

2. M. T. Reed, Belzoni, Miss., who said he painted Bilbo's "dream house" at a cost of $1,790.79, never paid; gave Bilbo $3,500 toward construction of the Juniper Grove Baptist Church adjoining Bilbo's "dream house," and paid off a $517.92 note signed by Edward P. Terry, Bilbo's former secretary. Robert Gandy had testified earlier that the note, on which he was co-signer, was to pay for furniture for the dream house.

Reed said he had contracts at Greenville, Miss., amounting to five to six million dollars, a $3,400,000 contract at Jackson, Miss., about $5,000,000 worth at Camp Campbell, Miss., and around $25,000,000 at Gulfcoast Air Base.

3. Michael T. Morrissey, Vicksburg, who gave Bilbo the automobile and dug the lake. Morrissey said he took a loss of $48,000 operating Bilbo's farm. He was renting equipment to the government for use in construction of Keesler Field and received $115,302.38. The Advertiser

Bilbo, sitting near one end of the committee table, listened to the parade of witnesses without show of emotion, but frequently whispered suggestions to his attorney, Forrest B. Jackson.

Mississippi Hospitality

As the contractors told it, the things they did for Bilbo were usually at their own suggestion.

Reed said he was riding by "dream house" and noticed it looked shabby.

So he told Bilbo, "Senator, why don't you paint your house."

Bilbo replied that he couldn't afford to.

"So I said, Senator, I'll send down and have it painted for you." Montgomery, Ala.

Morrissey found Bilbo, with a man and two boys, clearing land and preparing to dig the lake. So he told him, he said, that he had power machinery not in use and took the job. Tues. 12-17-46

The completed lake was about 25 acres with an island in the middle where Bilbo has built a house. Sometimes the witnesses called this dwelling "dream house No. 2" and sometimes "dream house, junior."

Morrissey declared Bilbo could not have helped him get war contracts if he had tried.

"I have never been on a government contract at any time since 1929 that I didn't bid under competitive bids," he declared.

The Senate War Investigating Committee is investigating charges that Bilbo received gifts and cash from contractors who wanted his aid in getting war contracts.

Because of these and other charges, Republicans are organizing an effort to deny the Mississippi Democrat a Senate seat when the new Congress meets Jan. 3.

Terry Terrified

From other contractors, the committee has heard accounts of some $30,000 to $40,000 being turned over to Bilbo or associates as contributions to the 1942 Senate campaign of Wall Doxey.

Just what became of this money is a question still unanswered. The committee hopes to learn from Edward P. Terry, former secretary of Bilbo.

Terry was scheduled to testify last week but instead he wrote the committee he had received anonymous death threats against himself, his wife and his daughter if he testifies.

Terry was located in Mississippi. His attorneys said he plans to leave by train for Washington tomorrow to tell his story.

No Bilbo associates figured in Morrissey's story of "The Man" Bilbo and $61,000. Those were matters strictly between him and the Senator.

Here is Morrissey's account of where and how the money went:

1. He lost $48,000 operating Bilbo's 3,600-acre farm for four years, beginning in March, 1942, under an oral agreement whereby he was to pay the taxes and stand the losses, if any, and Bilbo was to get half the profits, if any.

2. He spent $3,672.90 constructing a lake on Bilbo's farm. A bill for this amount, sent to Bilbo, never has been paid.

The lake work began in May, 1941, which was a month before the Keesler Field contract was let. Morrissey acknowledged, in reply to questions from George Meader, committee counsel, that the lake cost would have figured $9,172.90 if machinery rent had been charged against the project at the same rate the government paid at Keesler Field.

3. He lent Bilbo $6,055 and holds a mortgage on 1,100 acres of Bilbo's land. The exact date of this loan was not developed; but Morrissey said the mortgage was recorded in 1943.

4. He gave Bilbo a Cadillac automobile costing $1,919 as a Christmas present in 1941.

5. He gave Bilbo $1,800 in various contributions for the Juniper Grove Baptist Church which Bilbo was constructing on the Bilbo lands. Some of this money dated back as far as 1928. Some of it came from friends who gave it to Morrissey when he told them "the Senator is having a hell of a time building his church."

A heavy-set figure in well-tailored tweeds, Morrissey had a ready reply for every question fired at him. If it called for a precise figure, John A. Bellan, his bookkeeper, was by his side to produce it from voluminous records.

As for his personal relations with Bilbo, Morrissey said they were long time friends.

On the farm operations, the income tax men have allowed all the claimed losses, he said.

He testified that the only permanent improvements he made during the process of losing $48,000 was 47 miles of terracing.

$1,200 to Bilbo personally on Nov
1941, and that Bilbo thus fa was in Mr. Terry's presence.
Newton said he came to Wash
Both Knost and Newton sa ington about 20 times in conne
since learned Terry had sought loans from Bilbo and usually saw
sed on to Robert Jackson for contracts, or trying to
rrest Jackson he lent him $2,000 which had not been repaid.
Finally, he declared, he went
n backing the Terry on those visits.
Newton said he did not recall to Bilbo and, without telling him
candidacy.
and Morrissey ever lending Terry any money Terry was asking for money.
intly to Bilbo but was asked to often.
asked him "if it is necessary for
behalf.
"How often?" pursued Fergu-me to give money to anybody."
"He said not a damn cent to
he had loaned on behalf of Bilbo's associates
Work.
"Not A Damn Cent To Nobody"
Before getting into Morrissey's unsuccessful Doxey campaign
dealings with Bilbo, the commit- Knost said he and R. L. Knost, Mississippi
Terry end he had gave $5,000 jointly
Keesler Field.
But he insisted that was just that it was not passed on
a "temporary entry," made be-campaign fund from F. T. New-for use in Doxey's behalf.
cause Morrissey was away and on at Gandy and Forrest

Beatings, Threats Elected Bilbo, Probe Told

By Mary Southard

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 2.—Negroes testifying before the Senate campaign investigating committee today said Sen. Theodore Bilbo (D-Miss) used beatings and threats in white supremacy speeches to keep Negroes from the polls in the Democratic primary last summer. Tues. 12-3-46

Etoy Fletcher, 22-year-old Negro veteran, told the five-man committee he was beaten by seven white men near Brandon after he attempted to register June 12. Fletcher said he was whipped with a wire cable and told if he attempted to register again, he would be killed.

T. S. Wilson, Negro real estate man of Jackson and president of the Mississippi Progressive Voters League, testified that thousands of Negroes would have registered and voted in Jackson if they had not been intimidated by Bilbo's speeches. Only 414 Negro voters out of the 55,445 in Hinds County registered to vote in the July 5 primary.

Percy Green, editor of the leading Mississippi Negro newspaper, the Jackson Advocate, stated that work of the Progressive League and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Mississippi was almost suspended because of the state of fear inspired by Bilbo's campaign.

WITNESSES FRIGHTENED

Green said he could produce witnesses who could testify first hand about being refused registration, but they would have to be subpenaed because they were afraid to appear.

Committee chairman Allen J. Ellender, however, told Green to tell such persons that "the committee will protect him or any other witness who wants to testify." No decision on use of the subpena power was reached by the committee today.

Sen. Bilbo, with obvious intent to make the hearing just another showplace for his white supremacy sputterings, arrived yesterday with a battery of lawyers and claimed some 50 witnesses. Bilbo said charges against him had been prepared by a "bunch of N———s in New York" and were an "indictment against every white man and woman who believes in the white race."

He himself, he said, was "just an innocent bystander."

Hearings opened before a crowded court room with the entire Senate committee participating including Sens. Ellender, Maybank, Hickenlooper, Bridges and Thomas.

Nearly 200 Negroes turned up as the hearing opened. Others were in the courtroom audience, segregated on the last three rows from the whites.

Fletcher, a student at Jackson Negro college, said he went to the courthouse and applied for voters' registration with the county clerk. He said the clerk sent him to "a man who handles veterans."

The veterans' registrar threw a pamphlet containing the Constitution of the United States on the desk and asked him if he had read it, Fletcher said. When he said he hadn't read it, the registrar refused him the right to register.

When he left the courthouse, he said, a car drove up and told him to get in. They then drove him to the woods, forced him to disrobe and lie on the ground and then they lashed him with the cable, he testified.

Negro Veteran Tells Senate Probe Of Bilbo About Pre-election Flogging

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Tues. 12-3-46

White Witness Contradicts Him

From Wire Dispatches.

Jackson, Miss., Dec. 2.—Negro witnesses, including a minister, told the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee today that Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.) appealed for violence and intimidation in white-supremacy speeches to prevent Negroes from voting in last summer's state Democratic primary.

Etoy Fletcher, young Negro war veteran, testified that he was disrobed, lashed, and beaten by a group of six or seven white men because he attempted to register to vote.

Says Sheriff Cursed Him.

William Albert Bender, 60-year-old Negro Congregational pastor at Tougaloo College, scene of recent fiery-cross burnings about 15 miles from Jackson, told the five-man committee that a "deputy sheriff cursed me and prevented me from voting, although I was a registered voter and exempt from the poll tax because of my age."

Two other Negro witnesses, T. B. Wilson, Jackson real-estate agent, and Percy Green, Jackson publisher, charged that Bilbo's speeches had aggravated the white-supremacy feelings in the state and had contributed to the low Negro registration and voting.

Claims White Men Beat Him.

Testimony of the four highlighted the opening day of public hearings into charges that Bilbo, who won renomination in the July primary and subsequent reelection, had engaged in racial discrimination to prevent Negroes from voting.

Fletcher swore that he was flogged by white men, but a white chiropodist later testified that the man had said he was attacked by Negroes.

Fletcher, who told of serving overseas during the war, testified that he was refused registration in Brandon, Miss., because the described as "the man who

"man in the office" told him he had not read a pamphlet relating to the United States Constitution.

This man sent him to another vote in Rankin County and if I did not want to get into serious trouble I would leave the building."

On the street a few minutes later, Fletcher related, four white men forced him into an automobile, drove him to a wooded area, made him strip, and beat him on the legs with "a piece of car cable."

"They told me not to tell anything," Fletcher said, "but just to let anybody else who wanted to come try it," Fletcher declared.

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Press Wirephoto.

FIRST WITNESS against Senator Bilbo in hearing held in Jackson, Miss., is T. B. Wilson, right, president of the Mississippi Progressive Voters League, being directed to the witness stand past Bilbo. Tues. 12-3-46

Protests Put Davis' Name Back In Vote Machine

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Wed. 11-6-46

An election board mechanic "overruled" the Court of Appeals yesterday and removed the name of Benjamin J. Davis, Communist candidate for attorney general, from a voting machine in the 14th E.D. of the Seventh Assembly District.

Davis' name was put back on the machine following five complaints and intervention of Lewis Isaacs of the Honest Ballot Association.

The mechanic was called to the Seventh A.D. polling place at 9:30 a.m., when voters complained the Davis lever was jammed. The lever over the name of Robert Thompson, Communist candidate for comptroller, however, was working.

On arrival, the mechanic examined the machine and then removed the Davis card, stating it wasn't supposed to be on the ballot. It took another complaint to police headquarters to get the machine in working order.

Voting machines were also declared not functioning in P.S. 113, in the 11th A.D. There the entire Row B, the Democratic row, was missing from the machines.

Names of candidates were badly scrambled on machines in the Hotel Edison, Manhattan. A similar situation was found in the Second E.D. of the 11th A.D. and in P.S. 21, White Plains Ave. and 225th St.

Bilbo Says He Didn't Get a Dollar

By HAROLD B. HINTON.
Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal.

Washington, Dec. 14.—Conflicting and often confusing testimony was heard today by the Senate war-investigating subcommittee trying to trace the disposition of $25,000 given to Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.) by a Mississippi war contractor. Little headway had been made when the hearing was recessed until Monday.

The Courier-Journal

In the past three days the subcommittee has heard concurring testimony that F. T. Newton, Hattiesburg, Miss., gave Bilbo $25,000 as a contribution to the campaign fund to win for former Senator Wall Doxey the senatorial nomination in 1942. The drafts were cashed and the proceeds, in $10 and $20 bills, were taken to a hotel room in Jackson, Miss., and given to Bilbo.

That is as far as the testimony has agreed. Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.) interrogated witness after witness on the disposition of the money without success thus far. At one point today, where the testimony seemed to be hopelessly contradictory, he invited Bilbo to take the stand.

Louisville, Ky.

Politicians of both parties were lampooned at the annual winter dinner of the Gridiron Club in Washington last night. Story is on Page 3 of The Passing Show.

Sun. 12-15-46

"I will give you a written statement at the conclusion," Bilbo replied. "I will say now that I didn't get a damned dollar. That's the truth."

Mississippi political enmities, enduring as well as transient, tended to color the testimony. Robert Gandy, who was knocked from the witness stand yesterday by Ross Collins, former representative and unsuccessful candidate for the Senate both in 1942 and 1946, told the subcommittee that the Collins organization received $11,000 from him, Bilbo and Forrest B. Jackson, Bilbo's attorney, in return for supporting Doxey in the 1942 runoff primary.

Informed Setup Got Funds.

Gandy, along with Bilbo and Jackson, set up what he called an "informal committee" to back Doxey's candidacy in the runoff. This body had no connection with Doxey's authorized campaign committee of which Lee Hall was manager.

The "informal committee" received contributions which Jackson estimated at "less than $100,000," including the $25,000 from Newton. Gandy and Jackson said the money was spent, often faster than it came in, for what are considered legitimate campaign expenses in Mississippi. No over-all records were kept.

"We would like to keep Mississippi politics out of this and get the facts," Ferguson said at one time.

"They are inseparable," Gandy replied.

All Was Put In Pot.

He and Jackson testified seated side by side. Jackson said the $25,000 from Newton and the other contributions were all put into the pot and disbursed under the frenzied finance they represented as inevitable in Mississippi runoff primaries.

A good deal of it went, he told the subcommittee, to hire automobiles to transport Mississippi voters from the war projects on which they were working in such places as Gulfport, Meridian, and Laurel back to their homes to vote. He recalled that in 1942 automobiles and gasoline were scarce and the transportation problem was a serious political consideration. The Courier-Journal

Losers Were Paid Off.

The largest single expenses were devoted to swinging over supporters of the three losers in the first primary to vote for Doxey in the runoff. Gandy said that the Collins organization got $11,000 for this purpose and Roland J. Wall, another unsuccessful contender, $8,000.

On the stand yesterday Gandy had appeared about to say that Collins himself got the $11,000. Just before he got to that statement. Collins knocked him from the witness stand and broke up the hearing. Louisville, Ky.

This morning, Gandy made it clear that he had never meant to intimate that Collins got a single dollar. He hold the senators that he paid the money to Cecil F. Travis, Jackson lawyer and political supporter of Collins in five installments. Sun. 12-15-46

Travis, he said, had been designated by Collins to make the financial arrangements for covering the Collins "operating deficit" resulting from his unsuccessful campaign. Later in the day Collins denied that he had any deficit or that he had received any money from the Bilbo group.

(Edward Terry, former secretary to Bilbo, who had been sought by the F.B.I. since he disappeared when the committee wanted to subpoena him, was located in a Quitman, Miss., hospital. A summons was served. He had written the senators that he feared for his life and the safety of his family if he testified.)

Pleasant Remedies for Bilboism

PM Sun. 12-15-46

WASHINGTON

The outlook grows brighter daily that one or the other of the double-barrelled attacks on Theo "Dear Dago" Bilbo's eligibility for the Senate will prove successful. Current hearings before the Senate War Investigating Subcommitee, revealing connections between Bilbo and certain war contracts, is proceeding along solid evidentiary lines (*story on Page* 8). On Monday the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee, which last week heard evidence in Jackson, Miss., that Bilbo's campaign was shot through with fraud and duress, will have the complete transcript of its hearings available and will decide upon its next step. New York, N.Y.

Glass Man

So on Jan. 3, when the new Republican-dominated Senate meets for the first time, Bilbo will step up to take his oath of office somewhat in the guise of one of those glass men, habitues of anatomical museums, whom everyone can see through. If the evidence warrants, the Senate will not have only a choice of reason for barring Bilbo, but a choice of method. It will be possible for the gentlemen to relieve Bilbo of his toga because of (a) his activities in war contract negotiations, or (b) the nature of the campaign preceding his 3600-vote victory in the Mississippi primary. And it will be possible to keep Bilbo from his toga by (a) refusing to swear him into the Senate in the first place, or (b) by swearing him in and then kicking him out.

It is not often that the Senate of the United States is afforded the opportunity for such a wide variety of action, all of them pleasurable.

I want, for a moment, to go back to last week's hearings at Jackson on Bilbo's primary election, during which it was revealed that fewer than 3000 of Mississippi's more than 1,000,000 Negroes were permitted to participate. These hearings were held before a committee dominated by Southern Democratic Bilbo protagonists, and it is almost a certainty that the subcommittee's majority report will be favorable to Bilbo. The only hope is that Sen. Elmer Thomas (D., Okla.) will get a streak of evangelism and associate himself with the two Republican committee members, who are likely to turn in a minority opinion.

However, the report of a committee of the Senate is only advisory, and the Senate as a whole can take it or leave it. And, however much this particular committee may color the conclusions drawn from the facts, it will not be able to color the facts, which are irretrievably part of the Jackson record and need no committee to speak for them.

Senatorial Precedent

These facts show, that in the course of the campaign, Bilbo repeatedly made statements in violation of the constitutional guarantee that no person shall be deprived of the right to vote because of race, creed or previous condition of servitude. And I am indebted to careful studies by Charles LaFollette, ex-Congressman from Indiana, on this subject and of Senatorial precedent in barring or expelling Senators for the following statement, which constitutes a paraphrase of LaFollette's own conclusions:

It is not necessary to show a direct connection between Bilbo's statements and anti-Negro violence and/or fraud at the polls. Nor is it necessary to prove that this violence, intimidation and duress kept a sufficient number of Negroes away from the polls to have secured Bilbo's victory. It is only necessary to show that Bilbo made certain statements in open and wilful violation of the Constitution which he was sworn to uphold and that these statements were therefore "contrary to sound public policy . . . and taints with fraud and corruption the credentials for a seat in the Senate presented" by Bilbo.

Senate Resolution

That part of the above paragraph which is set off by quotation marks comes from a Senate resolution which barred Senator-Elect Frank L. Smith of Illinois from taking office in 1926. The first paragraph of this resolution reads in full as follows:

"Resolved, that acceptance and expenditure of the various sums of money aforesaid in behalf of the candidacy of the said Frank L. Smith is contrary to sound public policy, harmful to the dignity and honor of the Senate, dangerous to the perpetuity of free government, and taints with fraud and corruption the credentials for a seat presented by the said Frank L. Smith." Sun. 12-15-46

It had been charged against Smith, and admitted by him, that $450,000 had been spent on his behalf during his primary campaign. But it will be noted that the Senate resolution barring Smith did not specifically state that this $450,000, or any part of it, had been used in any illegal or criminal manner, such as bribery. Nor did the Senate trouble to find out whether it was the expenditure of this money that actually secured Smith's victory. It was the expenditure of so vast a sum in itself which the Senate found to be "contrary to sound public policy."

It will be up to the new Senate to decide whether Bilbo's public statements during his campaign, statements in open and wilful violation of the Constitution he was sworn to uphold, constitute an act of at least as "contrary to sound public policy" as the raising of a half-million-dollar campaign fund.

—VICTOR H. BERNSTEIN

TESTIFYING BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING SENATOR BILBO

The Rev. George T. V. Strype on the stand during the hearing in Jackson, Miss., yesterday. Seated at right is Senator Bilbo and at the left are Senators Bourke B Hickenlooper (left) and Burnet R. Maybank.

OFFICIALS CONFIRM NEGRO VOTE BLOCK

County Officers at the Bilbo Inquiry Say Obstructions Were at Registration

The Times

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 3—Five county officials from different parts of Mississippi confirmed to the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee here today varying degrees of obstruction of registration by Negroes and of "friendly advice" to Negroes not to vote in the Democratic primary of last July 2. They agreed, however, that these developments were not the result of campaign speeches by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, but were merely the continuation of customs practiced in the State since 1890.

The four Circuit Clerks, who act as registrars in Mississippi in keeping lists of qualified voters, and the one Sheriff who testified today were before the committee in response to subpoenas. They had all been mentioned in testimony by Negro witnesses yesterday.

Testimony Is Denied

New York, N.Y.

Dave H. Gayden, Circuit Clerk of Rankin County, denied testimony yesterday by Etoy Fletcher, Negro veteran, that he had refused him registration. Fletcher told yesterday of being beaten with steel cable by four or five unknown white men after an unsuccessful effort to register last June. Mr. Gayden said he never heard of Fletcher until he saw a story of the alleged incident in a Jackson newspaper. Wed. 12-4-46

In response to questions from Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, chairman of the committee, Mr. Gayden said there are few Negro registrants in Rankin County now, but that he had registered quite a few "away back there, during the Republican Administration."

He aroused uncontrollable laughter among the spectators by recalling how "Old Sol" Ward, Negro Republican leader of Rankin County, used to bring in prospective Republicans, all Negroes, and asked that they become registered voters so as to buttress Ward's claims for Federal patronage from the State Republican Committee.

Part of Etoy Fletcher's testimony yesterday related that Mr. Gayden had sent him upstairs in the court house at Brandon to consult some unidentified adviser on veterans' affairs. Mr. Gayden said today this was impossible, because he did not know what offices there were upstairs, never having bothered to investigate.

"You know," he said to the appreciative committee, "they had offices for FHA, home economics and a lotta junk like that."

Vacant Offices Predicted

Sen. Styles Bridges, Republican, of New Hampshire, observed that some of those offices would be vacant after the Republicans organize the eightieth Congress in January. Mr. Ellender challenged him to say which of the Federal agencies the Republicans would abolish, but the colloquy ended there.

C. E. Cocke, Circuit Clerk of Greenville, conceded he told Negro applicants for registration last spring that they would have a hard time convincing him they were qualified. He agreed he asked Negroes difficult questions on governmental organization, as several witnesses testified yesterday.

Another circuit clerk who agreed he asked Negroes hard questions in order to qualify for registration was Wendell Holmes of Pike County. Senator Ellender asked him if he was a Bilbo supporter.

"I don't even tell my wife how I vote," the witness replied.

Sheriff W. E. (Bucky) Moore, former star football player at Loyola University, admitted "advising some Negroes not to attempt to vote at the Democratic primary of last July 2. He said he did this in the interest of preserving order, in the belief that Negro efforts to vote in the "white primary" might lead to mob violence. He explained that "it's my job to prevent trouble, not to create trouble."

Asked why he feared it might cause violence, he said he had been led to that belief by newspapers, magazines and radio commentators from the north. He added that these sources were "eggin' it on."

Clifford R. Fields, Circuit clerk of Natchez, was another who admitted more difficult requirements for Negro than white registrants. He gave details of the methods he used to determine qualifications. When Mr. Bridges asked if it is fair to impose unequal standards, Mr. Fields observed that "I think so."

The only one of the local authorities who came close to admitting he had been influenced by enator Bilbo's campaign oratory to increase discrimination against Negro registrants was Emmett E. Reynolds, of Winston County. He also admitted advising Negroes not to go to the polls. When asked if he had been influenced by Mr. Bilbo, he reflected a moment.

'Well, it didn't do me any good to hear those speeches," he replied.

The Rev. George T. J. Strype, pastor of St. Philomena's Church, a Roman Catholic Negro parish in Pass Christian, told the committee that a number of his parishoners, mostly veterans, had been refused the right to vote on July 2.

When he went to the polling place to ask the reason, he said that Lester Garrity, a friend and supporter of Senator Bilbo told him that 'no Negroes are going to vote in Pass Christian today unless they paint their faces white." Wed

A question sent up by Forrest Jackson, Mr. Bilbo's chief counsel, and asked by Mr. Ellender, elicited the information that Father Strype was born in Brooklyn and educated in Newburgh, N. Y. 12-4-46

REPORT ON BILBO IS CALLED 'TOUGH'

Draft Stresses Relations of Senator With Contractors, Says Inquiry Group Member

The Times

New York, N.Y.

Fri. 12-27-46

WASHINGTON, Dec. 26 (AP)—A member of the Senate War Investigating Committee said tonight that the subcommittee which investigated Senator Theodore G. Bilbo's relations with war contractors has drafted "a very tough" report.

It makes no direct recommendations, he told a reporter, but (1) lays down the evidence on Mr. Bilbo's connections with Mike Morrisey, A. B. Friend, F. T. Newton and others, and (2) emphasizes contentions by Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, that donations were solicited from them.

These other items also went on the Bilbo bulletin board:

Strong doubt arose as to whether some Democratic members of the committee will sign or sanction the subcommittee report.

Taft Calls Meeting

Chairman Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio, of the Senate Republican Steering Committee, called a meeting for tomorrow morning to discuss whether to try to bar Mr. Bilbo from the Senate.

Senator Elmer Thomas, Democrat, of Oklahoma, reported that Mr. Bilbo is dredging up some "embarrassing" questions for some of the Senators who want to throw him out. Mr. Thomas reported that the Mississippi Senator has "a bunch of people" looking into relations between other Senators and war contractors. In a mood to fight fire with fire, Mr. Thomas said, Mr. Bilbo is prepared to raise some embarrassing questions about those relations.

Repeatedly in the week-long subcommittee investigation of Bilbo's war contractor activities, he denied that he had done anything that other lawmakers had not done.

Mr. Bilbo was reported to have spent a quiet Christmas at his "dream house" on his Mississippi farm.

Senator James M. Mead, Democrat, of New York, subcommittee chairman, was reported late today to have decided to sign the report prepared by Senator Ferguson and members of the committee staff.

Tunnell Will Not Sign

However, Senator James M. Tunnell, Democrat, of Delaware, the third member of the subcommittee, was said to have decided against signing on the grounds that he was not able to attend all the hearings.

Before going home for Christ- dication whether they intend to mas, Mr. Ferguson told a colleague bow out of the Senate with what he did not believe either Mr. Mead might constitute a slap at a fellow- or Mr. Tunnell would agree to the report.

Both Mr. Tunnell and Mr. Mead will be out of office at noon next Friday, Jan. 3, when the Eightieth Congress convenes. There are two other Democratic lame ducks on the full committee—Briggs of Missouri and Mitchell of Washington. Neither was here during the Bilbo

The Senator who described the report as "very tough" inquiry. makes no direct recommendations but rather lays down the evidence in violation of Federal statute.

The War Investigating Committee on Mr. Bilbo's relations with Mr. Morrissey, Mr. Friend, Mr. Newton and other contractors, emphasizing anything with quite so many red- hot partisan angles as the Bilbo

BILBO GIFTS, LOANS

The Times

New York, N.Y.

Fri. 12-27-46

They Helped Build Homes, Lake and Church for a Friend, They Tell Senate Hearing

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16—An idyllic picture of the construction and maintenance of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo's "Dream House," his "Dream House Junior," the Juniper Grove Baptist Church and its parsonage—all situated near Poplarville, Miss.—was sketched for the Senate War Investigating Subcommittee today.

CONTRACTORS BARE

MISSISSIPPI LEANS TO BILBO IN INQUIRY

The Times New York, N.Y. Nov. 12-2-46

Senate Campaign Body Opens Hearings in Jackson Today —Few Volunteer to Speak

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 1—Most indications available today pointed to general public support in Mississippi for Senator Theodore G. Bilbo in the investigation he will face, starting tomorrow, on charges of inciting intimidation of Negroes during his campaign preceding the Democratic primary in July.

Here in the State capital, observers believe there was little actual intimidation, considering the fact it was the first time the Negroes have voted in a Democratic primary election since the reconstruction period.

There are a good number of Mississippians who would like to see the Senate refuse to seat Mr. Bilbo on Jan. 3, but they do not want it done on the charges to be investigated tomorrow by the Special Senate Campaign Investigating Committee. They are pinning their hopes on possible revelations before the War Investigating Committee, under Senator Harley M. Kilgore, Democrat, of West Virginia, regarding alleged improper payments to Mr. Bilbo by war contractors.

Ellender Holds Conference

Senator Allen J. Ellender, chairman of the campaign committee, arrived today and conferred with Riley W. Shanks, the committee's chief counsel, over plans for tomorrow's public hearings. Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, senior minority member, also discussed plans with Mr. Ellender.

The other members were scheduled to reach Jackson late tonight or early tomorrow morning.

Mr. Ellender said that the committee would stay here until Christmas, if necessary, to "get to the bottom of this and find out what the trouble is." On the other hand, he left no doubt that, in his opinion, thus far the charges against Mr. Bilbo rest on a frail foundation.

He said the committee's investigators had heard complaints from perhaps 500 witnesses, but that only about twenty-five had agreed to come before the committee and testify under oath.

"Quite a number of persons who live outside the state are clamoring to testify," Mr. Ellender said. "But if people in the state cannot establish a case—and I know Bilbo has a lot of enemies in the State—we ought not to have to go to New York or Washington ar anywhere else to find the evidence. It is people here who claim to have been injured."

Gibe at a New York Group

The chairman's principal target appeared to be the Civil Rights Congress of New York, which gathered the complaints where the committee will investigate. He took the position that if there were individual violations of Mississippi election laws the remedy lay in the State Courts.

"We have no jurisdiction and they ought to know that," he said. "We can only report to the Congress and recommend laws. We have no powers to punish."

Mr. Bridges expressed his own belief that the committee should issue subpoenas immediately to bring before it the witnesses it wants to hear. Mr. Ellender thinks that the hearings will proceed more rapidly if voluntary witnesses are heard.

Tom Q. Ellis, who ran second to Mr. Bilbo in the primary, has notified the committee that he has no complaints and no testimony to offer against his successful rival. Former Representative Ross Collins, another unsuccessful contestant, has not told the committee whether he has any testimony to offer. The other two candidates who lost to Mr. Bilbo are not expected to appear.

Mr. Bilbo himself is installed in Jackson with an imposing battery of lawyers to see that his interests are protected. He says that many more have volunteered to serve if needed.

He appears to be in good health and spirits.

He said today that he would be present when the hearings opened tomorrow morning, and that he expected to have the time of his life.

Bilbo Probers Quiz 2 Officers

PM New York, N.Y.

A secret Senate inquiry was under way today into charges that Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) accepted cash and other gifts from war contractors. Testimony by two Army officers on contracts at two Mississippi air bases — Keesler in Biloxi and Key in Meridian, was heard by the Senate War Investigating Committee.

Thurs. 11-21-46

The witnesses were ex-Col. Douglas I. McKay and Col. J. L. Person, both of the Engineer Corps. Testimony was not made public. Several Mississippi witnesses are expected to be heard today, also in secret.

Bilbo's right to take his seat when the 80th Congress convenes Jan. 3 is under study by the War Investigating Committee, the Campaign Investigating Committee, and the Senate Republican Conference.

War investigators are looking into three sets of charges against Bilbo.

The Campaign Investigating Committee is concerned chiefly with charges that Bilbo sought to prevent Negroes from voting in the Mississippi primary hearings on these charges will begin in Jackson, Miss., Dec. 2.

The Senate Republican Conference, which convenes Dec. 30, wants to look into Bilbo's general qualifications in the light of the frequent accusations.

Tax Burden Eased by Loss

It was a bad time for farming, Mr. Morrissey testified, because of the shortage of labor during the war, and he lost $48,000 on the four years he operated under the contract. He agreed with Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, that this was not too serious, as he would have had to pay 80 per cent of it in income taxes if he had not lost it on the Bilbo farm.

Tues. 12-17-46

As a Christmas present in 1941, Mr. Morrissey gave Senator Bilbo a Cadillac automobile for which he paid $1,919.12, he told the subcommittee. This was a usual custom in Mississippi, he stated, as "we always elect poor folks in Mississippi." He said that a car had been given to the late Senator Pat Harrison and to various Governors by admiring friends without causing any adverse comment.

All in all, Mr. Morrissey testified, Mr. Bilbo now owned him $9,728.50.

"Bilbo has had a lot of hard luck with his health," he said. "I never have asked him for the money."

In reply to a question from Mr. Ferguson, the witness said that he has received $115,302.38 for rental of heavy equipment at Keesler Field, but he added that he had always been low bidder on the contracts he obtained. He testified that he had no cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts.

Sold Concrete at $500,000

John R. Junkins, a Natchez dealer in sand and gravel, said he sent a cement-mixer to Poplarville and poured the concrete for the swimming pool. Later, at Mr. Bilbo's request, he sent him a bill for $1,194.70, but instructed his secretary to mark it "paid" before it was mailed, Mr. Jenkins said.

"When Senator Bilbo gets able he'll pay me," he told the subcommittee, adding that he sold about $500,000 worth of ready-mixed concrete to Keesler Field after competitive bidding.

B. L. Knost, Meridian contractor, told of lending Mr. Bilbo $1,200 in Washington on Nov. 6, 1941, of which, he said, the Senator had paid back $750. Mr. Knost said he gave Edward P. Terry, Mr. Bilbo's former secretary, $3,750 for the Wall Doxey campaign in 1942, and now suspected it had not been used for

F. T. Newton, a Hattiesburg contractor, testified that he had also made a loan of $1,200 to Mr. Bilbo in Washington on Dec. 15, 1941. He did not intend to collect this money, he said, but Mr. Bilbo insisted and eventually paid it back in three installments. The witness stated that he contributed $750 to the Juniper Grove Baptist Church.

12-17-46

In reply to a question submitted by Forrest Jackson, Senator Bilbo's counsel Mr. Newton said that Mr. Terry asked him for money nearly every time they met. After about the third suggestion, Mr. Newton said he went to Senator Bilbo and asked him if it were necessary to give anybody around Wahington any money to get war contracts.

"Not a damned cent to anybody," he testified the Senator told him.

Loan to Terry is Reported

Mr. Knost was recalled to the stand and testified that he made a loan of $2,000 to Mr. Terry, which was still unpaid, but that he did not tell Senator Bilbo about it.

M. T. Reed, whose contracting firm has its headquarters in Belzoni, Miss., said he offered to have the "Dream House" painted in the spring of 1941, when Senator Bilbo told him, during a visit by the contractor to Poplarville, that he could not afford to do it. Later, he sent a bill for $1,709.79, a sum which he tried to write off at the end of the year as a bad debt. The claim was disallowed, he said, adding that "I think maybe some day he'll pay it—I hope so."

Mr. Reed contributed $3,500 to the Juniper Grove Church in April, 1943, he testified. He said he had also paid a note for $517.92 for Mr. Terry at a bank in Jackson, Miss., on Mr. Terry's request for financial help. He "understood" the money had been used to buy a Christmas present for Senator Bilbo.

A. B. Friend, an engineer and contractor of Sardis, Miss., managed Mr. Bilbo's successful campaigns for renomination in 1940 and in 1946. Under questioning by Mr. Ferguson, he related that he had obtained, possibly through Mr. Terry as an intermediary with Mr. Bilbo, a post with Pettigrew-Clark of Dallas, Tex., on a project to build a large, covered stadium in Washington.

He was to get 10 per cent of any fees the Dallas firm collected, he said. There was a joint Senate-House Stadium Commission to look into the project, and Senator Bilbo was chairman of the commission. The project came to nothing, the witness said, but he conceded that he had hoped to make $50,000 or $60,000 as his share of the fees if it had been completed.

An effort to connect a loan of $3,000 to Mr. Bilbo by Abraham L. Shushan, wholesale drygoods merchant of New Orleans, with alleged attempts on the Senator's part to influence a military fraud case against Mr. Shushan in 1940, appeared to fail at today's hearing. Miss Virginia Simmerman, a former "contact secretary" for Mr. Bilbo, said that Mr. Shushan came to the Bilbo office early in 1940 and that she understood he was threatening the Senator unless he paid the $3,000.

12-17-46

The charge the subcommittee is investigating is that the Mississippi Senator accepted gratuities from war contractors who profited from his intervention on their behalf in contracts awarded in Mississippi.

His friends who testified today, most of whom were contractors, put a different face on the matter, however.

They had all known Mr. Bilbo for many years, they told the subcommittee. They had known for fifteen years or more of his desire to leave a the "Dream House," "Dream House Junior" and its surrounding lake the church and parsonage, with the burying ground between them, as a memorial to his father and mother

Under these circumstances, they would always call on Mr. Bilbo when they were in the vicinity of Poplarville and ask how he was getting on. They would usually find him trying to accomplish, by his own manual labor and that of two or three boys, something that they could do much more easily and cheaply, by the construction machinery which they possessed.

For example, Michael Thomas Morrissey, a Vicksburg contractor drove by to see Senator Bilbo in the spring of 1941. He found the Senator working a mule trying to clear a roadway leading to a depression between two hills where he wanted to build a lake, Mr. Morrissey told the inquiring Senators today.

The Times

Mr. Morrissey had some dirt-moving equipment that was not in use at the moment. He told the Senator that, with this machinery, the excavation could be done in a fraction of the time he and his mule would require, and Mr. Morrissey moved his machinery to the spot.

New York, N.Y.

He said it took about six to eight weeks to dig out the space for the lake, leaving an island in the center on which "Dream House Junioh" was later built. While he had the machinery there, he also had a swimming pool excavated.

Tells of Faulty Bookkeeping

By a bookkeeper's error, he testified, the total cost of $3,672.91, for labor, fuel, moving the machinery and its rental, was charged to the construction account of Keesler Army Air Field, which he was then helping to construct. The charge was corrected, however, by a journal entry at the end of the year, and Senator Bilbo was billed for the amount, the witness said.

Subsequently, he made loans to Mr. Bilbo of $5,000 and of $1,000, secured by a publicly recorded mortgage on 1,100 acres of farm land, the witness added. He likewise contracted with Mr. Bilbo to operate the latter's entire farm of 3,600 acres for four years, starting in 1941. Under the arrangement, Mr. Morrissey was to pay all taxes and operating expenses and they would share the profits, if any.

Boot-Out Bilbo Affair

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

The New York Committee of the Southern Negro Youth Congress yesterday announced a "Boot-Out Bilbo" ball to be held at the Savoy Ballroom, Friday night, Nov. 29.

Miss Adele Russell, Executive Secretary of the New York Committee, who attended the recent Southern Youth Legislature at Columbia, South Carolina, in announcing the resolutions from the Youth Legislature, said, "After seeing the determination expressed by the 1,000 Negro and white delegates to rid the South of its evils we are going to do our utmost to aid their fight to make it a successful one."

Kenneth Shorter, Ferdinand Smith, Rev. Ben Richardson, Mr. and Mrs. Alice Lee, star of the "Duchess of Malfa" and pianist, are co-chairmen of the sponsoring committee. Joining them as sponsors are Thelma Dale of the National Maritime Union, Mrs. Alice Diamond, Robert Gwathmey, Counsilman Stanley M. Isaacs, Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Rev. Jack R. McMichael, Winifred Norman, American Youth for Democracy, Mr. and Mrs. Canada Lee, and Ray Lev, concert pianist, are co-chairmen of the The proceeds from the ball will go to the SNYC to send a delegation to Washington when Congress convenes. This delegation will carry the demand for the removal of Secretary of State James F. Byrnes.

Tues. 11-19-46

Tickets may be secured at 307 Lenox Ave., Room 204, or by calling MO. 2-4535.

MAYOR WILLIAM O'DWYER Says: *"It is important that support be rallied for your nation-wide drive on Bilboism."*

TAG DAYS: Dec. 12, 13, 14

P M New York, N. Y.

to STOP BILBOISM

Sun. 12-8-46

PETITION CAMPAIGN UNTIL DEC. 24

to OUST BILBO

•

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

Register Now!

•

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF NEW YORK

112 East 19th St., New York 3, N. Y.

MAIL THIS TODAY!

DASHIELL HAMMETT, President
Civil Rights Congress of New York
112 East 19th St., New York 3, N. Y.

I want to help fight Bilboism, and oust Bilbo from the U. S. Senate.

I will volunteer to participate in STOP BILBOISM TAG DAYS, Dec. 12, 13 & 14.

☐ Let me know where to pick up collection can.

I want to circulate petitions to the Senate, urging the ouster of Senator Bilbo.

☐ Send me ..... petition forms which I will circulate and then return to you, fully signed.

I want to contribute to the drive to OUST BILBO, and the fight against BILBOISM.

☐ Enclosed is $.....

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

How GOP Can Get Bilbo

The Afro-American

Now that the Republicans have gained control of Congress, one of the first things that they can do in behalf of progress is to block the seating of Senator Theodore (KKK) Bilbo come January.

The Mississippi Senator faces two charges: (1) intimidating colored voters in the recent State primary by inciting violence, and (2) accepting rake-offs from war contractors. Of the first one, there is not one scintilla of doubt, and it should not be overly difficult to prove the second.

However, we are not expecting too much of the public hearings which the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee will hold in Mississippi, beginning Dec. 12: first, because Senator Allen J. Ellender (Dem., La.) is chairman of the committee, and second, because none but residents of Mississippi will be permitted to testify. A whitewash is therefore in prospect. Baltimore, Md.

As to the war contracting charges, no date has been set for a hearing on these by the Senate War Investigating Committee. Sat. 11-23-46

Two GOP members of the Ellender committee—Senators Styles Bridges (N.H.) and Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Iowa)—have been instructed to report to the Senate Steering Committee with all of the facts disclosed at the Mississippi hearings. It is on the basis of such findings that the GOP can challenge Bilbo when he comes up on Jan. 3 to be seated. A simple majority vote can do the trick.

Republicans, who hold the upper hand in the Senate, will strengthen their position considerably by acting with finality to remove this scourge from American political life.

INQUIRY IS AWAITING FORMER BILBO AIDE

The Times

Senators Planning to Center on Ex-Secretary in Efforts to Trace $25,000 Fund

New York, N.Y.

TERRY FOUND IN HOSPITAL

Mon. 12-16-46

Accused Mississippian Insists, Meanwhile, That GOP Cannot Keep Him From Senate

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15—Principal interest in the Bilbo hearings, which will be resumed tomorrow before the Senate War Investigating Subcommittee, will center on Edward P. Terry, former secretary to the senior Senator from Mississippi. He is the witness who asked the subcommittee to excuse him on the ground that his life would be endangered if he testified.

Senator James M. Mead, Democrat, of New York, expects Mr. Terry to take the stand early this week. After a search of several days, in which the assistance of the Federal Bureau of Investigation was enlisted, Mr. Terry received service of a committee summons in a hospital at Quitman, Miss., on Friday.

Mr. Terry's exact role in the disposition of the $25,000 given to Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, by F. T. Newton, a war contractor, purportedly to aid the campaign of Wall Doxey for the Senatorial nomination in 1942, has not been made clear. The subcommittee's immediate attention is focused on this one item of $25,000, although there are before it allegations of lesser gratuities to Mr. Bilbo by other war contractors.

Witness Spoke of Terry

Mr. Newton, the donor of the sum under inquiry, is the only witness so far who has mentioned any of Mr. Terry's alleged activities. He testified that, a few minutes after he had made the $25,000 donation to the Doxey campaign fund, he met Mr. Terry who told him that "If you had given me that money, I could do you a lot more good than Bilbo or Doxey."

"'Mr. Terry,'" the witness said he replied, "'I'm not looking for any good, I just don't want any harm.'"

Mr. Newton's idea of the negative virtue attaching to political contributions stemmed from an earlier experience, he told the subcommittee. He had tried to get a Government construction contract at Pascagoula, Miss., but the award had been made to another contractor on the recommendation, according to his testimony, of the late Senator Pat Harrison.

Apparently, Mr. Newton had not contributed to the Harrison campaign fund, and the experience taught him a lesson, it was said. He believed (incorrectly, as it turned out) that Mr. Harrison's successor, Senator Doxey, would beat James O. Eastland in the 1942 primary, the testimony revealed.

'Pep Meeting' Involved

For the first primary, in which there were five candidates, he contributed $2,500 directly to Mr. Doxey. During the campaign preceding the run-off primary, between Messrs. Eastland and Doxey, Mr. Newton attended what he called a "pep meeting" in Jackson, Miss., and heard an appeal for funds.

Feeling that he ought to help all he could in the election of a Senator who would not do him any harm, as he felt Senator Harrison had done, he agreed to donate $25,000 on the condition that Senator Bilbo accept it and see that it was usefully expended, Mr. Newton stated. Mon. 12-16

At the beginning of this year Mr. Terry and Mr. Bilbo broke Mr. Terry resigned as Clerk of the District of Columbia Committee of which Senator Bilbo is chairman, and went back to Mississippi to live. He has already appeared before an executive meeting of the War Investigating Committee, and it is presumed that his testimony at that time was one of the factors leading the committee to direct hearings by the subcommittee, on the ground that a prima facie case had been established against Mr. Bilbo. 12-16-46

Ellender Report Awaited

The War Investigating Committee's inquiry is one of two factors which may affect the question of permitting Mr. Bilbo to take his seat for his third term in the Senate. The other is a report to be rendered by the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee.

This body, under the chairmanship of Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, held hearings earlier this month in Jackson on charges that Mr. Bilbo's campaign speeches last spring incited white citizens of Mississippi to intimidate Negro voters and to keep them from registering and voting. This committee's report is expected to be favorable to the seating of Senator Bilbo, on the ground that his advocacy of the "white Democratic primary" was merely the reflection of prevailing opinion in Mississippi.

Senator Bilbo's political enemies in his home State pin their hopes of unseating him on an adverse report from the War Investigating Committee. They believe that a Republican Senate, sole judge of the qualifications of its members, might deny Mr. Bilbo his seat if it were established that he had received improper financial considerations from war contractors who profited from his intervention on their behalf.

After three days of hearings, however, the subcommittee has yet to hear any direct evidence that Senator Bilbo personally diverted for his own use any of the money said to have been donated to the Doxey campaign fund.

There are lesser allegations against him, including a similar campaign contribution of $5,000 by B. L. Knost, a Meridian contractor. Others of the kind include a donation of $500 to the Baptist Church of Poplarville, where Senator Bilbo lives, made by the J. A. Jones Construction Company of Charlotte, N. C., which had about $71,000,000 worth of war contracts in Mississippi.

"I didn't like the idea of being asked to give to something in which we had no personal interest," Edwin L. Jones, secretary-treasurer of the company, told the subcommittee, "but I thought that if we were to continue to do business in Mississippi it would be a good idea to give to this church."

He testified that the gift was solicited by Michael T. Morrissey, a friend of Senator Bilbo and a contractor who rented heavy equipment to the Government on some of the Mississippi projects. The church gift, however, was made some years after completion of the Keesler Army Air Field, near Gulfport, for which Senator Bilbo had recommended the firm.

Even if they get some Democratic votes or are aided by absences on the side, Mr. Bilbo's opponents fear they might lose some Republican votes. 12-16-46

One GOP Senator, who has been analyzing the strategy, mentioned that the Democrats, if they chose, could prevent the swearing in of any Republicans if Mr. Bilbo were not permitted to take the oath.

"Maybe we will give the Democrats a chance to put themselves

Even if they get some Republicans who haven't even got a scratch to twenty-nine following the Democratic primary, "They agreed, adding: death today of Senator Bailey, of North Carolina. If precedents are followed, new members will be sworn in alphabetically, my against me," he declared, alphabetically, "Besides, Republicans, who have been studying the situation, mond E. Baldwin, Republican, of Connecticut, first on the list. That would make the count thirty-nine, Democrats, of Louisiana, held hearings on charges that Mr. Bilbo's campaign speeches last spring incited white citizens of Mississippi to intimidate Negro voters and to keep them from registering and voting. This committee's report is expected to be favorable to the seating of Senator Bilbo, on the ground that his advocacy of the "white Democratic primary" was merely the reflection of prevailing opinion in Mississippi. Senator Bilbo's political enemies in his home State pin their hopes of unseating him on an adverse report from the War Investigating Committee. They believe that a Republican Senate, sole judge of the qualifications of its members, might deny Mr. Bilbo his seat if it were established that he had received improper financial considerations from war contractors who profited from his intervention on their behalf. After three days of hearings, however, the subcommittee has yet to hear any direct evidence that Senator Bilbo personally diverted for his own use any of the money said to have been donated to the Doxey campaign fund. There are lesser allegations against him, including a similar campaign contribution of $5,000 by B. L. Knost, a Meridian contractor. Others of the kind include a donation of $500 to the Baptist Church of Poplarville, where Senator Bilbo lives, made by the J. A. Jones Construction Company of Charlotte, N. C., which had about $71,000,000 worth of war contracts in Mississippi. "I didn't like the idea of being asked to give to something in which we had no personal interest," Edwin L. Jones, secretary-treasurer of the company, told the subcommittee, "but I thought that if we were to continue to do business in Mississippi it would be a good idea to give to this church." He testified that the gift was solicited by Michael T. Morrissey, a friend of Senator Bilbo and a contractor who rented heavy equipment to the Government on

Bilbo Predicts Victory

The Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15 (AP)—Senator Bilbo predicted today that the Republicans would be unable to bar him when the new Senate convened Jan. 3. New York, N.Y.

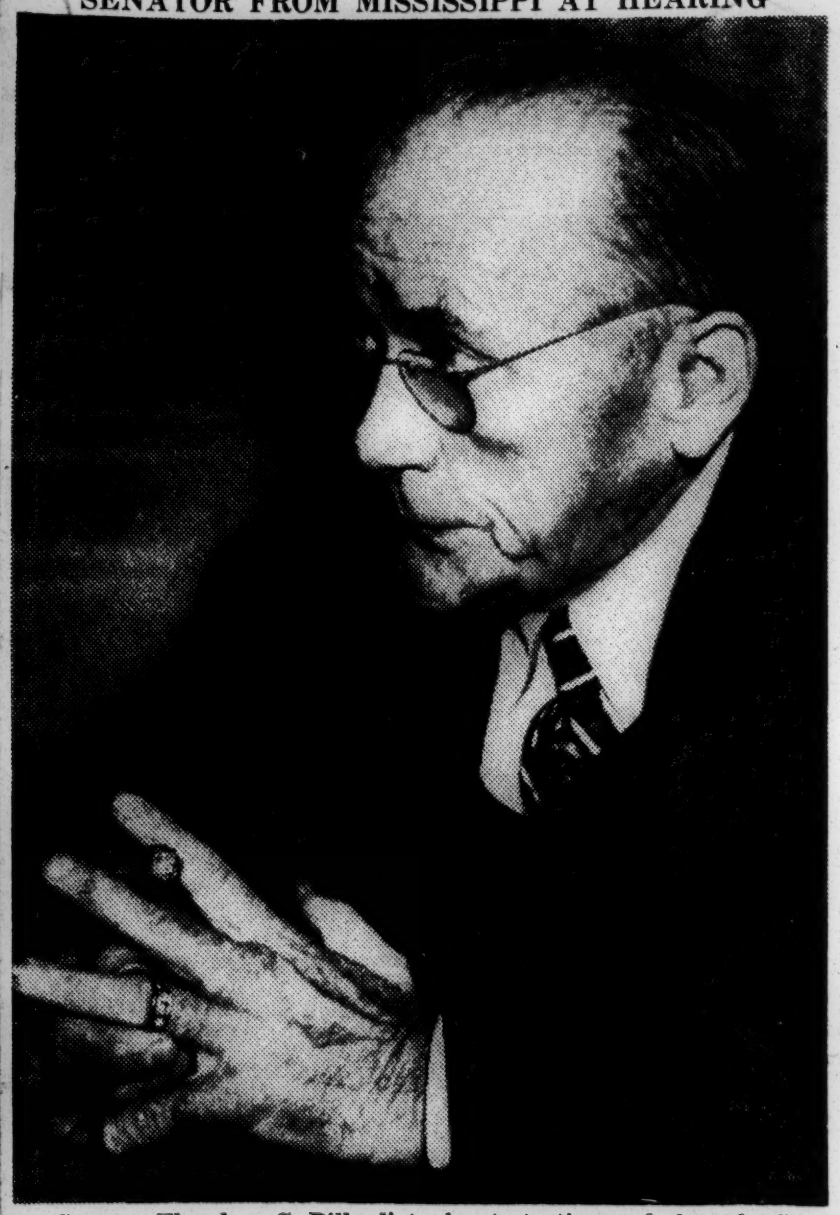
Republican strategists agreed that if they were defeated in the first round, they would press further efforts to unseat the Senator.

When the Senate meets to begin swearing in new members, it will be in control, with Secretary Leslie Biffle in the chair. Holdover Democrats still will be in the Democrats and thirty Republicans. Republicans thir- next name on the list. Mrs.

Mr. Bilbo told a reporter he was satisfied "they can't stop me at the oath.

on that spot," this Senator told a reporter.

SENATOR FROM MISSISSIPPI AT HEARING



Senator Theodore G. Bilbo listening to testimony before the Senate inquiry subcommittee in Washington yesterday. Associated Press Wirephoto.

BILBO WILL DEFEND HIMSELF IN CAPITAL

The Times

Senator to Leave Mississippi Monday to Face Charges of Improper Financial Deals

New York, N.Y.
Sat. 12-7-46

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 6—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo will leave Mississippi for Washington on Monday, he announced here today, to defend himself before the Senate War Investigating subcommittee against charges of improper financial dealings with war contracttors who built Army camps in the State. The hearings are scheduled to open on Dec. 2.1

Flushed with what he consideres his victory before the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee here yesterday, Mr. Bilbo left Jackson this afternoon to rest over the week-end at his "Dream House" near Poplarville, in the southern part of the State. He was asked about the statement issued last night by Emmanuel H. Bloch, counsel for the Civil Rights Congress of New York City, demanding that the hearings on charges of intimidating Negro voters during his primary campaign last spring be reopened in Washington.

"They're just like a fellow who's lost a murder cose," Mr. Bilbo commented. "Cussin' the judge and the jury. They know they're licked."

Beneath a surface air of confidence, Mr. Bilbo appeared today to be genuinely concerned about the charges before the Senate War Investigating Subcommittee, headed by Senator James M. Mead of New York. Friends who are helping him prepare his defense have been unable to find out the names of the individuals who preferred the charges, or whether these are sworn charges. The subcommittee has transmitted the charges themselves to Mr. Bilbo.

Senator's Enemies "Hopeful"

Mr. Bilbo's political enemies in Mississippi, whose number is not inconsiderable, profess to believe the Senate may unseat him as a result of the forthcoming hearings. They did not believe the intimidation charges would be upheld by the Campaign Investigating Committee, headed by Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, and they did not want those charges to stick.

The financial charges were brought into the open during the primary campaign by former Representative Ross Collins, who was running for the Senatorial nomination along with Mr. Bilbo and three other candidates. Mr. Collins finished third in the race, while Mr. Bilbo was nominated by a majority of about 3,800 votes over the combined total polled by his four opponents.

Speaking at Brandon on June 17, Mr. Collins charged that Mr. Bilbo had received a total of $25,000, in four checks, fro mthe firm of Newton & Glenn, contractors, of Hattiesburg.

Mr. Collins said that Mr. Bilbo paid only $72 in Federal income taxes during the last thirty-two years. He charged that Mr. Bilbo now valued his properties at $300,000, although the Senator had admitted he was close to bankruptcy in the mid-nineteen-thirties. Mr. Collins added that the real estate records of Pearl River County where Mr. Bilbo lives, showed that he acquired land for $26,310 in the three years from 1927 to 1930, when his sole ostensible income was a salary of $7,500 a year.

Gift of Automobile Alleged

Another candidate, Nelson T. Levings, a former commander in the Navy, charged in a speech on June 24 that Mr. Bilbo had received a new Cadillac automobile from unspecified "war-contractor friends."

Mr. Bilbo replied to the Collins charges in a speech at Purvis on June 19, in which he said that "I did not get one dollar of the money." He said that the $25,000 was a voluntary contribution by the Hattiesburg contractors to the campaign fund of Wall Doxey in his 1942 campaign for the Senatorial nomination.

A check for $5,000 which Mr. Collins displayed was endorsed by Mr. Bilbo, but bore a subsequent endorsement by Robert Gandy, an insurance agent in Jackson. It was Mr. Bilbo's contention that he had turned over the money to a Doxey campaign committee headed by Mr. Gandy. 12-7-46

Mr. Doxey disclaimed knowledge of the contribution, but Mr. Bilbo said that the committee headed by Mr. Gandy worked for Mr. Doxey's nomination independently and that the candidate need not necessarily have known all the details of its activity. Mr. Gandy has made no public statement in regard to the matter.

Thirty Witnesses Are Called

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6—Thirty witnesses have been called thus far "to testify concerning transactions between Senator Bilbo and certain war contractors" before the special subcommittee of the Senate War Investigating Committee, Senator James M. Mead, the chairman said today.

Terry Faces Contempt In Bilbo Sifting

The Advertiser

Refuses To Share His Secret Of What Went With $15,000 Cache

Talks Of Narcotics

Montgomery, Ala.

He Tells Of Death Threats; Now Perjury Charges Also Confront Witness

Thurs. 12-19-46

By WILLIAM T. PEACOCK

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18 —(AP)—Edward P. Terry, self-declared custodian of a $15,000 "Beat Bilbo" fund, refused to tell the Senate investigators what he did with it and was threatened with contempt and perjury prosecution.

His stand threw into an uproar a Senate War Investigating Committee hearing. It had been startled a few minutes earlier by an assertion from Terry that a physician told him Senator Theodore G. Bilbo accepted $1,500 to get a narcotics "prescription or license" for a constituent.

Terry is a former secretary to the Mississippi Democratic Senator and has been called as a key witness in the committee's inquiry into Bilbo's relations with war contractors.

Twitching nervously, he reiterated previous assertions that he had received warnings of death, if he told what he knew about Bilbo.

Then, under questioning, he told of favors done Bilbo by War contractors. He said Bilbo went "all out" to get contracts for Mississippi friends.

Terry said he never heard of any understanding that these contractors were to make any payments to Bilbo but he told of incidents where, he said, the Senator indicated anticipation that the contractors would do favors for him.

Terry's Rakeings

Terry testified that $15,000 was given him by Simon Liberman of Park Ave., New York, to be used in financing a campaign by some Mississippian who could oust Bilbo from the Senate.

He approached Gov. Tom Bailey about becoming a candidate against Bilbo, Terry related, but the governor would not commit himself because of poor health.

When Bailey finally decided against making the race, Terry went on, he approached Speaker Walter Sellers, of the Mississippi House, who also turned it down.

Terry said he held on to the fund with the intention of throwing it against Bilbo in the Mississippi run-off primary, but Bilbo won in the first primary and there was no run-off. So he said he took the money from the bank in cash and returned it to Liberman.

Liberman is now dead, Terry added.

Senator Ferguson, (R), Michigan) tore into Terry and said he had learned Liberman died in January, or five months before Terry withdrew the money from the bank.

Terry protested that "I returned it to where his estate would get it."

G-Men May Probe

Ferguson demanded that he say precisely what he did with it.

"I'm not going to involve other people," Terry replied.

He mumbled that sentence twice more as Ferguson pressed him.

"You refuse to answer the question?" Ferguson demanded.

"I do," Terry replied.

"Your own integrity is at stake," Chairman Mead (D), New York interjected.

Paul Dillon, St. Louis attorney representing Terry, protested that the matter was not pertinent to the investigation.

"Whether Mr. Terry took some money that did not belong to him is irrelevant to this inquiry," he declared. 12-19-46

But Ferguson and Mead insisted that the question must be answered and when Terry remained adamant announced they they would refer to the Justice Department the question of whether there was perjury and to the committee itself the question of contempt proceedings.

An hour after this uproar, Terry was recalled to the stand and given a second chance to reveal to whom he had repaid the money, but refused.

"Have you changed your mind?" Ferguson asked.

Terry then replied to a score of questions prepared in written form by Senator Bilbo's attorney. In these Terry denied any knowledge of "42 files from Senator Bilbo's office which disappeared about the time you (Terry) left."

Dope On The Dope

The story Terry told about narcotics was this The Advertiser

He said he was ill and under treatment by Dr. A. J. Pedesta, Vicksburg, Miss., and Pedesta told him of giving $1,500 to Bilbo for a man in Natchez.

Terry said the Natchez man wanted Bilbo to get him a "prescription" from "Dr. Anslinger of the Narcotics Bureau." When Ferguson questioned the term "prescription," Terry said it might have been a "license."

Terry went on to say that he recalled that Bilbo had him telephone Anslinger to come to the Senator's office and remembered Anslinger's being there.

H. J. Anslinger is head of the Narcotics Bureau of the Treasury Department. Committee members said he would be called as a witness. Forrest Jackson, attorney for Bilbo, asked that Doc-

work done for the Government. 12-19-46

War contractors have testified other benefactions to the Sena or—a gift of a Cadillac automo- pile, furniture, painting his house donations to his Juniper Grove Baptist Church fund, and contributions for the Doxey campaign in excess of $30,000.

Action on Podesta be called. the request was deferred.

Bilbo's Benefits

And again, Terry said, Bilbo told him about his plans to construct a lake on his Mississippi farm. He quoted the Senator as saying his friends would do it for him. Montgomery, Ala.

The committee has calculated that the lake job was worth over $9,000 based on the same scale as the charges Morrissey made

Bilbo Cost Him $60,000, Lake Builder Testifies

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16—(UP)—Michael T. Morrissey, Vicksburg, Miss., contractor who made one of Sen. Bilbo's dreams come true when he built him a lake with an island in it, disclosed Monday that his long friendship with the Senator has cost more than $60,000.

Tues. 12-17-46

He told the Senate War Investigating Subcommittee, which is inquiring into charges that Bilbo accepted money and other gifts from favored contractors, that these expenditures resulted from farm partnership losses, services, loans, donations and gifts.

Short and heavy-set and with a booming voice, Morrissey testified that his costs from dealings with the Mississippi Democrat included:

1. A loss of $48,000 from four years of operation of Bilbo's 3,600 acres at Poplarville, Miss., under an arrangement whereby he was to pay the taxes and split the profits, but bear all the losses.

2. A $6,000 loan to Bilbo secured by a mortgage on 1,100 acres of the farm.

3. $3,672 still due from Bilbo and representing the actual cost of building the 22-acre lake and island on Bilbo's property.

4. More than $1,900 for a Cadillac automobile given to Bilbo on Christmas, 1941.

5. Donations totaling $1,300 for construction of the Juniper Ridge Baptist Church and parsonage on Bilbo's land.

Morrissey testified after three other Mississippi contractors—B. L. Knost, F. T. Newton and Frank S. Glenn—added their chapters to the Bilbo story by telling of political donations, personal loans to Bilbo and attempts by his former secretary, Edward P. Terry, to borrow money from one contractor every time he visited the Senator's office.

Terry, who fled from Committee process servers after reporting that the lives of his wife, daughter and self had been threatened by an anonymous telephone caller if he testified against his old boss, will testify Wednesday.

Found late last week "resting" in a Quitman, Miss., hospital, Terry was to have testified Monday but physicians said he was still too nervous to appear on schedule.

Morrissey, Newton, Glenn and Knost were among the contractors who allegedly aided Bilbo because he helped them obtain contracts for Army Construction in Mississippi.

$1,200 in November, 1941, a[illegible] he loaned Bilbo [illegible] was paid back $750 on some fo[illegible] gotten date. He was certain t[illegible] Senator made this payment vo[illegible]untarily.

"I haven't done anything to collect the $450 remaining," he added. "When Sen. Bilbo is able to pay me, he will."

The contractors' testimony followed three lines of questioning—campaign contributions solicited by Bilbo's political group, to aid the runoff primary campaign for former Sen. Wall Doxey, of Mississippi; donations to the Juniper Grove Baptist Church and personal loans made to Bilbo or Terry. The testimony shaped this way:

The Constitution

On campaign contributions:

Knost gave Terry a check for $3,750 on Dec. 7, 1942, "as a campaign contribution" but has reason now to believe that the money had not been used to further Doxey's campaign. Terry, he added, never helped him get a war contract.

(Knost and Morrissey were disclosed earlier to have given $5,000 to Bilbo in June, 1941, for Doxey's use in the first primary.)

Glenn testified that he "never had approved or disapproved" of the $2,500 campaign contribution made by his partner, Newton, to the Doxey campaign. Newton wrote the check without Glenn's knowledge, he said.

On church donations:

Knost gave Bilbo $500 to $60[illegible] for the church, a project which Bilbo described in letters of solicitation as a "dream" which he couldn't finance alone. Glenn said he had given Bilbo $750 in 1942 for the church and "if Sen. Bilbo said this money was used for the church I believe that it was."

Morrissey said that in addition to his $1,300 donation he gave Bilbo $500 collected from friends on the gounds that "Bilbo is having a hell of a time getting his church built."

On loans: Atlanta, Ga.

Newton said he had loaned Bilbo $1,200 late in 1941, which had been paid back at the rate of $10[illegible] a month, although he did not press for payment and didn't intend to. Newton said "Sen: Bilbo wouldn't have this money as a gift."

He added that he was asked for money by Secretary Terry "practically every time I was in Mr. Terry's presence." But he never gave Terry any.

Glenn said Terry never approached him, but Knost disclosed that once he had loaned Terry $2,000 on a note which never has been repaid.

Newton recalled that in 1941 when he came to Washington to get Bilbo's aid in obtaining war contracts, Terry put the bite on him frequently for money.

"He would say to me," Newton said, "'I want some money, but I don't want Sen. Bilbo to know about it.' So I went in and asked Bilbo if it was necessary to give anybody any money and he told me, 'Not a damn cent to anybody.'"

Tues. 12-17-46

Newton was unable to recall how much money Terry wanted or for what purpose, but he did remember that he did not tell Blbo that his secretary was asking.

"How could Bilbo read your mind?" Sen. Ferguson, Republican, Michigan, inquired.

When Morrissey was called he brought with him John A. Bellan, his bookkeeper for 15 years. Identifying himself as an operator of the "Showboat" bar across the river in Louisiana, a farmer, and contractor, he told how he had taken over Bilbo's farm on a four-year partnership in March, 1942, and had lost his shirt on the deal.

His losses were almost $7,000 the first year; thereafter $23,000, $10,000 and $8,000 in the last year.

"When you saw you were losing money after the first year, why didn't you get out of the deal?" Ferguson asked.

"Senator, I made the agreement for four years and I was going to stick with it. Why, I lost $65,000 farming one year, sir."

Morrissey said he received $115,332.38 from the Government for rent on equipment used in building Keesler Air Field at Biloxi. But all of his contracts, war or otherwise, were the result of low bids.

"Did you get any help from Sen. Bilbo on war contracts?" he was asked.

"Sen. Bilbo couldn't help me make out my bids," he replied.

The construction of the lake and island—on which Bilbo has since built his "Dreamhouse No. 2"—resulted from his long friendship with the Senator, Morrissey said. He started the work in May or June, 1941, and finished it in six weeks.

"What did Bilbo want another house on the island for?" Ferguson asked.

"I guess that's just another one of his dreams, Sir," Morrissey replied. "It was a junior dreamhouse."

Questioning brought out that although Morrissey had listed this project on his books as if it were part of the Biloxi works, it was changed later and Bilbo was sent a bill for $3,672.

"What have you done to collect this debt?" Morrissey was asked.

"Nothing," he replied, "because the Senator has had a lot of bad luck. I knew that when he had some money, he'd pay me something."

12-17-46

He said he had given the Bilbo family two Candillacs; that such gifts were customary to Senators from his State because "We don't elect wealthy people in Mississippi."

BILBO PLAYS THE STAR ROLE IN COLORFUL CAPITAL DRAMA

'The Man' Is Cool Under Bitter Attack on His Fitness to Stay in Senate

The Times New York, N.Y. Sun. 12-22-46

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21—Mississippi's political life was spread before the world in sordid, and sometimes amusing, detail during the Bilbo hearings this week. Although the cast of the drama enlarged as the Senate War Investigating subcommittee called additional witnesses, there was never any doubt that Theodore G. Bilbo was playing the star role.

"The Man," as he is called in his home State, sat through an embarrassing recital of his innermost financial secrets, his troubles with his former wife and the strange collection of political bedfellows he has gathered in his long public career.

Through it all he displayed what different spectators styled as great courage or thick-skinned cynicism, depending on their sympathies. At most of the worst passages he laughed with every appearance of enjoyment, making side remarks to the members of the committee or to friends sitting near him. On only a few occasions did he show evidences of indignation.

It was obvious he had come to the hearing prepared for just the ordeal he encountered. He and his attorney waived all rights and privileges and even encouraged the examination of witnesses they knew would try their hardest to damage him.

Confidence Itself

To appreciate his sang froid, it must be realized that Senator Bilbo considered himself on trial before the State of Mississippi, and not before the United States Senate. He appears to be supremely confident that the Senate will not refuse him a seat for his third term. Doubtless he is relying on the precedent of the Langer case, about ten years ago, in which the Senate Elections Committee ruled that the alleged facts were well known to the North Dakota voters at the time of the election, and that they had chosen the candidate despite them.

Practically everything brought out at the hearing regarding Mr. Bilbo's financial dealings with war contractors and his personal monetary habits was aired in the primary campaign last spring. Former Representative Ross Collins, one of his four rivals for the Democratic nomination, talked them up and down the length of Mississippi.

And yet, when the ballots were counted on the night of July 2, Theodore G. Bilbo had a few thousand votes more than his four opponents combined. For the first time in many years no run-off primary was needed to determine the nominee of the Democratic party of Mississippi for the United States Senate.

With only occasional lapses, Mr. Bilbo has been on the public payroll in one capacity or another, usually elective, for thirty-five years. He has been Governor of Mississippi twice. He has been Lieutenant Governor. He has served in the Legislature. Three times he has been elected to the Senate.

"Man of the People"

On that record, it cannot be said that Mr. Bilbo is ignorant of the kind of election and most of them would be considered a well-educated man anywhere, if he vote for Bilbo.

impression to get around.

The court house gangs and the cracker-barrel philosophers run the devious as recent hearings have politics of Mississippi. Negroes are made it appear.

not permitted to vote in the Democratic primaries, which are deter-mining, and the more prosperous impression on most casual newspaper readers in the North that he is practically illiterate. Actually, he attended Vanderbilt University and the kind of election and most of them vote for Bilbo.

Mississippi politics is just as devious as recent hearings have made it appear.

In 1933 Mr. Bilbo was in one of his transient political eclipses. The late Senator Pat Harrison heard, in Washington, that "the Man" was considering running for the Senate in 1934. He did not like it at the idea. Hastily Mr. Harrison got a Washington job for Mr. Bilbo in order to get him out of the State during the critical pre-primary maneuvering days. The job had something to do with sampling newspaper opinion for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. In other words, he clipped newspapers, and one of his enemies in Mississippi dubbed him the "Pastemaker General."

His Press Conferences

Within a short time, however, Mr. Bilbo was holding press conferences, and Mr. Harrison decided Washington was not far enough from Mississippi. He got the offer of a post as sugar inspector in the Philippines, called Mr. Bilbo to his office and urged him to accept it in the interest of the public service. Mr. Bilbo said he would think over. Sun. 12-22-46

Bare Bilbo Held Tight To 'Gift' for Church

Daily Worker

New York, N. Y. Wed. 12-18-46

By Fred Vast

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.—Witnesses told a Senate War Investigating Subcommittee today Sen. Bilbo maintained exclusive control over the $27,500 collected for his church and that only $1,285 is still in the bank. In addition, the committee learned, Bilbo has refused to yield title to the elaborate church parsonage until he decides it is completed or he dies.

As the Senate group delved further into Bilbo's slush fund in the 1942 election, it learned hundreds of thousands of dollars could be spent by private groups without reporting to the State of Mississippi. Official campaign committees can spend up to $64,000 in one election, according to interpretations of the State law.

Practically no work has been done on the parsonage since Rev. Wade Smith became pastor of the Juniper Grove Baptist Church in 1944, the minister testified. He said his 2½-story home has eight bedrooms and five bathrooms and is far too expensive for a congregation of 560 persons. Church members pay him $2,600 a year.

Rev. Smith said he had built his own home in four months last year but only five weeks' work was done on the parsonage since he became pastor. He said he could not move into the parsonage because the house still needs plumbing.

BILBO REFUSED

Church members have offered to complete the building and furnish it but Bilbo has refused to let them do it, the pastor revealed.

A bank president and a loan association official testified Bilbo still owes their organizations $8,800 and $10,000 respectively on loans totaling $9,600 and $15,500.

Pres. Robert Newton of the Poplarville Bank of Commerce said his bank must pay $2,000 a year on the "uncollectable" loans, for which he had never asked collateral. Newton said he had never repaid for the $750 he advanced for paying the $3,000 note of Abe L. Shushan, New Orleans henchman of the late Huey Long. Shushan testified yesterday he loaned the money to Bilbo for the senator's alimony payments, which reportedly came to $21,000. Newton said he advanced the money to protect Bilbo's name in the 1940 election campaign.

Another heavy donor was Forrest Jackson, Bilbo's attorney, who gave $1,500 towards payment of the Shushan note to Edward Terry, Bilbo's former secretary. Jackson said he had also given Terry $1,100 to help defray expenses in the 1940 campaign. In addition he paid for Bilbo's "small items" ($40, $90, $400 etc.) over the years.

Jackson admitted he had been paid a $1,500 fee by the Volz Construction Co., war contractors, on the key airfield job, and another $440 for insurance fees. His law firm also got $1,200 in fees on other contractors' insurance.

Out of this money, he admitted, Bilbo's bills were paid. He said he had made contributions to the Senator's church.

In testimony on the 1942 election, in which Bilbo's formal committee spent thousands of dollars, Jackson said a candidate could spend as much as $64,000 under the Mississippi corrupt practices act.

He agreed with Sen. Homer Ferguson (R-Mich) hundreds of thousands of dollars could be spent by informal groups, such as Bilbo's without reporting to the state.

"That means the people can't find out how much has been spent in an election except through a congressional hearing?" Ferguson observed.

Jackson's claim that Terry was trying to avoid an appearance at the hearing by the excuse of death threats and incriminating evidence was refuted today by J. Marvin Quin, vice-president of the Jackson State National Bank, Quin told Ferguson and Sen. James Mead (D-NY) Terry made no such statement to him two weeks ago as alleged by Jackson at Thursday's session.

Terry, who has supplied the subcommittee detailed evidence on Bilbo's activity, told Quin he would not appear at this hearing because his life was threatened. He did not say it was an excuse or that his testimony would be incriminating, Quin said. 12-18-46

Quin showed records of Terry's bank accounts.

Terry, who left Mississippi today, is expected to testify tomorrow.

tor Ellender petitioning the committee to broaden the scope and subpoena more witnesses. Atlanta, Ga.

Vet Shows Blood-Stained Clothing At Bilbo Hearing

Daily Worker

JACKSON, Miss. — (S N S) — Richard E. Daniel, war veteran of Gulfport, Miss., Tuesday exhibited blood-stained clothes as evidence of an attack and beating he said given him by a city policeman by the name of Williams when the veterans tried to vote in the July 2 primary. Atlanta, Ga.

Daniel told the five-man Senate Investigating committee that he was beaten after he left the polling place where he had been refused a ballot. The beating occurred in the county jail according to Daniel's testimony. Wed. 12-4-46

He said he was held in jail until an attorney obtained by his family secured his release.

The committee is investigating charges that white supremacy speeches made by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo during his recent campaign had incited violence and intimidation to keep Negroes from voting in the primary.

Continuing his testimony to the committee in the Federal District courtroom Daniel said he appeared at the pol's on the morning of July 2 with the intention of voting. He said an official there "looked me over and told me I was in the wrong place."

He said that as he started to leave, two white men there told him to remove his hat and after he did, he said, both men struck him with their fists.

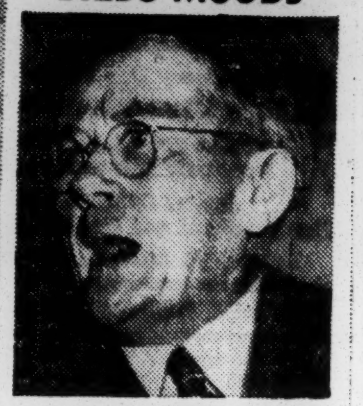
He further said that as he left the poll he was stopped by a white man and woman who asked him what was the trouble. While he was talking to them, he said Officer Williams rushed up and arrested him and took him around the corner to the county jail where he was beaten and placed in a cell. He said the policeman beat him with his fists and knocked him unconscious by hitting him in the stomach. During the attack, Daniel said he did not fight back.

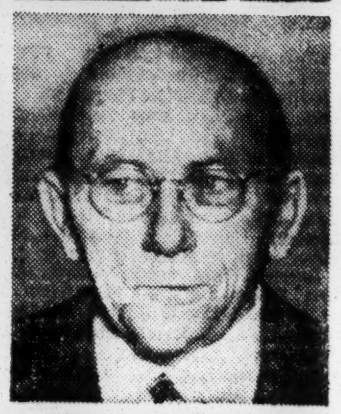
The veteran said that although he had voted in one Democratic primary by absentee ballot when he was in the service, he was not allowed to cast his ballot in the July primary.

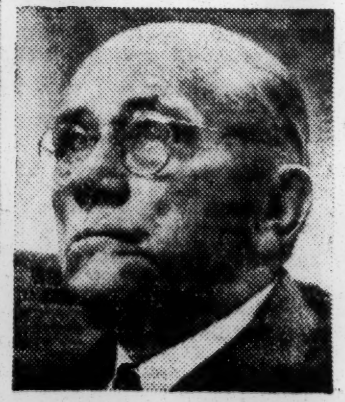
He testified that his lawyers told him that he had been charged with intoxication and disorderly conduct. Ellender heard testimony from the committee that witnesses on the charge that Bilbo's intoxicated, nor was he speeches incited violence during the primary.

He said he had been guilty and fined $10 or He said an appeal is noxpected to take the stand Thursday and to defend himself. Counsel for the NAACP and the Civil Rights Congress together with the president of the Mississippi Voters League in a telegrom to Sena

BILBO MOODS







Associated Press

"By the way, Pat," he said as he was leaving Mr. Harrison's office "some of my friends want me to run for the Senate next year."

"Well, well," mused Mr. Harrison, looking out of his window with a look of weary resignation on his face, "I hadn't heard that."

Cites Attack In Bilbo Vote Quiz

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Wed.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 3—(UP) A parade of Negro witnesses told a Senate Investigating Committee Tuesday that violence and intimidation accompanied the renomination of Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, last Summer.

The main witness was Richard E. Daniel, Gulfport, Miss., who showed the Committee a bloody cotton shirt and trousers. He said he wore those clothes when he tried to vote in the July primary and they were spattered with his blood when he was attacked by a Gulfport policeman.

Daniel accused a policeman named Williams of beating him and placing him in the Harrison County jail after he left a polling place. He had attempted unsuccessfully, he said, to vote.

Daniel charged he was knocked unconscious and held in jail until his family obtained a lawyer who arranged his release. Then he was charged with drunkenness and disorderly conduct and fined $10. He told the Committee he has an appeal pending because he contended he had been neither intoxicated nor disorderly.

Daniel, neatly dressed Tuesday, unfolded and displayed the blood-stained clothes at the request of Sen. Styles Bridges, Republican, New Hampshire. The Committee decided it would request the testimony of all principals named by the witness.

The Committee, headed by Sen. Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, Louisiana, kept witnesses moving speedily before it Tuesday and hoped to wind up the hearing on Thursday. On that day Bilbo, who has sat quietly in the Federal Courtroom for two days, is expected to defend himself against charges that his white supremacy speeches during the Primary campaign incited violence and prevented Negroes from voting.

However, the Committee was petitioned by a group of Negro leaders to broaden the scope and subpoena more witnesses.

Counsel for the National Association for Advancement of Colored People and the Civil Rights Congress joined with the President of the Mississippi State Progressive Voters League in a telegram to Ellender.

They asked for subpoena of all persons who signed the original complaint and who haven't testified voluntarily, and for the testimony of a group of Southern newspapermen. The Constitution

Daniel testified before the five-man Committee that the trouble started when he appeared at the City Hall in Gulfport on July 2 with the intention of voting. A polls official looked him over and told him he was in the wrong place, he said. Wed. 12-4-46

As he started to leave, the witness testified, two white men at the door told him to take off his hat. He complied, and both of the men hit him with their fists, he testified. Atlanta, Ga.

Then he went outside and was accosted by two other white men who asked him what was wrong, Daniel said. While he was talking to them, the policeman came up and arrested him. At the jail Daniel said, he was beaten up and knocked out by the same officer Williams.

SENATOR BILBO stands on the steps of the Baptist Church, located on his farm in Mississippi, during a recent visit. The church and parsonage figured in testimony given yesterday during the Senate inquiry into Bilbo's relations with businessmen who got large Government war contracts.

Bilbo's Ex-Aide Kept 'Mystery' Bank Account

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky. Wed. 12-18-46

Former Secretary Expected to Testify Today About Special Joint Fund Revealed By Banker

By HAROLD B. HINTON.

Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal.

Washington, Dec. 17. — A Mississippi banker told a Senate war-investigating subcommittee today of a mysterious special bank account carried by Edward P. Terry, former secretary to Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.).

Terry is expected to testify about it tomorrow and give details regarding his regular personal account.

The banker, J. M. Quinn, vice-president of the Jackson State National Bank, Jackson, Miss., testified that Terry opened a special account at his bank in 1937 with a deposit of $572.99. On April 8, 1940, after Terry had become Bilbo's secretary, he wrote Quinn that the funds in that account belonged to Bilbo, and authorized the senator to draw against them, according to testimony.

Largest Deposit Was $1,240.

The bank's records, which Quinn produced, showed that the account was closed and reopened several times between 1937 and 1944 and that only relatively small deposits had been made in it. The largest he mentioned was one of $1,240 on March 26, 1940.

Forrest B. Jackson, Bilbo's attorney, testified that Bilbo knew nothing about this account until about two weeks ago. Quinn said that to his knowledge the senator never had made any deposits in the account nor drawn any checks against it.

Senator Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.) then turned his attention to Terry's regular personal account at the samee bank. Jackson had testified earlier, as other witnesses had, that Terry had obtained money from him from time to time, perhaps as much as $3,000, for various purposes.

Tells of Paying Off Notes.

On one occasion, he said, his partner, D. Will Young, gave Terry $1,100 toward expenses of $1,800 Terry claimed to have incurred during Bilbo's 1940 campaign.

Jackson himself reimbursed Terry, he testified, an amount of $750 which Terry subscribed toward the $3,000 needed to pay off the note held against Bilbo by Abraham L. Shushan, wholesale-drygoods merchant of New Orleans. Jackson added that he might have given another $1,000 or more to the secretary at various times.

Turning to Quinn, Ferguson wanted to know how Terry's own bank account was faring during these periods of alleged financial stringency. The banker read sample balances from his records, the largest of which was $22,532.18 on September 8, 1945, about four months before Terry left Bilbo's employ.

Immunity Rights Waived.

When Jackson took the witness stand Ferguson asked him if he was prepared to waive all privilege in regard to questions that might concern his relationship as an attorney with Bilbo. Jackson said he was willing, but could not waive immunity for Bilbo.

Ferguson asked Bilbo the same question and Bilbo waived any rights he might have for Jackson to withhold testimony.

Ferguson asked why the "informal committee," consisting of Bilbo, Jackson, and Robert Gandy, had not declared its expenditure on behalf of Wall Doxey during the senatorial campaign of 1942. Jackson said the Mississippi Corrupt Practices Act only required "formal" campaign committees to file statements of expenditures.

Tells of Farm Mortgages.

"What good is a law like that?" Ferguson asked.

"It's no good," Jackson replied. "Just like the Hatch Act."

Jackson repeated much of his earlier testimony in regard to the deal, after the first primary in 1942, by which the "informal committee" tried to obtain support for Doxey—in the runoff—of the organization which unsuccessfully had backed former Representative Ross Collins.

Jackson removed any intimation his previous testimony might have carried that Collins himself asked for or obtained any of the $11,000 that subsequently was paid to Cecil Travis, a friend and supporter of Collins.

For the rest of the day the testimony centered around Bilbo's finances in Poplarville, where he lives, and Juniper Grove District Church, of which he is sponsor and patron. Herbert H. McLeod, a representative of the Federal Land Bank System, said the senator had carried mortgages since 1935 totaling $15,000 on two different farms and that the amount had now been reduced to about $10,000.

Many Contributed to Fund.

Robert M. Newton, president of the Bank of Commerce of Poplarville—no relation to F. T. Newton, the Hattiesburg contractor who contributed $25,000 to Bilbo for the 1942 Doxey campaign—said his bank held mortgages from Bilbo, reduced to about $8,800 from $9,500. He said State bank examiners were requiring the bank to write them off at the rate of $1,000 a year because of the slow reduction.

Newton was one of the four men who made up the $3,000 to pay the Shusman note in 1940. Newton described himself as an old friend of Bilbo. Ferguson asked how long Bilbo had been indebted to the bank.

"He isn't old enough to know," Bilbo said in an audible aside, pointing to Newton, a man of middle age.

Newton testified that the special account for the church, on which Bilbo alone can draw, has amounted to as much as $28,000 and now contains about $1,200. Most of Bilbo's friends have testified to contributing to this church fund, one contractor having given $3,500.

Louisville, Ky.
Wed. 12-18-46

Bilbo Owns Parsonage Land.

The Rev. D. Wade Smith, former Army chaplain and now pastor of the church, told the subcommittee he hoped to move into the parsonage January 1. He said Bilbo told him, some two months before he was called to the pastorate in October, 1944, that he intended to build the finest and largest Baptist parsonage in the South.

The building, when completed, will contain eight bedrooms and five baths, Mr. Smith said. He conceded that this much room would not be needed by himself, his wife, and one daughter. Another daughter returns home from college for occasional visits. However, he said the congregation would insist that he move in as soon as it is finished.

The subcommittee's interest in the parsonage springs from the fact that the land on which it stands belongs to Bilbo. The senator brought in today the copy of a deed conveying the land to the church, but Jackson explained that the instrument was only deposited with the chancery clerk of Pearl River County in escrow by verbal arrangement to protect the church against creditors' seizing the property in the event of Bilbo's death.

Tempers Earlier Statements.

On completion of the parsonage, Jackson said, Bilbo intends to record the deed so that title will be vested legally in the congregation.

Mr. Smith tempered somewhat today the derogatory statements he is alleged to have made to an investigator for the subcommittee and another for the Bureau of Internal Revenue. They reported he complained that the parsonage was too large to be maintained by a preacher on a salary of $2,600 a year.

They also reported he said he was forced to build a house for himself, on going to Poplarville to live, because Bilbo would not permit the parsonage to be finished. Today he said he had built his own house because he always had wanted to have a home. He said he had used his veteran's priorities to get materials.

Flash Scares Witness; 'Thought It Was Collins'

The Courier-Journal

Washington, Dec. 17 (AP)—Banker J. M. Quinn drew a big laugh today at the Bilbo inquiry.

Quinn jumped from his chair in surprise when a photographer exploded a flash bulb near his face.

Louisville, Ky. Wed.

"I though it was Ross Collins," Quinn exclaimed.

He referred to former Representative Collins of Mississippi, who knocked witness Robert Gandy out of his chair at the hearing last week.

12-18-46

One Admits Giving Legislator 2 Cadillacs and Digging Lake; Unpaid Loans Are Disclosed

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Tues. 12-17-46

From Wire Dispatches.

Washington, Dec. 16.—War-contractor friends of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo told today of giving him a Cadillac, painting his "dream house," digging a lake for him, and engaging in business deals with him to the tune of some $68,000 out of their pockets.

This was aside from $30,000 to $40,000 in cash which they said they turned over to the Mississippi Democrat or his associates for use in an unsuccessful campaign to elect Bilbo's friend, Wall Doxey, to the Senate.

Some Still Carry Debts.

All these men were engaged, at or about the time of the gifts, in work on profitable war contracts in Mississippi. But they insisted to the Senate War-Investigating Committee that they had had an income-tax case pending against them.

Bilbo got in 1938 from Abe Shusman, New Orleans wholesale merchant. At the time the Bilbo loan was made, the Government had about $40,000.

Shusman said he drove from New Orleans to Pearl River, Miss., and paid the $3,000 in cash to Bilbo, who needed it, as he was having some trouble with his wife.

Shusman, once a powerful lieutenant of the late Huey P. Long, testified, "I paid the whole thing."

The wholesale merchant said he lent the $3,000 to Bilbo as a favor to Grant Stewart, New Hebron, Miss., one of his customers. Stewart indorsed Bilbo note.

Government Shusman said he drove from Pearl River, Miss., and paid the $3,000 in cash to Bilbo, who needed it, as he was having some trouble with his wife."

These were the contractors who testified of dealing with Bilbo:

Tues. 12-17-46

1. John R. Junkin, Natchez, Miss., who said Bilbo still owed him $1,194.70 for concrete work on a swimming pool at Bilbo's "dream house," despite a bookkeeping transaction which resulted in Bilbo's getting a receipted bill. Junkin had about $500,000 in contracts for work at Keesler Army Airfield, Biloxi

Bilbo Called.

Counsel Says Bilbo Called.

J. P. Winchell, chief counsel for the Bureau of Internal Revenue, testified that Bilbo called him "four or five times", about the Shushan case. He said the claim Bilbo suggested a settlement for about $80,000 and that Bilbo was not "the leaking roof of Shushan related.

Winchell said. Mrs. Shushan, for about $120,000.

Winchell said.

Miss.

2. M. T. Reed, Belzoni, Miss., who said he painted Bilbo's "dream house" at a cost of $1,790.79, never paid; gave Bilbo $3,500 toward construction of the Juniper Grove Baptist Church adjoining Bilbo's "dream house," and paid off a $517.92 note signed by Edward P. Terry, Bilbo's former secretary. Robert Gandy has testified that the note, on which he was cosigner, was to pay for furniture for the "dream house."

Had Contracts In Millions.

Reed said he had contracts at Greenville, Miss., amounting to five or to six million dollars; a $3,400,000 contract at Jackson, Miss.; about $5,000,000 worth at Camp Campbell, Miss., and about $25,000,000 at a Gulf Coast air base. The Courier-Journal

3. Michael T. Morrissey, Vicksburg, Miss., who gave Bilbo the automobile and dug the lake. Morrissey said he took a loss of $48,000 while operating Bilbo's farm. He was renting equipment to the Government for use in construction of Keesler Field and received $115,302.38.

4. B. L. Knost, F. T. Newton, and Frank S. Glenn—all Mississippi contractors—added their chapters to the Bilbo story by telling of political donations and personal loans to Bilbo.

Bilbo Is Unemotional.

Bilbo, sitting near one end of the committee table, listened to the parade of witnesses without show of emotion, but frequently whispered suggestions to his attorney, Forrest B. Jackson.

As the contractors told it, the things they did for Bilbo were usually at their own suggestion.

Reed said he was riding by the "dream house" and noticed it looked shabby.

So he asked Bilbo, "Senator, why don't you paint your house?"

Bilbo replied that he couldn't afford it.

"So I said, 'Senator, I'll send down and have it painted for you." Louisville, Ky.

Morrissey found Bilbo, with a man and two boys, clearing land and preparing to dig the lake. So he told him, he said, that he had surplus power machinery from an Army project and that it was not in use, and so took on the job for Bilbo. Tues. 12-17-46

Lake Covered 25 Acres.

The completed lake was about 25 acres, with an island in the middle where Bilbo has built a house. Sometimes the witnesses called this dwelling "Dream House No. 2" and sometimes "Dream House, Junior."

Morrissey declared Bilbo could not have helped him get war contracts if he had tried.

"I have never been on a Government contract at any time since 1929 that I didn't bid under competitive bids," he declared.

From still other contractors the committee has heard accounts of some $30,000 to $40,000 being turned over to Bilbo or associates as contributions to Doxey's 1942 campaign.

Just what became of this money is a question still unanswered. The committee hopes to learn from Edward P. Terry, former secretary of Bilbo, when he testifies Wednesday.

Lake Cost $3,672.90.

No Bilbo associates figured in Morrissey's story of "The Man" Bilbo and $61,000. Those were matters strictly between him and the senator.

Here is Morrissey's account of where and how the money went:

1. He lost $48,000 operating Bilbo's 3,600-acre farm for four years, beginning in March, 1942, under an oral agreement whereby he was to pay the taxes and stand the losses, if any, and Bilbo was to get half the profits, if any.

2. He spent $3,672.90 constructing the lake on Bilbo's farm. A bill for this amount, sent to Bilbo, never has been paid. The lake work began in May, 1941, a month before the Keesler Field contract was let. Morrissey acknowledged, in reply to questions from George Meader, committee counsel, that the lake cost would have been $9,172.90 if machinery rent had been charged against the project at the same rate the Government paid at Keesler Field.

Holds Bilbo's Mortgage.

3. He lent Bilbo $6,055 and holds a mortgage on 1,100 acres of Bilbo's land.

4. He gave Bilbo a Cadillac costing $1,919 as a Christmas present in 1941.

5. He gave Bilbo $1,800 in various contributions for the church Bilbo was constructing.

Associated Press Wirephoto.

B. L. Knost of Meridian, Miss., tells Senate War Investigating Committee that he did not know until now what became of his contribution to the Democratic campaign fund. He was first witness yesterday in probe of relations of Senator Bilbo with war contractors.

Some of this money dated back as far as 1928. Some of it came from friends who gave it to Morrissey when he told them, "The senator is having a hell of a time building his church."

A heavy-set man in well-tailored tweeds, Morrissey said he and Bilbo were old friends.

On the farm operations, the income-tax men have allowed all the claimed losses, he said.

Profited On Terracing.

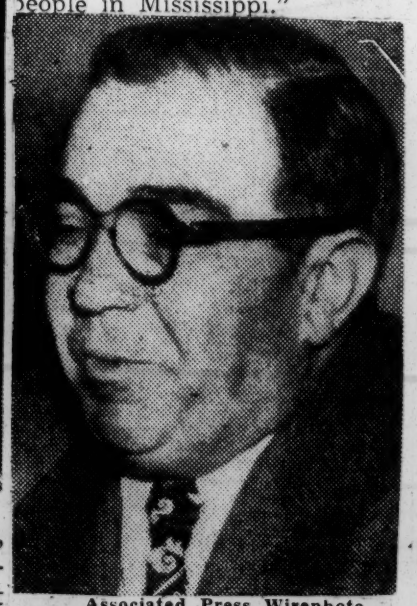
He testified that the only permanent improvements he made during the process of losing $48,000 was 47 miles of terracing. And he said there was actually a profit out of this because the Government farm-benefit payments for the terracing work were greater than the cost. Morrissey's secretary said the cost of the lake work at first was charged against the account of the work the Morrissey organization was doing at Keesler Field. But he insisted that was just a "temporary entry," made because Morrissey was away, and the secretary did not know how it should be charged. Before the books were closed for the year, the secretary said, the charges were transferred to a Bilbo account and credits given the Keesler work.

Tells of 2 Gift Cadillacs.

Morrissey was asked by a committee member what he had done to collect the debt Bilbo owes him.

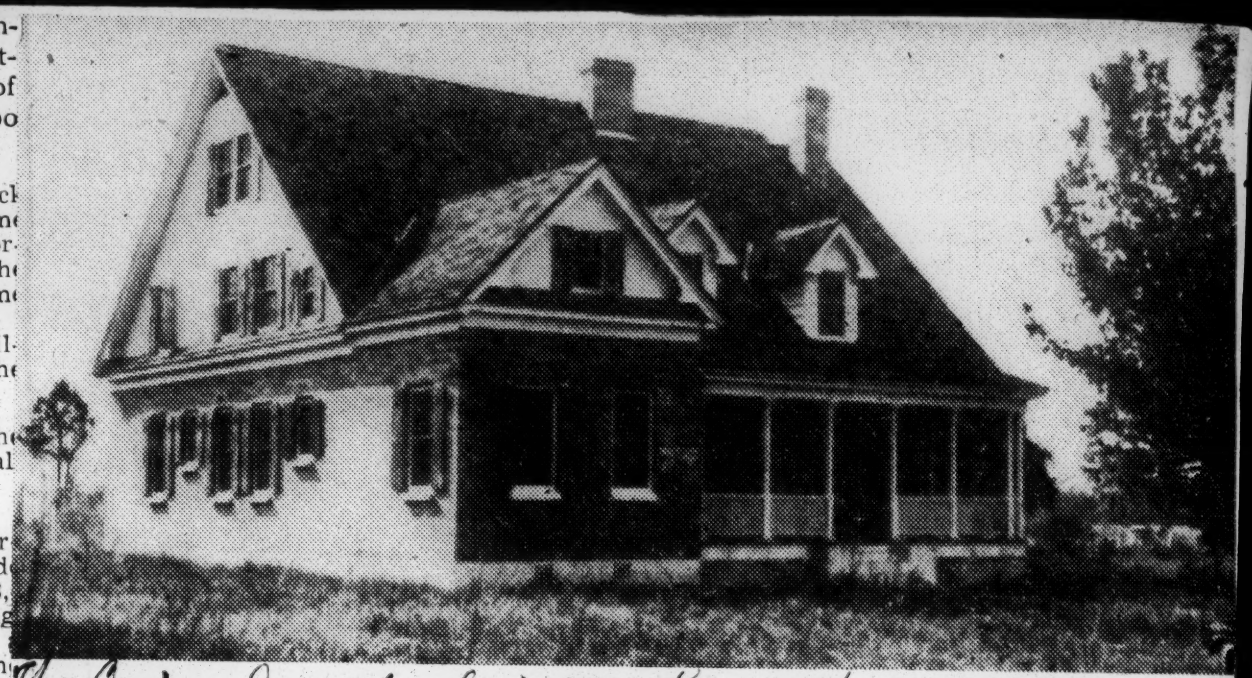
"Nothing," he replied, "because the senator has had a lot of hard luck. I knew that when he had some money he'd pay me something."

He said he had given the Bilbo family two Cadillacs, in fact. He said such gifts were customary to senators from his state because "We don't elect wealthy people in Mississippi."



Associated Press Wirephoto.

MICHAEL J. MORRISSEY
Lost $48,000 on Bilbo farm.



The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Wed. 12-18-46

Associated Press Wirephoto.

THIS IS the parsonage of the Baptist church on Senator Bilbo's farm which he gave as part security for personal loans. a Senate war-investigating subcommittee was told yesterday.

Jennings Perry

Bilbo and Company

NASHVILLE.

The Senate Campaign Investigating Committee sitting at Jackson, Miss., now has seen the bloody shirt itself. It has heard from citizen after citizen how he was dissuaded from voting in the State's July primary by violence—of deed or threat. The charge is that this violence was fostered by Sen. Theo G. Bilbo's mad-dog racial slavering during the campaign. The charge is, of course, quite true.

Perry

But apart from the marvel of the courage of the Negro witnesses, the hearing will not produce much else for admiration. Sen. Bilbo may be hooked by other charges he soon must face before the Senate War Investigating Committee, but at Jackson he will not be seriously snagged.

Frankly, the only substantial profit democracy can hope for out of the Jackson hearing is the reaffirmation—in the simple fact that the hearing is being held—of the proper national concern in primary elections. Because of this hearing in Mississippi, South Carolina and Georgia will find it a little harder to get away with the mass electoral discrimination projected in the elimination of their primary laws.

The only proof that could be offered at Jackson that the Committee could not get around would be an admission by policemen and deputies that Bilbo's inflammatory utterances moved them to beat up would-be voters, or for others to testify that the Senator conspired with them to stage election-day terrors. This can not be expected.

When Bilbo himself faces the Committee's representatives, his colleagues—Sens. Styles Bridges of New Hampshire and Allen Ellender of Louisiana—he will not feel it necessary to be evasive. He will declaim that Mississippi always has been "white man's country (and I'm for white supremacy") and stand on his rights of free speech. He can say truly that he has said nothing in Mississippi he would not (and has not) said on the floor of the U. S. Senate without chastisement.

He'll say as he has said before: "I've done nothing wrong." And even if he concedes that his advice to his supporters to "see the niggers" the night before election kept some from the polls, he can insist that he didn't invent disfranchisement. He can point out that there are many modes of disfranchisement, and that a citizen prevented from voting by any other device than a stick or a gun is just as much deprived of his "American rights." He can ask his colleagues if they noted that very few of Mississippi's white citizens voted either. And he is just mean enough to ask them why.

The truth is that both Bridges and Ellender voted *with* Bilbo last Summer in the Senate cloture test that sealed off Federal legislation that was the only chance for the

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with their guns. The
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tax people in Mississipp
going than ever have voted

Bilbo can use his rough tongue
on his colleagues. He can remind
them that he told them in his fili-
busters against the anti-poll tax
bill that Mississippi wasn't
to let the Negroes vote.

"Brothers," he can call them,
"brothers," he can protest, "here
we are fiddling around with a
puny question of whether some of
boys get between the Negroes

and let's have a look at our-
selves all around. If somebody's
guilty here, in what do we differ—
but in method? Maybe I do keep
a few from voting with a stick.
You *stand up* in the Senate to save
a tax barrier that bars millions.

pious respectability.
the carpet. Get down off your
bench and let's have a look at our-
selves all around. If somebody's

Bilbo Should Be Heaved Out

THEODORE BILBO gets in deeper and deeper, the more testimony is heard concerning his fitness, if any, to sit in the Senate. The latest item relates to his alleged collection of $1,500 from a 66-year-old drug addict for whom he secured an ordinary narcotics permit at no cost to himself. It is claimed that the Senator took the man's life savings.

Admittedly there is contradictory testimony as to what BILBO got from this poor unfortunate citizen of Natchez. A Vicksburg physician testified before the Senate's War Investigating Subcommittee that he personally delivered 10 bills of $100 each to BILBO for the drug addict in the Walthall Hotel in Jackson during the Summer of 1945. EDWARD P. TERRY, BILBO's former secretary, said the amount BILBO got was $1,500. BILBO says if he got anything, it went to the Juniper Grove Baptist Church. No such donation could be found in the church records.

But whatever the truth concerning this particular episode, enough had been brought out already to convince any unbiased observer that this clown from the Mississippi cane-brakes is utterly without qualification to sit in the United States Senate. Any man who admits accepting as many favors from war contractors as he does automatically disqualifies himself. Times-Dispatch

He admits, for example, that one contractor paid him $25,000, but adds that he "did not get a damn cent." We are assured that this money all went to pay for the senatorial campaign of WALL DOXEY in 1942, although DOXEY, now door-keeper of the Senate, says he never heard of it until after the election. No proof is offered by BILBO in support of this allegation. He also admits that he received $5,000 from another contractor for a similar purpose. Richmond, Va.

BILBO concedes that he got $6,000 as a loan from still another contractor, as well as a 15-acre "dream lake"—in the middle of which is a "dream house"—and a Cadillac automobile. He hasn't paid back the loan, nor has he paid anything for the lake, and he accepted the automobile as a "gift," in accordance with what he termed "an old Southern custom." Sat. 12-21-46

On top of all this, BILBO had some curious dealings with the notorious ABE SHUSHAN, an ex-convict who was one of the band of light-fingered gentry with whom the late HUEY LONG surrounded himself. SHUSHAN got 30 months on Federal mail fraud charges for some shady business during the LONG administration. But BILBO borrowed $3,000 from him, and then tried to help him out of some income-tax difficulties with the Federal government. This loan was repaid to SHUSHAN, but not by BILBO.

The Juniper Grove Baptist Church, another edifice dreamed up by this notable dreamer, has been a long-time repository of funds donated to him—he says. But there are no records of receipts and disbursements which go back beyond 1943, so a great act of faith is required of those who accept "The Man's" statements on the point.

Finally, there is Section 61 M-1, Title 18, United States Code, which prohibits government contractors from making contributions to any political party or candidate, or to any person for political purposes, and prohibits any candidate from soliciting such contributions from a government contractor, at a time when the contractor is negotiating for a contract or engaged in performing a contract. Sat. 12-21-46

BILBO was visibly shaken when SENATOR FERGUSON, of Michigan, pointed to this 1940 statute, containing a penalty for violators of $5,000 fine, five years' imprisonment, or both. He contended that he was unaware of this statute, but SENATOR FERGUSON pointed out that he (BILBO) had voted against it when it was passed. The solon from Mississippi then contended that the law did not cover his case.

It is impossible at this distance to pass judgment on a legal question, such as this, or to appraise the week-long testimony concerning BILBO in all its aspects. But certainly the Senate will have a great deal to answer for if it takes the position that a Senator is justified in accepting admitted gifts and loans from war contractors; in getting a loan from a convicted crook, whom he later helped with income-tax difficulties, and in so mingling his private finances with his public duties that no one can tell where one ends and the other begins.

BILBO had disqualified himself already for the Senate with his well-nigh unprecedented displays of bigotry against members of several different racial or religious groups, but the more recent revelations concerning the long series of malodorous monetary transactions in which he has engaged are such as to damn him in the eyes of all good citizens. He should be heaved out of the Senate, and that without delay.

Separate Bilbo Issues

12-16-46

In the investigation of the right of Theodore Bilbo to a seat in the United States senate two questions, or issues, separate and unrelated, are under consideration.

One is whether he caused persons to be deprived of the voting privilege in Mississippi. The News and Courier believes that the charge against him is empty. Had 100,000 or 10,000 negroes in Mississippi really wished to vote in the general election they would have made the effort, nothing could have stopped them, and the time has long passed since civil war would have broken out in Mississippi on that account. The News and Courier

The other question is whether or not Mr. Bilbo has been improperly receiving money and countenancing its use to assist in his political campaigns. That question is more serious. The News and Courier insists that no partiality be shown him by the investigators or the senate and it wishes him a good deliverance. Charleston, S. C. Mon.

'All Lies' Fumes Bilbo From Stand

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

The Crowd Roars When 'The Man' Says Gifts Old Southern Custom

Fri 12-20-46

Dope Story Told

Red And Negro Groups Trying To Blacken Him, He Says, Shaking Fist

By WILLIAM T. PEAKCOCK

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19.—(AP)—A story of ten $100 bills sent to Senator Theodore G. Bilbo by a man wanting his help in getting narcotics was related to Senate investigators tonight and brought an immediate denial from the Mississippo Senator.

Bilbo also branded as "lies" or "hallucinations" the charges that he profited from relations with war contractors. These charges led to the inquiry by the Senate War Investigating Committee.

The matter of the narcotics came out piecemeal from four separate witnesses whose testimony conflicted at points. They were:

Edward Terry, Bilbo's former secretary. He said that Dr. A. J. Podesta, Vicksburg, Miss., told him he gave Bilbo $1,500 for a Natchez, Miss., man who wanted a permit for daily doses of narcotics.

Dr. Harry J. Anslinger, Federal Commissioner of Narcotics. He testified Bilbo called him to his office on Oct. 11, 1945, about a letter from Podesta with accompanying certificates that a Harry Carr of Natchez required a regular supply of drugs.

Holt Testifies

Harry Holt, Special Agent for the Treasury. He testified that Terry had informed the Treasury of the alleged payments and he (Holt) had investigated. He said that on April 30, 1946, he interviewed Podesta at Vicksburg.

Podesta told him, Holt related, that re sent the certificate to Bilbo and that Anslinger's office later approved narcotics for Carr, who was described as a sufferer from asthma and other ailments and as a long-time user of narcotics. Holt quoted Podesta as saying that still later Carr told him he wanted to "do something" for Bilbo, so the physician suggested a contribution for Bilbo's Juniper Grove Baptist Church project. Fri. 12-20-46

Podesta's story, as related by Holt, went on:

Carr gave him some money — it was his recollection it was $1,000—and it was turned over to Bilbo in a Jackson, Miss., hotel.

Holt said that the next day he interviewed in Natchez a man whom he called John Carr and got this account:

Paid Podesta

He had sought the narcotics permit through Podesta and Bilbo and in December, 1945, made a payment to Podesta. He was uncertain whether it was $1,500 or $1,000. Podesta told him he had to make the payment. Something was said about a church but "the contribution was made to Bilbo personally so far as he was converned and was in payment for services."

The $1,500 was all the money Carr had accumulated during his lifetime.

Bilbo, brought back to the stand, testified that Anslinger did come to his office where "I merely gave him" Podesta's letter. But he declared he did not know Carr and never received any money from him.

"Did Dr. Podesta give you any money?" Senator Ferguson (R), Michigan, pressed him.

"No, sir."

"How much did Podesta give you for the church?"

"I don't remember."

"Did he give you ten $100 bills?"

"Not that I remember."

Bilbo finally said Podesta might have given him money for the church at some time, but absolutely had not given him anything in connection with the narcotics matter.

In the midst of this examination, Terry, who was standing to the side of the committee room, staggered a few feet and collapsed in a chair. He left the room.

Ferguson demanded that Bilbo produce all records he has of church gifts. The Mississippi Senator said the committee could have them and all his personal files if they wanted them.

"I haven't anything to hide," Bilbo declared.

Bilbo, 69-year-old Mississippi Democrat, had been testifying for two and one-half hours, wisecracking and obviously feeling himself in control of the situation when Anslinger was suddenly put on the stand.

The Senator took the stand with a 42-page prepared statement in which he termed the narcotics matter, first mentioned yesterday by Terry, "a lie out of the whole cloth." The Advertiser

The narcotics story was first mentioned yesterday by Terry Bilbo's ex-secretary, who spoke of a sum of $1,500 said to have changed hands. Montgomery, Ala.

Denying all, Bilbo denounced his former aide. Fri. 12-20-46

"Christ had his Judas, Iscariot; Caesar had his Brutus; George Washington had his Benedict Arnold, but I claim to have had the greatest traitor of them all in my trusted secretary," he said.

Bilbo is primarily being investigated on allegations that he accepted money and other gifts from contractors whom he helped to get rich war contracts from the Government.

He denied today that he sought gifts or funds except possibly when he needed to borrow to settle alimony matters. He called it "an old Southern custom" to give presents to public servants.

Bilbo said of Negro and Communist-dominated groups who oppose his philosophy they want Bilbo destroyed and unseated because of my convictions and ideologies which are opposed to the great objectives of the all-out Negro groups and Communist groups in America," he argued.

Shaking his fist, Bilbo told his colleagues the "absurd charges" against him came from "irresponsible" persons and were fostered by groups which dislike his racial ideas.

He spoke of "my Sainted father," recalled his own religious training, and termed "particularly reprehensible" the "insinuations" that he had turned to his own use part of some $28,000 collected from friends—some of them war contractors—for the Juniper Grove Baptist Church.

Ferguson tried to pin down Bilbo to acknowledge that he telephoned from Washington and suggested names of war contractors who should attend a "pep meeting" to raise funds for the Doxey campaign.

"I don't remember," Bilbo replied. "I guess I did. There was nothing wrong about it."

Bilbo said it would be a "natural thing" to call his former campaign manager, A. B. Friend, and tell him to "blow the bugle and bring the boys in from the hills." 12-20-46

"Yes, and shake the bushes," Ferguson put in.

"I said I do not remember," Bilbo continued. "I did not give names."

"You did not say bring in the war contractors?" Ferguson asked, but Bilbo ignored this.

Ferguson wanted to know what was the most Bilbo ever lost in any one year in operating his farms.

"I would not remember that," Bilbo replied.

Ferguson suggested Bilbo check his income tax returns.

"I don't keep copies," Bilbo replied. "I'm afraid to."

"Why?" Ferguson asked.

"I hate to see the losses," Bilbo replied as the crowd laughed.

Bilbo said it was true that he had sought war contracts for Mississippi contractors.

But he contended it was his duty to look after his constituents and declared that what he had done was "no more than has been done by practically every member of the House of Representatives."

As for the Cadillac automobile He said he got one and his wife got one when he was elected Governor of Mississippi for the second time.

"It is just an old southern custom to politicians in Mississippi.

tom," he explained and the crowd packing the hearing room roared.

He called Collins "the most thoroughly, completely and everlastingly condemned, damned and repudiated man in the history" of Mississippi.

As for Terry, he said "I sometimes think that he has a mental illness of imaginary grandeur and impossible hallucinations."

In contending that the charges had been pressed and supported by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and by "Communist party members," Bilbo said: 12-20-46

"They know that I am not guilty of any acts involving moral turpitude. They know I have kept the record straight but they would unseat me because of my views and convictions on racial issues, all because I have been rather active and militant in insisting upon my convictions."

Chairman Mead (D), New York, told him the question of his ideologies was outside the committee's jurisdiction.

TRIAL IS SOUGHT FOR EX-BILBO AIDE

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Senate Committee Attorneys Ask for Authority to Charge E. P. Terry With Contempt

Sun. 12-22-46

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21 (AP)—Attorneys for the Senate War Investigating Committee said today that they had asked for authority to file contempt charges against Edward P. Terry, former secretary of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi.

The action is based on Mr. Terry's refusal to tell the committee what became of $15,000 which he said a New Yorker gave him to use against Mr. Bilbo in the Mississippi election this year.

Committee counsel must obtain permission of President Pro Tem Kenneth McKellar, Democrat, of Tennessee, and then pass the contempt complaint along to the Federal District Attorney here for presentation to a grand jury.

Penalties for contempt of the Senate range up to a year in jail and $1,000 fine.

Senator James M. Mead, committee chairman, directed George Meader, counsel for the committee, also to push a perjury charge against Mr. Terry.

Mr. Terry testified that he got the $15,000 from Simon Liberman of New York to back any opponent who could defeat Mr. Bilbo this year.

Unable to find such an opponent, Mr. Terry said, he then was told to give the funds to anyone who opposed Mr. Bilbo in the runoff primary. But Mr. Bilbo mustered a majority over his four opponents in the first primary and there was no run-off. So, Mr. Terry said, he handed the cash back to Mr. Liberman.

Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, declared this was impossible because Mr. Liberman died several months before Mr. Terry's bank accounts showed the money repaid. Mr. Terry said he was "confused" and declined to tell who received the funds.

Further Testimony Urged

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21 (U.P.)—Senator Ferguson renewed tonight his demand for further Senate testimony on a charge that a narcotics addict bought favors from Senator Bilbo.

The former Michigan judge said a Senate war investigating subcommittee which has been scrutinizing Mr. Bilbo's finances should not make its report due Dec. 30, until it has questioned Dr. A. J. Podesta of Vicksburg, Miss., and John R. Carr of Natchez, Miss.

"I am insisting that they be called," he told reporters.

A subcommittee agent is now in Mississippi re-checking with Dr. Podesta the story he is said to have told other investigators about the alleged narcotics deal.

Meanwhile, the Senate Republican steering committee headed by Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, planned to ask Mr. Ferguson for a special report on whether Bilbo should be ousted from the Senate. There was little doubt that Mr. Ferguson, a member of the investigating committee, would recommend ouster. 12-22-46

Mississippians Ready To See Senate Group Take Bilbo Testimony

News-Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.
Sun. 12-1-46

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 30—(AP)—A small group of witnesses and a large conglomeration of spectators are expected to gather in the federal court room here Monday when the Senate campaign investigating committee looks into the political tactics of Sen. Theo G. Bilbo in last Summer's Democratic Primary.

"The man" is expected to be the leading man in what many Mississippians predict will be the biggest show in the state since the days when Bilbo was impeached in the State Legislature on a bribery charge, was tried by the Senate and won an acquittal by one vote.

For the committee, despite numerous pleas to the citizenry, has been able to find fewer than 25 voluntary witnesses.

RILEY W. SHANKS, general counsel for the committee, has urged all Mississippians to come forward and testify if they have any information to substantiate or refute charges that Bilbo's campaign speeches intimidated would-be voters.

But despite this plea and promises of committee protection from reprisals, the committee has encountered "a lack of cooperation" which Shanks termed "surprising and disappointing."

The Progressive Voters League, through its president, T. B. Wilson, Jackson Negro realtor, has asked the committee to use its power of subpoena to force witnesses to testify. But to date the committee has indicated an unwillingness to follow this procedure unless it is proven necessary.

* * *

FROM OUTSIDE THE STATE, Negro groups have asked Gov. Fielding Wright to call out the State Guard to protect Negroes who wish to appear against Bilbo. Wright replied that "Negroes have been testifying against white men in Mississippi for 50 years to my personal knowledge and I see no reason for them to be fearful now."

Meanwhile "the man" has quietly gone his way, visiting friends over the state, and gathering pecans on his farm near his Poplarville "dream house," apparently unperturbed by the investigation.

He has told newsmen he plans to attend the hearings but has not indicated whether he will present any witnesses.

* * *

THE SENATE COMMITTEE decided some weeks ago to hold hearings here after it received a petition, signed by about 50 Mississippians, most of them Negroes, that voters were intimidated during the campaign preceding the July 2 Democratic Primary in which Bilbo defeated four opponents.

But, Sen. Allen Ellender, (D., La.) chairman of the committee has said the hearings "do not constitute a trial of anyone" and are being held solely to let the committee know "what has been going on down here."

Other accusations against Bilbo to the effect that he accepted gratuities from war contractors are not involved in the hearing here.

Hearings on those charges are to open in Washington Dec. 12 before a Senate committee investigating conduct of the national defense program. Bilbo has advised that committee he will be unable to attend the Washington sessions because of a previous commitment to attend the hearings to be conducted here.

Senate Group Begins Drafting Bilbo Report

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y. Sat. 12-21-46

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20.—A Senate investigating subcommittee today began drafting its report on the Bilbo story but reserved space for an unfinished chapter dealing with allegations Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo the rotund Mississippian received $1,500 for helping a narcotics addict get morphine.

All but that phase of the subcommittee's inquiry into charges that gratuities from war contractors was completed Thursday night, along with Bilbo's denial of any wrongdoing.

Sen. Homer Ferguson (R-Mich.), left the door open for investigation of the narcotics charge when he asked the committee call, within the next 10 days, the two physicians and the addict himself to say whether Bilbo had received $1,000 or more for helping arrange the morphine prescription.

Dr. H. J. Anslinger, chief of the U.S. Narcotics Bureau, revealed, and Bilbo subsequently confirmed, that the Senator had been instrumental in getting the prescription for John R. Carr of Natchez, Miss., in October, 1945.

But the Senator disagreed vehemently with Anslinger's story that he was informed by an internal revenue agent that Bilbo had received $1,500 for this chore, representing Carr's life savings.

Ferguson said he was attempting to get committee agreement on resuming hearings Dec. 30, four days before the 80th Congress convenes. "It looks to me as if the Monday before New Year's is the best date," Ferguson said. 12-21-46

The Only Way To Embarrass Bilbo

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 12-21-46

While some of the "revelations" brought out at the Bilbo probe seem highly suspect, enough irrefutable evidence of his unworthiness has been produced to shame any self-respecting person into resigning.

Unfortunately, reports of Bilbo's almost incredible callousness reflect not on himself alone but also on the South as a whole.

For while it is true that Sen. Bilbo is no more typical as a Southern solon than his counterpart of the kilocycles, Sen. Claghorn, the fact remains that the nation has come to associate him, rather than statesmen of Sen. George's stature, with the area from which they come. Nor has Sen. Bilbo done anything to dissipate the misconception with his defense, "It's an old Southern custom to give things to public servants."

Whether or not Bilbo is denied his seat in the Senate—and there still seems little chance that he will be, despite all the sickening details of his modus operandi presented at the hearing—it is the South which is suffering the brunt of the notoriety.

Moreover, protests that Bilbo is not typical, that he might just as well have been spawned in some of the political cesspools of the East or West, will be of no avail.

We can only strive to remove the stigma which Bilbo has placed upon us by missing no opportunity to defeat him and his kind at the polls.

'Lost' Bilbo Witness, Still Feeling 'Pretty Rough' Won't Testify Today

New York, N. Y.

Senator's Ex-Secretary to Play Star Role After Disappearance

Mon. 12-16-46

By United Press

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16.—Edward P. Terry, Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo's former secretary, who claims he was warned under pain of death not to testify, appeared to be the key figure today in the Senate War Investigating Committee's attempt to track down $25,000 allegedly paid to Bilbo by a war contractor.

Bilbo, a Mississippi Democrat, has been accused of accepting the money and other gifts in 1942-43 in exchange for his influence in obtaining lush war contracts. His answer is that he "didn't get a damn dollar" and that he'll prove it when all the evidence is in.

The right of his Senate seat may be at stake. Senate Republicans hope they can build a strong enough case to unseat Bilbo, but they concede privately the outlook is dubious. Only in instances where actual corruption has been shown has a Senator been refused his seat.

These Republicans, who wish to remain anonymous, acknowledge that to date it has not been proved that Bilbo pocketed any of the money.

Terry turned up in "a nervous state" in a Quitman, Miss., hospital last week while FBI agents were trying to ferret him out. He had been missing for several days.

He originally was scheduled to testify today along with J. Marvin Quin, Jackson, Miss., banker, to whom he revealed the anonymous death threat. Hospital authorities in Quitman, however, said that Terry was feeling "pretty rough" and that he would have to stay in the hospital at least until today.

They said that he will have to pass a physical examination before leaving by train for Washington. If Terry is unable to leave today, hospital officials said they had no idea when he would be able to do so.

The Committee directed Quin to produce records of his bank's financial dealings with the former Bilbo secretary.

Joining the parade to the witness stand will be A. L. Shushin, prominent New Orleans contractor, and supporter of the late Huey Long, who is supposed to have had dealings with Bilbo. Also on hand will be three Mississippi contractors—Michael Morrissey, M. T. and A. B. Friend—whose names have crept in and out of the testimony purporting to link Bilbo with political and financial manipulations.

Terry said from his hospital bed that his testimony will "strike a telling blow" and "have definite bearing on Bilbo's political future."

He quit Bilbo a year ago and also resigned as clerk of the Senate District of Columbia Committee which Bilbo heads. No reasons were given. Last week, soon after the Bilbo hearing started, the Senate probers were electrified by reports that Terry and his entire family had been threatened with death.

Terry took the anonymous telephone threats so seriously that he asked to be excused from testifying. Meantime he had disappeared from his Meridian, Miss., home and the investigation put the FBI on his trail. 12-16-46

Substance of testimony so far is that Bilbo got the $25,000 from Felix T. Newton, Hattiesburg, Miss., contractor, to aid the unsuccessful Senatorial campaign of Wall Doxey, who is now Senate sergeant-at-arms.

Perhaps the most surprised man at the hearing is Doxey who can't recall receiving such donations.

Bilbo Sees Luck Saving His Seat

Sen. Theodore Bilbo confidently told an AP reporter at Washington yesterday that he'll take his seat when the Senate convenes Jan. 3. "They haven't even got a scratch against me," he said. "Besides, alphabetically, my name is Bilbo."

Bilbo evidently is betting on the fact that Democrats will still be in control when the new senators are sworn in. Following the death yesterday of Sen. Josiah Bailey (D., S. C.), there are 30 Democratic holdovers against 29 Republicans.

If precedent is followed, new members will be sworn in alphabetically, with Sen.-elect Raymond E. Baldwin (R., Conn.) first on the list. That would make the count 30-to-30 when Bilbo comes up second.

Negroes Testify On Obstacles To Voting At Bilbo Hearing

The News, Birmingham, Ala.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 3—(AP)—Senatorial scrutiny of Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo's primary campaign was broadening today into an investigation of the handling of would-be Negro voters by Mississippi local officials. Tues. 12-3-46

The investigating senators under chairmanship of Sen. Ellender (D., La.) prepared to hear what several of these officials had to say about allegations that Negroes were systematically deprived of voting rights in the primary.

Officials in seven counties were mentioned yesterday in testimony by about 30 Negro witnesses. The Negroes' complaints fell into these categories:

Advice allegedly given, in some cases by officials, that persistent attempts to register or vote would bring "trouble."

Obstacles were said to be placed in the way of Negroes registering to vote—although several witnesses said they were registered when they persisted.

A Negro Congregationalist minister, the Rev. William Bender, of Tougaloo College, said a deputy sheriff in whose pocket he could see a pistol "dared" him to enter a polling place to vote.

Etoy Fletcher, a veteran, said he had been beaten after being denied registration in Brandon, Miss.

Bilbo himself, who attended most of the day's session apparently unperturbed and sporting his usual red tie and diamond stickpin, afterwards characterized the proceedings as "a flop."

Bilbo Petition Signers May Get Subpoenas For Hearing

The News, Birmingham, Ala.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 2—(AP)—Subpoenas probably will be issued for most of the signers of a petition questioning the right of Sen. Theo G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) to be seated in the Senate, Sen. Ellender (D., La.), chairman of a Senate investigating committee, said today.

Sen. Ellender said "I don't see how we can avoid using the subpoena to bring these witnesses in."

He said not more than "one or two" of the 48 signers of the petition had volunteered to testify.

"They are the ones who made the charges and they certainly should be interrogated," Ellender said, adding "there will be no difficulty getting them in if we issue the subpoenas."

The petition challenged the fairness of the Democratic primary in which Sen. Bilbo was nominated for a third term. It alleged among other things that Bilbo "advocated, counseled, inspired, encouraged, incited, aided and abetted the white population of Mississippi to commit acts of violence and intimidation . . . against the duly qualified Negro electors of Mississippi." Mon. 12-2-46

Ellender said he was informed all but two of the signers were Negroes.

Meanwhile Sen. Bilbo said he had plenty of legal assistants available—morethan the number of volunteer witnesses on hand.

The 69-qear-old senator, who left his Poplarville "dream house" Saturday and took up residence in a hotel here, said he has "two or three lawyers" on hand to represent him "if anything hot develops," and has available "about 50 more if I need them."

Bilbo Under Senate Fire

The Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

'The Man's' Activities Are Scrutinized By Committeemen

Tues. 12-3-46

JACKSON, MISS., Dec. 2.—(AP)—Senate investigators of Senator Theo G. Bilbo's primary campaign tactics heard today a Negro veteran say he had been beaten after he was refused registration for voting.

The veteran swore that he was flogged by white men, and other white men forced "four colored men" had done the mobile, drove him strip "The chiropodist said he was a, made him the legs with "a positive that Fletcher had de- ole." scribed his attackers as Negroes. a, chiropodist, tes- cher came to his 13 for treatment his right leg. d Fletcher told d been beaten in y before, but that

Mississippi History in the Making

By Winston Burdett

Columbia Broadcasting System Correspondent

(From an on-the-scene broadcast Friday night)

New York, N. Y.

BY RADIO

The first Congressional hearing held in the South since the days of the Reconstruction after the Civil War has just ended in Jackson, Miss. The hearing was very short; it lasted only four days. It was extremely hurried. Some of the five Senators who conducted it were obviously not interested in pressing their investigation too energetically or too far. Sun. 12-8-46

One would have to go far back in the history of Mississippi to find a precedent for it. Negroes stood up and publicly defended their right to vote . . . They spoke in a courtroom that was filled with the friends and professional followers of Theodore Bilbo. Perhaps, in the long run, whether Bilbo is unseated by his colleagues in the Senate, as a result of the findings in this investigation, will be less important than this simple fact: The Negroes of Mississippi stood up and spoke.

A girl witness from Natchez came to the hearing yesterday. Her name was Camille Thomas. She was a WAC lieutenant during the war. No one asked her to come to Jackson. She simply read about the hearing and decided it would be a good thing for her people if she came and testified. . . . Sen. Ellender propounded to her the same question that he put to nearly every Negro witness. This is how his question appears in my notes: "It is common knowledge, is it not, that the white folks of Mississippi have always considered the Democratic primary their own, and the colored people took it for granted they could not vote?" And the girl retorted: "It is common knowledge that the Negroes have never accepted that fact."

The committee chairman, Sen. Ellender, is prepared to give Bilbo a clear slate. At the end of the hearing yesterday, Sen. Ellender said that he would be disappointed if there is not a unanimous report by this committee.

Negroes said that Bilbo's speeches in Brandon, Miss., because the related, four white had frightened many away from "man in the office" told him he him into an automobi the registration offices and polls. had not read a pamphlet relating to a wooded area, ma The five investigating Senators to the United States Constitution, and beat him on the sat in a jury box. This man sent him to "the manpiece of car cable." Wearing his "trademark" red w handles veterans." Fletcher E. J. Matranga, ch necktie and diamond horseshoe said, and the second man told him tified that Fletcher stickpin, Bilbo hunched over a that we were not allowed to vote office on June 13 for treatment counsel table. in Rankin County and if I did not of an injury to his r Fletcher, who told of serving want to get into serious trouble Matranga said Fl overseas during the war, testified I would leave the building." him that he had been that he was refused registration. Fletcher Brandon the day be

"THE BLOODHOUNDS"

Herblock in The Washington Post

Sun. 12-8-46

BILBO HEARINGS TURN ON RIGHTS OF NEGROES

The Times New York, N. Y.

Sun. 12-8-46

Witnesses Agree That the Democratic Primaries Are Closed to Them

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 7—It was difficult to tell here this week, during the hearings of the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee, just what was under scrutiny. Ostensibly, the committee was sitting to investigate charges of incitement to racial discrimination brought against Senator Theodore G. Bilbo by a number of citizens of Mississippi.

Actually, the scope of the testimony and the questioning by the committee brought under review the whole question of Negro political rights in the single-party States of the South. On this broad question, the hearings established pretty well that the white people in Mississippi do not like Senator Bilbo, but they like what he advocates in the way of special privileges and the other advantages which are summed up in the words "white supremacy."

Bilbo's Innuendos

What Mr. Bilbo did in his campaign for renomination at the Democratic primary last July 2 was to urge publicly and frequently that Negroes be kept from voting for a party nominee. By innuendo rather than by direct statement, he left the impression on the minds of his listeners that no harm would come to them, at the hands of a white Mississippi jury, if their zeal to preserve "white primary" led them to extra-legal tactics.

"THE MAN"

Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (Dem.), of Mississippi.

The senior Senator's opponents, who are numerous among Mississippi white citizens, reproach him for crudeness, not for principles. Of the four candidates who ran against him last spring, not a single one advocated voting by Negroes in the primary. Instead, they quietly passed the word among their supporters that Negro votes should be discouraged but without making any specific remarks about how to keep Negroes away from the polls.

Ellender's Attitude

The chairman of the investigating committe is Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana. While he is not a close friend of Mr. Bilbo, they see eye to eye on the white primary issue.

Mr. Ellender took considerable trouble during the hearings to guide witnesses to say that the discriminations and obstructions operated against would-be Negro voters were not the result of any utterances by Mr. Bilbo. Most of the white witnesses needed little prompting to say it has been common knowledge for many years in Mississippi that Negroes are to be kept from voting in Democratic primaries. Sun. 12-8-46

Negro witnesses had to be prodded before they would agree that all white citizens in Mississippi take the stand Mr. Ellender suggested. Many of them seemed to cling to a perhaps wishful belief that some white men in the State are willing to see Negroes begin to take an active part in its political life.

Most of the Negroes who testified were veterans of World War II, and their combined testimony made a picture of steadily awakening political consciousness among them. While they were in the armed forces, their chaplains, their information and education officers, and the other morale media lectured them on their civic responsibilities when they returned to civilian life, and many of these young Mississippi Negroes took seriously what they heard. At least, several of them told the committee so, with dignity and often forcefully moving language.

Most of them seemed to have returned to Mississippi in late 1945 or early 1946. When they got home, they heard that the United States Supreme Court had decided that Negroes could vote in Democratic primaries under the protection of their constitutionally guaranteed rights.

Soon, it would appear, this controversial court decision became known to the Negroes as "the new law," and they often referred to it in that manner during this week's hearings. To add to the returning soldiers' naive belief that they were going to be allowed to vote effectively at last, their own Legislature in Mississippi passed a law in April exempting all veterans, without distinction of color, from poll tax for the requisite two years preceding the elections of 1946. Most of the Negro veterans apparently believed this meant they could vote.

Empty Voting Privilege

But it did not, as it turned out. The white men who passed the law meant only that the Negroes could still exercise the empty privilege of voting in Mississippi's general elections, where the Democratic nominee of the previous primary election is always the undisputed winner, and in certain minor local elections, as they have done for years.

Northern critics of the South are prone to attribute the closed-corporation aspects of the Democratic party in the South to arbitrary, sadistic cruelty on the part of the whites. It is far more fundamental than that.

The 1940 Federal census gave Mississippi, for the first time in more than a hundred years, more whites than Negroes—and the margin was only a few thousand. The population today is probably just about evenly split between the two races. This same situation exists, to a lesser degree, in the other Southern States.

And More Segregation

Under these conditions, the white people insist on maintaining the same political segregation of the races as they impose in the other aspects of life. Rightly or wrongly, they want the Negro to have his own political party, just as he has his own schools and churches. There is even a branch of the Republican party known as the "Lily Whites," although their strength is negligible. Sun. 12-8-46

The lesson for the nation seems to be that no solution can be imposed by fiat. Only slowly evolutionary educational processes, working on both white and Negroes, are likely to have any permanent effect.

'Innocent Bystander' Role Taken By Bilbo At Trial

The Adaptive Mirror, Jackson, Miss.

JACKSON, MISS., Nov. 30.—(AP)—Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo arrived here today to attend "as an innocent bystander" the Senate committee hearing that will open here Monday on complaints against his election campaign for last summer's democratic primary.

"I'm here as an innocent bystander, but of course if any-think hot develops, I have two or three lawyers who will give the matter proper attention," he said at a press conference.

He said he would be represented by attorney J. F. Barber of Yazoo City, John Burkett, of Jackson, Forest Jackson of Jackson "and about 50 more if I need them." Sun. 12-1-46

Bilbo said the committee, headed by Sen. Ellender (D), Louisiana, had forwarded him a copy of the complaint, which Bilbo described as an "indictment against every white man and woman who believes in the white race."

Only Racial Aspects Viewed

The committee, Bilbo continued, although known as the "campaign expenditures committee, is interested only in the racial aspects" of his election.

He said the "indictment" twc against him was drawn up by the Civil Rights Congress" and was signed by two white persons and 48 Negroes of Mississippi.

Expressing a hope that "all good people will cooperate with the committee in making this investigation" Bilbo said he did not believe Negroes would fail to offer testimony because of fear.

"Everyone who has sense enough to testify knows there's nothing to be investigated," he commented.

Bilbo predicted that the committee's investigation will leav the election issue "with a clea bill of health."

Few Witnesses

A small group of witnesses an a large congloneration of spectators are expected to gather in th Federal court room for the hearing and disappointing."

Other accustations against Bilbo to the effect that he accepted gratuities from war contractors are not involved in the hearing here.

"The man" is expected to be the leading man in what many Mississippians predict will be the biggest show in the state since the days when Bilbo was impeached in the State legislature to open in Washingtin Dec. 12 on a bridery charge, was tried by before a Senate committee investigating conduct of the national defense program. Bilbo has the Senate and won an acquittal advised that committee he will by one vote.

For the committee, despite numerous pleas to the citizenry, be unable to attend the Washington sessions because of a previous commitment to attend the hearings to be conducted here.

Declares He Is a Poor Man With 'Nothing to Hide': Brands Accusers As Liars

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky. Fri. 12-20-46
45a

From Wire Dispatches.

Washington, Dec. 19.—A story of ten $100 bills sent to Senator Theodore G. Bilbo by a man wanting his help in getting narcotics was related to Senate investigators tonight and brought an immediate denial from the Mississippi senator.

Bilbo also branded as "lies" or "hallucinations" the charges that he profited from relations with war contractors. These charges led to the inquiry by the Senate war-investigating subcommittee.

The matter of the narcotics came out piecemeal from four separate witnesses whose testimony conflicted at points.

Tells of Pay for Permit.

They were:

Edward Terry, Bilbo's former secretary. He said Dr. A. J. Podesta, Vicksburg, Miss., told him he gave Bilbo $1,500 for a Natchez, Miss., man who wanted a permit for daily doses of narcotics.

Dr. Harry J. Anslinger, federal commissioner of narcotics. He testified Bilbo called him to his office on October 11, 1945, about a letter from Podesta with accompanying certificates that a Harry Carr of Natchez required a regular supply of drugs.

Harry Holt, special agent for the Treasury. He testified that Terry had informed the Treasury of the alleged payments and he (Holt) had investigated. He said that on April 30, 1946, he interviewed Podesta at Vicksburg.

Narcotics Approved.

Podesta told him, Holt related, that he sent the certificate to Bilbo and that Anslinger's office later approved narcotics for Carr, who was described as a sufferer from asthma and other ailments and as a long-time user of narcotics. Holt quoted Podesta as saying that still later Carr told him he wanted to "do something" for Bilbo, so the physician suggested a contribution for Bilbo's Juniper Grove Baptist Church project.

Podesta's story, as related by Holt, went on:

Carr gave him some money—it was his recollection it was $1,000—and it was turned over to Bilbo in a Jackson, Miss., hotel.

Carr's Story Related.

Holt said that the next day he interviewed in Natchez a man whom he called John Carr and got this account:

He had sought the narcotics permit through Podesta and Bilbo and in December, 1945, made a payment to Podesta. He was uncertain whether it was $1,500 or $1,000. Podesta told him he had to make the payment. Something was said about a church, but "The contribution was made to Bilbo personally so far as he was concerned and was in payment for services."

The $1,500 was all the money Carr had accumulated during his lifetime.

W. H. Lane, an investigator for the committee, said he interviewed Podesta October 18, 1946, and the physician told him that after the narcotics arrangement was made Carr wanted to do something for Bilbo, and a church contribution was suggested. Podesta added, according to Lane, that Carr gave him 10 $100 bills, which were turned over to Bilbo.

Says He Gave Him Letter.

Bilbo, brought back to the stand, testified the Anslinger did come to his office, where "I merely gave him" Podesta's letter. But he declared he did not know Carr and never received any money from him.

"Did Dr. Podesta give you any money?" Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.) pressed him.

"No, sir."

"How much did Podesta give you for the church?"

"I don't remember."

"Did he give you ten $100 bills?"

"Not that I remember."

Bilbo finally said Podesta might have given him money for the church at some time, but absolutely had not given him anything in connection with the narcotics matter.

Terry Collapses.

In the midst of this examination, Terry, who was standing to the side of the committee room, staggered a few feet and collapsed in a chair.

The committee granted him permission to leave and he left on the arm of his attorney, Paul Dillon.

Ferguson demanded that Bilbo produce all records he has of church gifts. The Mississippi senator said the committee could have them and all his personal files if they wanted them.

"I haven't anything to hide," Bilbo declared.

At that point the hearing was recessed indefinitely. The committee members will examine Bilbo's files in private and decide whether they will call Podesta and Carr as witnesses.

Testifies 2½ Hours.

Ferguson told reporters he expected that hearings would be resumed the Monday after Christmas. Chairman Mead (D., N.Y.) will fix the time.

Bilbo, 69-year-old Mississippi Democrat, had been testifying for 2½ hours, wisecracking and obviously feeling in control of the situation when Anslinger was suddenly put on the stand.

The senator took the stand with a 42-page prepared statement in which he termed the narcotics matter, first mentioned yesterday by Terry, "a lie out of the whole cloth."

First Mentioned By Terry.

The narcotics story was first mentioned yesterday by Terry, who spoke of a sum of $1,500 said to have changed hands.

He pleaded guilty to one charge adduced—that he had helped his constituents get war contracts, but, he added, "so did every other worth-while senator" and congressman.

Fri. 12-20-46

All the thousands of dollars that passed through his hands from war contractors represented either campaign contributions for a political ally, former Senator Wall Doxey (D., Miss.), or personal loans which Bilbo either has repaid or intends to.

"I never got a damned cent of it," he shouted through the loud speaker system in denying that any part of a $25,000 campaign contribution from F. T. Newton one of the contractors, had passed into his hands.

Tells Purpose of Inquiry.

"All you want to know," he said, "is how much money Bilbo got—that's the purpose of this investigation."

But he centered his ire on the two men who he said were responsible for the inquiry—his former secretary, Terry, and former Representative Ross Collins (D., Miss.). Collins once was a political buddy but now is the senator's bitter foe.

"Christ had his Judas Iscariot; Caesar had his Brutus; George Washington had his Benedict Arnold, but I claim to have had the greatest traitor of them all in my trusted secretary," he said of Terry.

"Because of Collins' campaign of lies and misrepresentations in making the charges upon which I am now being tried, and others, he has been the most thoroughly, completely and everlastingly condemned, damned and repudiated man in the history of the state."

Says Reds Pressed Charges.

Involved also in pressing the charges against him, Bilbo continued, were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Communist Party members and others "closely identified with Communist-front activities."

Of the seven days of testimony, Bilbo said:

"All that the witnesses have been able to establish is that I am a very poor man and heavily involved in debt and that I received during all the periods that the investigation has covered but two Christmas gifts, one an automobile and the other living-room furniture consisting of a sofa, three floor lamps and two table lamps."

All Given Freely, He Says.

He said that every monetary "assistance or service rendered to me—and which I am obligated to repay"—was given voluntarily and without solicitation. The only exceptions would be, Bilbo said, the request he made for loans to help pay off $21,750 in alimony in 1943 for his ex-wife.

All the charges against him—with the exception of one that he accepted $1,500 to get the narcotics permit—were contained in a four-page election throwaway used in the 1946 campaign in behalf of Doxey's senatorial candidacy, Bilbo said.

Replies Point by Point.

Then he turned to a recital of the nine charges made against him, and replied to them, point by point, as follows:

1. "That I assisted various contractors in obtaining cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts for the construction of the Jackson Army Air Base . . . Key Field and Keesler Field" (all in Mississippi).

"To this charge I plead guilty," Bilbo said, adding that all the contracts awarded on his recommendation had been fulfilled to the satisfaction of the Army.

2. "That I received $26,200 from F. T. Newton, of the Newton-Glenn Construction Company."

That is correct, Bilbo conceded, adding that Newton had contributed the sum after a Doxey rally on September 7, 1942. But that money and other sums were spent to pay off the campaign expenses of defeated primary candidates, like Collins, and to gather their field forces behind Doxey for the run-off primary, Bilbo said.

Consisted of $26,200.

The Newton money consisted of $25,000 in checks for the campaign, and a $1,200 loan to Bilbo.

"So," the senator said, "the $25,000 was spent and I did not get a dollar or a penny of it. As to the $1,200; that was a personal loan . . . and has been repaid—not a cent of it is owing."

Ferguson tried to pin down Bilbo to acknowledging that he telephoned from Washington and suggested names of war contractors who should attend a "pep meeting" to raise funds for the Doxey campaign.

"I don't remember," Bilbo replied. "I guess I did. There was nothing wrong about it."

Bilbo said it would be a "natural thing" to call his former campaign manager, A. B. Friend and tell him to "blow the bugle and bring the boys in from the hills."

"Yes, and shake the bushes," Ferguson put in.

"I said I do not remember," Bilbo continued. "I did not give names."

Bilbo Ignores Question.

"You did not say, 'Bring in the war contractors'?" Ferguson asked, but Bilbo ignored this.

When Bilbo told of a $48,000 loss on operation of his farms by Mike T. Morrissey, war contractor, Ferguson wanted to know if these losses "were for income-tax purposes?"

"I would not say that," Bilbo replied.

He added that Morrissey was a "big operator" and had lost $65,000 on "another farm."

Ferguson wanted to know what was the most Bilbo ever lost in any one year in operating his farms.

"I would not remember that," Bilbo replied.

Ferguson suggested Bilbo check his income-tax returns.

"I don't keep copies," Bilbo replied. "I'm afraid to."

"Why?" Ferguson asked.

Hates to See His Losses.

"I hate to see the losses," Bilbo replied as the crowd laughed.

The crowd roared again when Bilbo testified that on the return of his farm from Morrissey "I had no hogs, one horse, two mules, one drake, one gobbler, one guinea, one gander, and one white rooster."

Ferguson noted that Bilbo had no "breeding stock."

"No, he did not match 'em up," Bilbo replied. "I had to start from scratch."

3. "That I received $6,200 from B. L. Knost of the Morrissey-Knost Construction Company.

"B. L. Knost made a check payable to me for $5,000 as a contribution to the Wall Doxey campaign fund. I indorsed the check to Robert Gandy (one of Bilbo's political lieutenants).

Intends to Repay $450.

"About the $1,200; in November, 1941, I needed some money and borrowed $1,200 from B. L. Knost . . . I have paid him $750, and owe him a balance of $450, which I intend to and will pay."

4. "That I received $6,000 from Mike T. Morrissey; that, without cost to me, he built a lake on my premises; that he gave me a Cadillac automobile; that he made certain improvements in my farm while operating it, which operation caused a total loss of approximately $48,000."

The $6,000, Bilbo said, comprised two notes, one for $5,000 money himself. No one had any part in building or furnishing Dream House No. 2—except the Christmas donors—he added.

5. "That a note for $3,000 contained in such allegation. He said he now was informed that Terry had received donations from friends, including three war contractors, more than $1,100 of the money lost likewise made no profit to the property sufficient to pay for the $500 worth of furniture entailed in the land, which was paid by individuals who later were reimbursed by war contractors.

Believes Terry Used Money.

But, he charged, Terry did not pay off a note for the furniture on this note nor reimburse the Government for the A.A.A.

6. "That $3,000 of Bilbo's farm for which Morrissey paid $1,100 was paid by war contractors.

While Morrissey lost $48,000 in operating Bilbo's farm for four years, Bilbo made no profit himself and paid $65,000 in taxes. Morrissey likewise made no improvements to the property except to terrace the land, which cost was paid for by the Government under the A.A.A.

"It is just an old Southern custom," he explained. The crowd roared again when Bilbo said he got one and his wife packing the hearing room.

For that matter, Bilbo said, he understood gifts of automobiles had been made to both President Truman and President Roosevelt.

"This is the third car I have had since I became governor of Mississippi for the second time.

"This is specifically the charges and the insinuations that has been given to me by friends. . . There are very good precedents for automobiles to be given to public officials. . ."

He said he got one and his wife

Says He Always Pays.

The lake is a 15-acre pond for which Morrissey sent a bill for $3,671.92 and which will be paid because "I may be slow to pay but I am sure to pay. I always pay."

"Yes, Mike Morrissey gave me the new Cadillac for a Christmas present in December, 1941," he continued. "This is the third car

torney, Forrest Jackson, that this money had been borrowed from Shushan to help pay his ex-wife's alimony demands; that when Shushan threatened political reprisals, four friends had clubbed together to pay off the indebtedness in a hurry.

'This Alimony Nightmare.'

Bilbo said he had paid of. only one of the four, a $750 payment, and that "I still owe on this alimony nightmare" $2,250 and "there was no war contractor connected in the remotest degree with the Shushan note and its payment . . .

7. "That certain of my personal expenses incurred in my office at Washington, D. C., were eventually defrayed by war contractors.

"This charge I deny." Bilbo added that if certain of his expenses were paid by his friends, that was "without my knowledge, acquiescence or consent," and were done at Terry's solicitation.

8. "That a swimming pool was constructed on my premises without charge to me by the St. Catherine Gravel Company, Inc."

Done By 'Good Friends.'

He said this job was done by two "very good friends" who were not war contractors—John R. and William Junkin of Natchez. With the preliminary work already done, Bilbo said, one of the brothers offered to complete the job. He has been billed for the work, never has paid off, but will pay.

The swimming pool is not yet completed and "I am still 'doing my swimming' in Wolf River, which is four miles from my dream house," Bilbo said.

9. "That I received funds from various persons and deposited them in an account called 'Juniper Grove Baptist Church, special fund by Theo G. Bilbo' in the Bank of Commerce, Poplarville on which I alone could draw and which was principally to build a residence owned by me.

"I deny, resent, and detest the vile implications of this reprehensible charge, every cent I have ever received for the Juniper Grove Baptist Church fund which included funds collected to build the church building and funds collected to build the parsonage and to fence and beautify the grounds, has been spent on this worthy project except the balance of the funds now on deposit in the special fund account in the Bank of Commerce at Poplarville."

Tells of Collections.

He said he was carrying on the work begun by "my sainted father," that his community is poor and hence he began collecting funds for the group construction in 1928 "from anybody and everybody, at home and abroad."

"I have received funds from Methodists, Baptists, Catholics, Jews, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, saints, and sinners," he added. Fri. 12-20-46

He still holds legal title to the property, Bilbo conceded, but that is only a precaution against someone else's "butchering up" the job before completion.

"The money I had and the work I was doing was for the Lord and not for some individual," he said.

Promising to make formal delivery of the Juniper Grove Church by April 27, 1947, to its deacons, Bilbo asked that if the church dignitaries are "happy over the way I have handled the funds . . . then pray tell me why and how anybody on earth could object?"

Associated Press Wirephoto.

WHISPERING into the ear of Senator Bilbo while the Mississippian keeps a sharp lookout is the senator's attorney, Forrest B. Jackson. The picture was made at yesterday's senatorial investigation of Bilbo's relations with contractors during the war.

F.B.I. Seeks Witness In Bilbo Investigation

The Courier Louisville, Ky.

Senator's Ex-Secretary Missing Since Telling Of Threats On His Life If He Testified

Fri. 12-13-46

From Wire Dispatches.

Washington, Dec. 12.—The F.B.I. has been asked to search for a missing former secretary of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) who disappeared after asserting that he, his wife, and daughter had been threatened with death if he testified about the senator's war-contract activities, was disclosed tonight.

The Senate War Investigating Committee, now hearing charges that Bilbo accepted gratuities from war contractors, disclosed the search for Edward P. Terry, on whom the committee has been unable to serve a subpoena. Terry has been reported variously this month in Florida, Washington, and New York. Now he is believed to be returning to his Meridian, Miss., home by automobile.

Army Officers Testify.

This disclosure highlighted the first day of hearings into charges that Bilbo profited, financially and materially, from his efforts to obtain war contracts for favored construction firms.

Before getting to the Terry matter, the committee had heard from Army officers and ex-officers:

1. That Bilbo on numerous occasions brought contractors to their offices to recommend them for construction jobs.

2. That Bilbo was extremely active in having construction of the Jackson (Miss.) air base placed under control of the Army engineer's office at Vicksburg, Miss., rather than the office at Mobile, Ala.

3. That his 1940 campaign manager, A. B. Friend, participated in a $1,731,029 contract at Key Field, Meridian, as one of four contractors in a pool or co-venture.

Letter to Mead Read.

4. That in at least two of three cases the Mississippi firms plugged by Bilbo were too small to handle the major contracts involved, and had to call in other firms, some from outside Mississippi to form combines.

5. A number of the Army engineers conceded that they would have had "Bilbo on our necks" if his contract recommendations had been ignored.

Terry until January was Bilbo's secretary and constant office associate, although he carried the title of clerk of the Senate Committee on District of Columbia Affairs.

Asked to Be Excused.

A letter was read into the record, addressed to Chairman Mead (D., N. Y.) and signed with Terry's name.

Dated December 2, it said an anonymous person telegraphed him at Meridian the night of November 26 and told him "that should I participate or take any part in connection with the investigation of Senator Bilbo that my wife and daughter would pay with their lives."

It said that on October 31 a likewise anonymous caller told him "I would pay with my life" if he had anything to do with an investigation of Bilbo then going o nin Mississippi.

In view of these facts "and especially the fact that the lives of my wife and daughter have been threatened," the letter asked that he not be called to testify.

The letter recalled that last April "I was, in the presence of witnesses, told that I would be killed if I gave out any information I might have detrimental to Senator Bilbo."

This instance, the letter said, was widely published. Committee Counsel George Meader said Terry was questioned November 26 in executive session.

Bilbo and his attorney, Forrest Jackson, asked that the committee subpoena not only Terry, but J. Marvin Quinn, executive vice-president of a Jackson, Miss., bank where Terry is said to have some accounts.

Jackson said Quinn had told him 10 days ago that Terry had confided he was going to use the alleged threats as an excuse not to testify, "because the evidence he would give would tend to incriminate him."

Bilbo's lawyer said Terry's account of the threats was "the same sort of statement he made during the campaign" last summer when Bilbo won renomination over four opponents.

Bilbo Answers.

When the morning session ended, the little Democratic senator told reporters:

"If it's wrong to recommend friends and constituents for jobs, then it disqualifies three fourths of the Senate and all of the House."

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Wearing a diamond horseshoe stickpin in his red necktie, Bilbo maintained an air of jauntiness as two of his colleagues dug into allegations that he accepted more than $30,000, a furnished house and a big automobile from contractors for his work in getting them Government construction jobs.

Retired Maj. Gen. Thomas M. Robins, former assistant chief of Army engineers, called Friend the "promoter" and "front man" for the Key Field contracting pool. Fri. 12-13-46

Calls Friend the 'Brains.'

Brig. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis, Jr., former chief of district engineers at Vicksburg, said that friend had no resources, no equipment and no organization

Associated Press Wirephoto.

EDWARD P. TERRY

Says he was threatened,

but that his presence among the contractors "did no harm."

(Bilbo commented to the press table that Friend certainly was "the brains of the organization."

("I know that," Bilbo said, "because he elected me twice.")

Douglas I. McKay, special assistant to the chief of engineers, testified that although he had no personal knowledge of the affair, he had heard "rumors" that Friend was to receive "a $5,000 cut" of the $63,175 fixed fee for the contractors on the Meridian job.

The combine which got the Meridian contract was made up of Friend, Volz Construction Company, Flint-Jordan Construction Company, and Rock City Construction Company. The last-named firm was from Tennessee, the others from Mississippi. It was Army policy to award contracts, when possible, to residents of the state where the work was to take place.

Project Was Expanded.

The original estimate of cost o the job was $1,515,090 plus the $63,175 fee. Eventually the Government paid $1,731,029 for the work.

That excess was minor, however, compared to the underestimate on the Jackson air base. There the estimate was $1,459,71(plus a $62,000 fee to the contractor, M. T. Reed. Final cost was $12,639,983, due principally, the engineers explained, to expansion of the project after it got under way.

Contracts under examination by the committee total $25,-932,36F.

Senator Mead (D., N. Y.) presided and Senator Ferguson (R., Mich) conducted much of the examination of witnesses. The third member of the subcommittee, Senator Tunnell (D., Del.), was not present at the opening session.

Mead Reads Statement.

Jackson inquired at the outset whether he would be allowed to crossexamine witnesses. Mead ruled that he could not, but said that if Jackson or Bilbo wanted to raise any points they could submit them in writing to the committee.

Mead read a statement asserting that the senators had not prejudged the case and that the investigation would be held to the subject of war contracts, with no regard for Bilbo's "political or ideological philosophies'.'

(Hearings were conducted in Mississippi last week by the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee on charges that Bilbo tried to keep Negroes from voting in last summer's Democratic Primary. That committee is to meet again Monday.)

FIRST WITNESS AGAINST THE SENATOR FROM MISSISSIPPI

T. B. Wilson (right), president of the Mississippi Progressive Voters League, is directed to the stand at the hearing which opened in Jackson yesterday. Seated at left is Senator Bilbo. Associated Press Radiophoto

20 NEGROES BLAME VOTE BAN ON BILBO

The Times

GI Says He Was Beaten to Balk Registration — Hearing Arouses Laughter of Audience

New York, N.Y.

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 2—More than twenty Negroes, including one war veteran wearing the lapel insignia of the Good Conduct Medal who said that he had been beaten with a steel cable by three white men for trying to register, testified before the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee here today. They told of alleged intimidations and obstructions used to keep them and other Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary last July 2. They blamed these occurrences on campaign speeches by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, who won the nomination. Tues. 12-3-46

Mr. Bilbo, flanked by four lawyers, occupied a table in the center of the Federal Court room where the hearings are being held. He and his counsel asked questions of the witnesses by passing slips of paper to Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, chairman of the special committee. Mr. Bilbo seemed in high good humor and smiled broadly as the witnesses told of the scare his campaign oratory had thrown into the Negroes of Mississippi.

His enjoyment of the situation seemed to spread to committee members as the day wore on. He and Mr. Ellender began to exchange winks as questions were fired at witnesses.

Questions Asked by Bridges

Senator Styles Bridges, Republican, of New Hampshire, asked witness after witness for his party affiliations. The Times

Without exception, the Negroes claime dto be Democrats. The Rev. William Albert Bender, 60-year-old Congregational minister on the faculty of Tougaloo College near here, who said he had been forcibly prevented from voting in the primary by an armed deputy Sheriff, qualified his declaration by saying that "I tried to be a Democrat, but they wouldn't let me."

Mr. Bridges observed that he and Senator Boruke B. Hickenlooper, Republican, of Iowa, were getting lonely, as they had not seen a Republican since arriving in Mississippi yesterday. This and other senatorial witticisms kept the 300 spectattors in a gay mood all day, and the court attendants were frequently busy calling for order as laughter greeted the salies of the committee members.

Etoy Fletcher was the veteran who said he had been "whipped" after he tried to register at the courthouse in Brandon, about twelve miles from here, last June 12. As usual in such cases in the South, the witness could not identify any of the six or seven white men he said took him to the woods, ordered him to strip, and beat him about the legs with a double steel cable. New York, N.Y.

After the whipping, he testified, he was offered, and accepted, a lift back into Brandon. His assailants, he stated, told him he was free to come back to town at any time, but that if he tried to vote they would kill him. He said he took a bus into Jackson and reported the incident to the local unit of the American Veterans Committee, an officer of which prepared an affidavit for him to sign. Tues. 12-3-46

He then sought treatment for his legs, he stated, going to Howard's Foot Clinic here. He could not recall the name of the white doctor who attended him, but Mr. Bilbo's counsel produced Dr. E. J. Metranga, a chiropodist, who testified he had treated Fletcher for contusions above the knee on his right leg. 12-3-46

The doctor testified that Fletcher told him, at the time of the treatment, that he had been beaten by two Negroes whom he intended to "get" in his own way.

GOP Agrees With Bilbo That Effort To Bar Him Will Fail

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Mon. 12-16-46

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15.—(AP)—Senator Bilbo (D.), Mississippi, predicted confidently today the Republicans will be unable to bar him when the new senate convenes Jan. 3.

Republican strategists agreed privately that regardless of the outcome of a current inquiry by the Senate War Investigating Committee into what happened to $25,000 a war contractor gave Bilbo in 1942, the prediction probably is correct. But they vowed that if they are defeated in the first round, they will press further efforts to unseat the senator.

Bilbo told a reporter he is satisfied "they can't stop me at the door."

"They haven't even got a scratch aaginst me," he declared, adding:

"Besides, alphabetically, my name is Bilbo."

There, said Republicans who have been studying the situation, is the rub.

Still In Control

When the Senate meets to begin swearing in new members, the Democrats still will be in control, with Secretary Leslie Biffle in the chair. Holdover Democrats outnumber holdover Republicans 30 to 29 following the death today of Senator Bailey (D.), North Carolina.

If precedents are followed, new members will be sworn in alphabetically, with Senator-elect Raymond E. Baldwin (R.), Connecticut, first on the list. That would make the count 30 Democrats and 30 Republicans when Bilbo comes up second.

Even if they get some Democratic votes or are aided by absences on the side, Bilbo's opponents fear they might lose some Republican votes.

One GOP senator who has been analyzing the strategy mentioned that Democrats, if they choose, could prevent the swearing in of any Republicans if Bilbo is not permitted to take the oath.

Put On Spot?

"Maybe we will give the Democrats a chance to put themselves on that spot," this senator told a reporter.

In any event, he said, the Republicans have found that Bilbo could be ousted by a majority vote which sustained any charges they made against him directly bearing on the last election campaign. A report still is being awaited by an elections subcommittee which looked into such charges in Mississippi.

Any moral turpitude charges that might be brought against Bilbo would require a two-thirds vote for expulsion. But if the charges were broad enough to cover both categories, a majority vote was needed for ouster.

51 To 45

When they get all their senators seated, the Republicans will outnumber the Democrats 51 to 45. There seems little chance that they ever could muster a two-thirds vote to unseat the Mississippian. The Advertiser

Meanwhile, Chairman Mead (D.), New York said he expects Edward Terry, Bilbo's former secretary, to be available tomorrow to tell the War Investigating Subcommittee what he knows about the involved financial transactions the group is investigating. Montgomery, Ala.

Terry, who has been in a Quitman, Miss., hospital, has reported anonymous threats against his life if he testified in any manner against his former employer.

Terry reportedly already has given the committee a statement in closed session on the complaints it is investigating that Bilbo received $25,000 and some expensive gifts from various war contractors. Mon. 12-16-46

Bilbo contends he retained none of this money personally but used it in an unsuccessful campaign to elect Wall Doxey, now Senate sergeant-at-arms, in the 1942 runoff primary.

Lynching Not Denied or Alleged

The Times and Courier

In the absence of evidence that he was not set upon by three or more men in the morning hours of election day and wounded to his death in the 19th congressional district of New York, on the edge of Harlem's underworld", it cannot and is not affirmed by any newspaper or politician of the "Empire State" that Joseph Scottorigio, Esq., Republican political worker, was not lynched. Charleston, S.C.

SENATE GROUP TO HEAR HOME VIEWS ON BILBO

The Times New York, N.Y.

Inquiry This Week Opens the Fight To Exclude Him From the Senate

Sun. 12-1-46

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE N

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30—It may be expected that shrill cries of "outside interference" will be raised in Mississippi starting on Tuesday, when the special Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures begins its hearings at Jackson on the nomination of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo in the Democratic primary last July. The committee, headed by Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, will undoubtedly be favorably compared to the carpetbaggers of eighty years ago by Bilbo partisans.

The committee will be trying to discover whether Mr. Bilbo is entitled to his seat in the Senate of the Eightieth Congress as having been duly and properly elected. Its title is deceptive, for no question has been raised about Mr. Bilbo's expenditures in the campaign. He stands charged, by citizens of his own State, with having incited intimidation of Negro voters in his campagn speeches.

His Financial Relations

Other charges, involving the allegations of improper financial relations with various contractors whom he is said to have helped to secure business, are pending before the Senate War Investigating Committee, of which Senator Harley M. Kilgore, Democrat, of West Virginia, is chairman. These charges will not figure in the hearings at Jackson next week.

His record in public life, which dates from 1912, leaves no doubt that Mr. Bilbo opposes Negro participation in the political life of the country. As a matter of fact, his favorite remedy for the racial problem in the South is the immediate deportation of all Negroes to Africa. When he first came to the Senate, in 1935, he was a fiery New Dealer, with reservations about the racial equalities advocated by some of his new political bedfellows.

During his second term, starting in 1941, his main claim to public attention has been his habit of filibustering, or threatening to do so, against anti-lynching bills and against the proposal for a Fair Employment Practices Commission.

He is an able parliamentarian and his threats to filibuster carry considerable weight in the Senate.

The senior Senator from Mississippi is not an unduly assiduous attendant at committee meetings, except for the District of Columbia Committee of which he is chairman until the Republicans organize the Senate. His career in that post has been devoted to opposing any kind of suffrage for residents of the District because of its large Negro population.

Call to 'Good White People'

The specific allegations against Mr. Bilbo are based on specimens of campaign oratory which were widely quoted during his campaign and which he never denied. One example was to the effect that "Mississippi's good white people should go to any means justifiable to maintain white supremacy at the polls, and if you don't know what I mean you're just plain dumb." Another went as follows:

"You know and I know what's best way to keep the nigger from voting. You do it the night before election. I don't have to tell you any more than that Red-blooded men know what I mean."

A few hundred Negroes did vote in the Democratic primary in July and there was no disorder. It was the first time since Reconstruction Days that members of their race had done so. However, they voted in large centers of population (mostly in Jackson, the State capital) and not in the rural areas.

Stand Is Predictable

Senator Bilbo has not indicated what tack he will take when he appears before the committee, but it is predictable. It is no secret that he, in agreement with Eugene E. Talmadge, Governor-elect of Georgia, the State law in South Carolina and thousands of persons in the rest of the South, believe that Negroes should be barred from membership in the Democratic party and hence should not be allowed to vote in Democratic primary elections. 12-1-46

This school of thought concedes the Negro's Constitutional right to vote at the general elections, although it does not approve it, and maintains that none of his civil rights is abrogated by excluding him from the deliberations of a political party which does not want him as a member. His rights are secured, following this line of reasoning, when he is permitted to put up candidates of his own and vote for them at the general elections.

THE BILBO INVESTIGATION

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

The Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures, now holding an investigation of Senator Bilbo in his home State, complains at the "lack of cooperation being shown by citizens of the state." Committee counsel Riley W. Shanks says the number of Mississippians who have contacted the Committee to testify against the Senator is "practically nil." And unless the attitude of citizens changes considerably, Mr. Shanks says he will resort to the subpoena in an effort to secure testimony in the case.

It is a safe assumption, however, that the attitude of Mississippi citizens will not change, and recourse to the subpoena will be more or less a meaningless gesture toward appeasing certain vocal critics and elements north of the Line. No one has given the Committee credit for a serious desire to pry too closely into Senator Bilbo's record, and if it has such a desire, there is little likelihood that the Senator's recent campaign could be made to yield sufficient grounds for denying him his seat in the Senate. Mon. 12-2-46

A much more promsing field of action against Senator Bilbo is the charge of political misconduct in his relations with war contractors. Granting that a man should not be condemned until he has an opportunity to make his defense, there still is reason to believe Senator Bilbo is guilty of indiscretions which leave little question about his moral fitness to represent his state in the United States Senate. He has not denied charges of graft or charges that he is guilty of various indiscretions in "presssuring" nice contributions from many of those whom he admittedly "helped" to secure lucrative war contracts. Perhaps the Senator could not be denied a seat among his colleagues on the basis of such misconduct, but an investigation by the appropriate Senate Committee would show him up in true stature to his constituency.

On the other hand, prosecution of the charge against the Senator by the Committee now in Jackson will appear as "political prosecution" in the eyes of a good many voters and merely make Bilbo the Man of the Hour in Mississippi.

Attack on the South

The News and Courier

Refusal of the senate to seat Mr. Bilbo of Mississippi would be the beginning of unseatings of senators elected in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas, other states in which negro voters are numerous. It would be effort to reestablish "Reconstruction" in the Southern states. The new campaign against the South would differ from that of 1867-1877 in that the party of the North calling itself "Democratic" would combine with Northern Republicans. The negro vote in Northern cities is courted by both "great parties" and that has caused desertion of the South by the directors of the Northern "Democrats." The white people of the South are not without allies in the North and West, but their allies are not in control of the great city machines that control 10 or 12 states. The unseating of Mr. Bilbo would be attack in advance upon the title of senators hereafter to be elected in South Carolina. Charleston, S. C. Sat. 12-7-46

Some Negroes Volunteered Not To Vote, Probers Told

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Thurs. 12-5-46

JACKSON, MISS., Dec. 4.—(AP)—Greenwood citizens told Senate investigators today a story of how Negroes in the Delta city were persuaded to remain away from the polls during the Mississippi Democratic primary election last July "to avoid trouble."

Their testimony was given at a hearing in which the Senate campaign committee in investigating charges that inflammatory speeches by Senator Theo G. Bilbo kept Negroes from voting.

Bilbo was nominated for a third term in the primary, the first in which more than a handful of Negroes ever voted in Missippi.

The senator was invited today to begin any testimony that he might want to introduce, but the committee later decided to wait until tomorrow after the last witnesses subpoenaed for the hearing have had their say.

Bilbo, who has listened attentively to the proceedings since they opened Monday, said he would leave it to his attorneys to decide whether he personally will testify.

Concern Over "Tough Element"

Shelby Steele, Greenwood insurance man, testified he and several other citizens became concerned about the possible reaction of "a pretty tough element in our population" to reports that large numbers of Negroes planned to vote in the primary.

He said they decided to call in "two colored citizens for whom we had the highest regard" to discuss the situation. Steele testified these Negroes, J. D. Collins and A. C. Montgomery, were told that "you have a perfect right to vote and we won't try to stop you, but there's a lot of unrest and we can't promise that you'll be protected if you try."

The Negroes readily agreed, he said, "to talk the situation over" with others of their race, and did so. Afterwards, Steele said, the white citizens gave each of the two $25 "as a present" and to reimburse them for the use of their automobiles in reaching the others. He said there was no previous agreement that they would be paid for their services, and that Collins at first refused reimbursement.

Negroes greatly outnumber white people in the county, he said.

Action Voluntary

Mayor Allen Saffold, of Greenwood, testified he attended the conference with the two Negroes, and that the action the Negroes took was strictly voluntary.

Collins said he had spoken to 32 Negroes as a result of the conference and that they had decided "for peace's sake not to try to vote."

Collins said the white men felt that speeches by Bilbo had created "a lot of disturbance" and that there might be trouble if the Negroes went to the polls.

Steele, however, testified the name of Bilbo was not mentioned, and that he felt the situation would have been the same no matter who was running—in fact that "if Bilbo had kept quiet, he would have received 10,000 more votes."

Montgomery corroborated Collins' testimony. advertiser

Two officials of McComb, Miss., Police Chief E. R. Sanders and Mayor A. B. Williams, testified that police officers there had been instructed to preserve order, but not to try to keep anyone, white or Negro, from voting.

Williams said he did not think Senator Bilbo's speeches had had any effect in discouraging Negroes from voting, and that the principal police problem during any election was keeping white persons of different factions "from getting together." Montgomery Ala.

Committee Counsel Louis Wyman said records showed no Negroes had voted in the county.

Arthur Franklin, Negro student at Tougaloo College, said campaign speeches by Senator Bilbo had "created a fear of being beaten or something of that nature," so that many Negroes had not attempted to register or vote.

Drew Pearson

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Bilbo Profited From War Contracts

WASHINGTON—Gnarled, knotty-faced Sen. Theodore Bilbo, of Mississippi, long has been known as the No. 1 rabble-rouser of the U. S. A. Few, however, have realized that he was also the No. 1 gouger of war contractors and had stacked up a neat little pile for himself as a result.

In the early days of war preparation Sen. Bilbo seemed to know his way around the War Department and was instrumental in getting several lucrative contracts for Mississippi friends—including Key Field at Meridian and Keesler Field at Biloxi. The Mississippi contractors who profited were chiefly Newton-Glenn, of Hattiesburg, and Morrissy-Knost, of Pass Christian.

Sat. 10-26-46

The latter firm got war contracts totaling $3,527,268.39 in 1943. Both firms were in on the Keesler Field construction at a total cost of $11,748,620. Their fixed-fee profit out of this was $265,000, part of it shared with the J. A. Jones Company, of Charlotte, N. C.

What these gentlemen from Mississippi promised the senator from Mississippi in return for his help in getting lush contracts is their secret. However, whatever they promised, they delivered a lot. And this column is now able to set forth in detail what they ponied up—some of it apparently in violation of criminal statutes which say that a member of Congress cannot receive a fee for lobbying on any matter pertaining to the federal government.

tractors ponied up for Sen. Bilbo was an artificial lake, with an island in the middle and a nice house built on the island. These were built by F. T. Newton, of the Newton-Glenn Company; and by Michael T. Morrissy, of Morrissy-Knost, both profiting from Keesler Field at Biloxi.

Newton and Morrissy dug out Bilbo's lake originally at a cost to the U. S. taxpayer of $3,672.91. Reason the U. S. taxpayer was to be out of pocket was that Morrissy charged the expense of the lake up to one of his war contracts. Lafer, however, he changed it to an account receivable from Bilbo. Bilbo has never paid him, however, so perhaps it will be deducted from income taxes as a bad debt, which means the taxpayer will foot most of the bill just the same.

Cost of Bilbo's house on the island, now called "Dream House No. 2," has not been ascertained. The men and equipment employed in digging the lake were being used on a war contract at that time.

* * *

Having fixed up the lake, island and dream house, Newton and Morrissy even went so far as to give their benefactor the furniture to equip his house. This was presented on Christmas Eve, 1941, the furniture costing $1,000. On top of this, Morrissy gave Bilbo a $1,912 Cadillac.

Originally, Morrissy deducted the cost of the car from his 1941 income tax return as a contribution, but later filed an amended return omitting this deduction.

Pony No. 2—In addition to the lake, dream house, automobile and furniture, the two contractors also ponied up $2,400 to Sen. Bilbo on Nov. 7, 1941. The money was split in two parts. F. T. Newton gave Bilbo $1,200, while D. L. Knost, of the Morrissy-Knost Company, also gave him $1,200. The money was handed over in Bilbo's office in Washington.

Pony No. 3—This was the biggest Bilbo windfall of all, totaling $25,000. It was paid under interesting if not peculiar circumstances. The highly profitable Keesler Field contract at Biloxi had been awarded to Bilbo's friends on June 13, 1941. Their various other cash payments and dream-house favors had come in the latter part of 1941. But meanwhile other war contracts were in the offing.

So, about one year later, on Sept. 7, 1942, in the Royal Hotel in Jackson, Miss., F. T. Newton, of the Newton-Glenn Company, handed benefactor Bilbo four checks totaling $25,000.

Sat 10-26-46

* * *

Three checks were for $5,000 each, with one for $10,000, all of them checks of the Newton-Glenn Company, but drawn against four different banks where the company kept accounts. On its books the company charged this $25,000 expense to the cost of the war contracts which Sen. Bilbo had assisted the company in obtaining.

Later, however, the war contractors apparently got scared and changed their books. Twenty thousand dollars was charged to the drawing accounts of the two partners, Newton and F. S. Glenn, as a debt to Bilbo. The remaining $5,000, however, was charged directly to the cost of a government contract.

This in itself would appear to be evidence that Bilbo had violated the statute making it a crime for a senator to obtain money in connection with any federal government matter.

When internal revenue agents questioned Mr. Newton about this, he refused to make any statement. His partner Glenn, however, said he had no knowledge of the payment until about two months after it was made, when Newton told him it was a contribution to the Wall Doxey senatorial campaign. However, it is also illegal for a corporation to contribute to any political campaign.

Because of the $25,000 payment to Bilbo, Glenn later demanded dissolution of his partnership with Newton.

* * *

After the checks for $25,000 were handed to Bilbo in the Royal Hotel in Jackson, Robert Gandy, one of Bilbo's henchmen, went out and cashed them, giving the senator the $25,000 in currency. Later Gandy said he thought the money was spent in Doxey's primary campaign. However, both Doxey and his campaign manager, Lee D. Hall, together with Leland Speed, a member of Doxey's campaign finance committee, all said no such amount was expended.

Bilbo was operating separate headquarters for Doxey, but Ed Terry, Bilbo's former secretary, and A. B. Friend, who had charge of these headquarters, state that not more than $1,500 was expended through that headquarters.

This would leave more than $20,000 to be accounted for.

The war-contract activities of the senator from Mississippi were so multitudinous and so varied that not all can be told here. All of it goes to show that the man who hurled foul names at minority Americans and who stymied important legislation by prolonged filibusters, might better belong in jail than in the august Senate of the United States.—©

Repenting in the North?

The News and Courier Charleston, S. C.

The citizen of New York who asked the supreme court of the United States to bar Mr. Bilbo from the United States senate was a mild and considerate person or he would have included in his petition that the court expel Mississippi from the union. Reading the lamentations about Southern states and denunciations of them by the Liberalite and Harlemite speakers, politicians and publications, one is driven to conclude that these people are repentant that their grandfathers (if they had American grandfathers) supported President Lincoln in his war to prevent Southern states getting out of the republic.

Wed. 10-16-46

Fight Predicted If Senate Attempts to Bar Bilbo

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky

Sat. 11-16-46

Washington, Nov. 15 (UP) — A Democratic-Republican coalition appeared to be forming tonight to try to oust Mississippi's apostle of white supremacy—Theodore G. Bilbo—from the U. S. Senate.

But, as the interparty lines were being drawn, a prominent Southern Democrat warned anonymously that any attempt to unseat Bilbo would be met by an onslaught on Republicans, particularly those who won election by narrow margins.

The Senate Campaign Investigating Committee will meet tomorrow to talk once more about charges that Bilbo won re-election by denying Negroes the right to vote. Other charges of racial discrimination also are on file against the stocky little Southerner who takes keen delight in being called "The Man."

G.O.P. Called "Hell-Bent."

A Democrat, who also wanted his name kept out of the post-election controversy, predicted that public hearings would be held on Bilbo, although Senate Committee Chairman Ellender (D., La.) has said repeatedly that information thus far assembled doesn't warrant a full-scale inquiry.

This Democratic source said that since Republicans appear to be "hell-bent" on investigating Bilbo, "why not give it to them now?"

Ellender Opposes Ouster.

Ellender claimed the Republican plan was sponsored by "a bunch of pressure groups who want to castigate Bilbo and won't be satisfied unless he is hanged." He reiterated that the committee had not attempted to duck the charges, but was continuing its inquiry. Then he added:

"It looks as if representative government has gone by the wayside."

Although it isn't easy to keep an elected senator from occupying the place voted him by his constituents, Republicans and some Democrats believe they can keep Bilbo out of the Capitol. They contend that his primary-election campaign was marked by threats against Negroes in an attempt to keep them from the polls.

Some senators privately expressed the opinion that Republicans, with help from a scattering of Northern Democrats, were out on a limb in the Bilbo case. But no one wanted to be quoted.

Oust Bilbo Group Hit by Sen. Ellender

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Sat. 11-16-46

WASHINGTON, Nov. 15—(AP)—Sen. Ellender, Democrat, Louisiana, asserted Friday that current moves to deny Sen. Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, a seat originate with a "number of well-meaning Republicans who want to capture the Negro vote in the next election."

Interviewed by a group of reporters in a corridor of the Senate Office Building, the Chairman of the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee declared that some of the people opposing Bilbo "won't be satisfied unless he is hanged."

Taking notice of reports that the Republican Steering Committee has decided informally to back efforts to stop Bilbo at the Senate door, Ellender said.

"It is not the Republican Steering Committee that has spoke; it is a bunch of pressure groups who want to castigate Bilbo and won't be satisfied unless he is hanged."

When the Steering Committee recessed a few minutes later, Chairman Taft, Republican, Ohio, told reporters that the Bilbo case still was under discussion with no formal decision.

However, he disclosed that Sen. Millikin, Republican, Colorado, has been named "to study procedural questions which would arise if such a move were taken."

The Campaign Investigating Committee has scheduled a meeting for 9:30 (EST) Saturday morning with indications that the Democratic members will agree to an open hearing in Mississippi on charges that Bilbo tried to intimidate Negroes from voting.

Ellender noted that the Senate War Investigating Committee has publicized an inquiry into alleged relations between Bilbo and a group of war contractors. He said he did not know whether the Committee would be able to substantiate the publicized reports and added "I don't believe in treating any man that way."

Ellender said he hoped the Committee would be able to "clear the decks" of all pending cases Saturday.

Election Day Assaults

The News and Courier

To The News and Courier:

In the paper I noticed that Representative L. Mendel Rivers demanded that Mr. Clark, attorney general of the United States, investigate the election day assault case in New York.

Sat. 11-16-46

Is that being done to get even with the Northern Liberals who from time to time asked an investigation for things that happen in the South?

Charleston, S. C.

In Mississippi in the recent primary there was a number of just such cases. To date I have not heard of anyone asking for an investigation. Is it justice we want? If so, why not ask for it for both races? I neglected to say in the beginning of the preceding paragraph that the people that were mistreated in Mississippi were negroes.

Edmund H. Robinson
319 Ashley avenue.

The Anti-Bilbo Campaign

Daily Worker New York, N. Y.

Editor, New York:

You will be glad to know that the Civil Rights Congres campaign to Oust Bilbo is getting terific response in New York.

CRC lawyers and investigators laid the legal basis for booting Bilbo out of the Senate. Fifty heroic Mississippians filed the formal petition with the Senate. Our job now is to back them up by getting a million signatures in our nationwide campaign.

The campaign work has jumped away beyond the capacity of the meager staff of CRCNY. We need volunteers to do all sorts of technical work. It is organized and waiting to be done. CRCNY is at 112 E. 19 St., Room 402, and is open from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. every day and until 10 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays.

If any of your readers wish to volunteer for this work, will they telephone me at Orchard 4-5260.

ETHEL LIVINGSTON,
Office Manager, Wed. 11-20
Civil Rights Congress of N. Y.

Speakers Demand Bilbo Expulsion

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 9-14-46

WASHINGTON, D. C.—That man from Mississippi, who missed being kicked out of the State Senate by the margin of one vote in 1910, and served a short jail term for contempt of court in 1923, is now in the middle of another political scandal. A fearless and impartial investigation by the Senate Campaign Committee of U. S. Senator Bilbo's recent primary victory has been promised by Chairman Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana.

Announcement of the probe was made Friday, and it came just two weeks after The Pittsburgh Courier launched its all-out campaign to unseat the man whose "Bilbonic plague" has long proved a sore spot to the entire Nation.

Chief complaint against Bilbo, which prompted the Senate committee to probe the Mississippi primary campaign of "The Man," was made by Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council.

DEMANDS EXPULSION

Declaring that he was speaking for one million signers of a petition circulated by the council, Mr. Brown demanded the "expulsion of Senator Bilbo for disorderly behavior under Article 1, Section 5 of the United States Constitution; for membership in the Ku Klux Klan and espousal of white supremacy and Hitler tactics in appeals during his campaign for re-election to the U. S. Senate."

Citing one unlawful act, Mr. Brown pointed to the Dixie Senator's "widely circulated appeal for violence and terrorism published and broadcast thousands of times urging all red-blooded Anglo-Saxons of Mississippi to resort to any means to keep Negroes from voting in the July 2 primary of Mississippi."

HELD UP BY MAYBANK

Mr. Brown pointed out that the council called on the Senate Privileges and Elections Committee to take action long before the primary election was conducted in Mississippi. He said the Council request was turned over to the Senate Campaign Committee but no action was taken because of the negative stand taken by Senator Maybank of South Carolina. Senator Ellender was in the Philippines at the time.

At the same time the committee agreed to probe the Mississippi election it decided to investigate the Tennessee Democratic primary. Irregularities in campaign funds have been charged against Tennessee's Senator Kenneth D. McKellar.

CAPABLE MEN SOUGHT

Senator Ellender said investigators will be sent into these two States as soon as capable men can be found to do the jobs.

Mr. Brown backed up his accusations with sworn affidavits.

The committee also received an anti-Bilbo blast from Dr. James L. P. Rumble of New York City, as chairman of the Citizens' National League, Inc., and a letter from Ross Collins, defeated by Bilbo in the recent primary. Mr. Collins accused the Senator of accepting $25,000 from a war contractor in 1941.

DOUBTS JURISDICTION

Senator Ellender said he thought the Brown and Rumble protests should properly go to the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections since they did not involve campaign expenditures. He doubted the committee's jurisdiction on the Collins complaint, pointing out that it alleged a transaction almost six years ago rather than as a part of the 1946 primary. Nevertheless, he said, the committee intends to go ahead with a look into the Mississippi primary.

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

All of the complaints demand that the Senate deny a seat to Bilbo.

N. Y. DEMS BLAST BILBO

In New York last week the State Democratic party denounced Bilbo and Bilboism and agreed to support measures legally to eliminate Bilbo from Federal office and influence. This statement apparently pledged ex-Governor Herbert H. Lehman, as candidate for the U. S. Senate, to support the Senate move to refuse to seat the Mississippi Senator.

Sat. 9-14-46

U. S. Attorney Tom C. Clark is investigating incidents involving abridgement of civil rights in Mississippi. One case under investigation involves Etoy Fletcher, a veteran of Puckett, Miss., who said he was flogged by four white men after he attempted to register in Brandon, Miss.

Other members of the Senate Investigation Committee are Senator Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina and Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma, Democrats, and Senators Styles Bridges of New Hampshire and Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, Republicans.

Bilbo

PM New York, N.Y.

Bilbo and the Web: The Supreme Court ruled yesterday that it cannot unseat Sen. Bilbo from his Senate seat because each House must be the judge of the qualifications of its own members. No doubt the Court is right. If the Kilgore Committee should now find the charges against Bilbo on the score of war graft backed up by the evidence, the Senate will have the problem of what to do about its own integrity. The curious fact is that a man like Bilbo can talk open fascist racism with impunity, yet would be vulnerable if money corruption should be shown. One wonders what could possibly be worse in Bilbo's undisclosed record than the words of inhumanity the whole nation knows about? We shall not have a civilized America until racist incitement is held to be as maggoty a crime as money bribery.

Bilbo

Thurs. 10-15-46

By All Means, Investigate Bilbo

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 11-3-46

There should not be the slightest hesitancy on the part of the Senate War Investigating Committee in looking into charges that Mississippi's Theodore G. Bilbo received cash and costly favors from war contractors who profited by his influence.

The fact that Mr. Bilbo is a member of the Senate should only speed Committee action in launching a searching, full-scale investigation into the facts of the matter. If he is guilty, the nation's highest legislative body should immediately be purged of his influence. And, if he is innocent, both he and the Senate are entitled to be freed promptly from suspicion.

Utterly ridiculous, of course, are intimations that the charges stem from politics. Sen. Bilbo, having the Democratic nomination, would be elected on Tuesday even had he been convicted, party loyalty being what it is in Mississippi. And, on the national level, Sen. Bilbo's antics have long since embarrassed his party as much as they conceivably could.

By all means, let Sen. Bilbo's alleged malfeasances be investigated. And without the many delays which made a fiasco out of the probe of similar charges against Kentucky's Rep. May.

"BILBOISM" ON TRIAL

The Times New York, N.Y.
Sun. 11-17-46

It is now assured that Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi will not take his seat in the next Senate without a full-dress investigation of his qualifications to serve. There is widespread impression that he has none, but it will be necessary to demonstrate this by legal means. More than Bilbo, the Man, will be on trial. The real issue is what has come to be known as "Bilboism," a combination of racial hatred, Ku Klux Klannery, intimidation at the polls and a narrow parochialism to which all national interests are subordinate.

In a long and checkered career Senator Bilbo has always thriven on martyrdom. It is his contention that northern "Yankee" interference in affairs which are strictly the concern of the South animates the general opposition he has aroused. Waving the banner of "white supremacy" has benefited him politically and he will doubtless capitalize on it once more in the coming inquiry. This time, fortunately, the specific complaint against him comes from citizens of his own State. It is charged that in the recent primary campaign, which he won by a scant margin of 4,000 votes, he publicly urged "every red-blooded white Anglo Saxon in Mississippi" to use any means to keep Negroes from voting, adding for good measure, "The time to see the nigger is the night before election." It is charged that this was incitement to violence and intimidation. Campaign contributions said to have been made by certain war contractors are also under investigation, and the Senator's admission that he was a member of the Ku Klux Klan will be duly noted.

There is no doubt that the citizens of any State have the right to send to the Senate anybody they please, even a demagogue like Bilbo. There is no doubt that once accepted by that august body a Senator has the right to say whatever he pleases, no matter how blatantly, and even though, as Speaker Reed once put it, "he never opens his mouth without subtracting from the sum of human knowledge." But the right to judge the process by which a Senator reaches office is reserved to the Senate itself. Its members can vote as they see fit to seat him or refuse to seat him. Senator Bilbo will have a fair hearing. The chairman of the investigating committee is himself a Southern Senator from a neighboring State. The hearings should be highly instructive to a public now thoroughly fed up with "Bilboism."

IVES CALLS BILBO SENATE 'DISGRACE'

The Times New York, N.Y.

Hopes He Can Be Legally Kept From Seat—Also Looks to End of 'Un-American' Filibuster

Thurs. 11-21-46

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ALBANY, Nov. 20 — Senator-elect Irving M. Ives said today that he would support "any constitutional process" by which Sen. Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi could be prevented from taking his seat in January.

Pointing out that this could be done by a simple majority vote whereas unseating would require two-thirds, he expressed the belief that the Senate was approaching the matter in "the sound way."

"I think Bilbo is a disgrace to the United States Senate and I think it is a disgrace that a man like that is in any office," he said. "I am unqualifiedly opposed to Bilbo.

"I don's think Bilbo represents the people of Mississippi. I don't think he could represent any part of the United States today.

"He is a menace, that fellow. I dread the thought of sitting in the Senate with him. We have never had anything like that in our Legislature."

Mr. Ives visited the Capitol today for the first time since his election and met newspaper men in the office which he occupied during his tene years as majority leader of the State Assembly.

Stating that he would go to Washington next month, he said that he had not requested any committee assignments and that he would devote the first few months to "getting my feet on the ground."

He expressed hope that something could be done to abolish the filibuster, which he described as "unDemocratic and un-American."

He felt that rent control was "one of the things that will have to be kept a while," at least until the serious housing shortage in the urban areas had been met.

Mr. Ives will hold his position as dean of the State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell unttil the Board of Trustees can choose his successor. Since his appointment last July, he has received no pay, although the post carries an annual salary of $10,000.

NEGRO LEADERS ASK REJECTION OF BILBO

Washington, Aug. 30.—(U.P.)—Four Negro spokesmen demanded here that the 80th Congress refuse to seat Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, D., Minn., in January because of his acknowledged membership in the Ku Klux Klan and his efforts to block Negro suffrage in the South.

Bilbo, victor in Mississippi's recent Democratic primaries, took a 15-minute verbal hiding from the four Negro leaders, who were allotted radio time by the Mutual Broadcasting System to answer a broadcast he made over the same network on Aug. 9.

His critics were Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, dean of Howard University School of Medicine; Dr. Max Yergan, president of the Council of African Affairs; Thomas Richardson, international vice-president of the United Public Workers of America (CIO), and Charles H. Houston, chairman of the legal committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The speakers urged the Senate to refuse to seat "the man," despite his reelection, arguing that membership in the Klan automatically disqualifies him from taking the oath as a Senator.

Bilbo said in his Aug. 9 broadcast that he was a member of Klan No. 40 in Mississippi.

THE Facts IN OUR NEWS

BY HORACE WHITE

Chronicle

BILBO

The daily press got very disturbed over the recent efforts of Senator Bilbo from Mississippi to get himself reelected. The Senators of the United States became concerned about the tactics Senator Bilbo used to influence some of the electorate of the state of Mississippi.

Horace White

Senator Bilbo was so desperate to hold his seat in the Senate that he preached from platform and pulpit "white supremacy," although his own actions were an indication of white inferiority. Sat-7-13-46

Mr. Bilbo has always preached "white supremacy" from the time he first took his seat in the Senate. That has been his tune and he has stuck to it persistently. He went one step further this time, than he has ever gone before—he urged the white electors of the state of Mississippi to keep black electors from the polls by violence if necessary.

Once it has been stated that a man who is a Senator of the United States of America has used such tactics to gain election, the issue becomes greater than whether or not Mr. Bilbo was the man who did it. Mr. Bilbo removes the fight from himself and throws his type of campaign into the laps of the American people. Detroit

The Senate has the constitutional right to judge the qualifications of any member of the Senate to sit in the Senate. By all rules judging qualifications of a person to sit as a member of the United States Senate, Senator Bilbo has disqualified himself. Therefore, the Senate of the United States, in order to remain the highest legislative body with respect of the electors in the United States, must disqualify Senator Bilbo.

What Senator Bilbo may say about a race of people in his asinine ravings may be unimportant to the Senate, although it should not be, but when a man stoops to the level of disavowing his belief in the Constitution of the United States and seeks openly to thwart the operations of the Constitution of the United States, such a man has disqualified himself for a place of honor in the American government. Mr. Bilbo certainly has disqualified himself, but if the Senate does act on his disqualification, then the Senate gradually disqualifies itself to represent the people

Let us take for example that a very wealthy Senator spent millions of dollars to get himself elected, and such spending by the Senator was public knowledge, and said Senator boasted about the fact. The Senate would immediately start an investigation to disqualify the said Senator from taking his seat. Why? Not because he spent the money, foolish though that was, but because the Senator used the money to thwart and to hinder free election. Tues

Is it not logical and reasonable that the Senate should be as persistent in the disqualification of Mr. Bilbo, who has used words to exhort people in the state of Mississippi, which state is a member of the Union and supposedly adheres to the Constitution of the United States, to flaunt the Constitution of the United States and the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States? Sat. 7-13-46

If the Senate does not disqualify Mr. Bilbo, then we must stop talking about what Mr. Bilbo says and begin to criticize long and loud the things that our honorable Senates does not do to protect its right to respectfully legislate for the people. If the Senate of the United States permits, Mr. Bilbo to take his seat after his open defiance of the sacred authority of the Constitution of the United States, then the Senate loses the right to be our highest legislative body. The Senate then becomes a party to Mr. Bilbo's opposition to the Constitution, except where the Constitution is convenient. To use the Constitution as a convenient instrument is the first step in the destruction of our democracy. If Mr. Bilbo is seated in the Senate after all he has done, then history can say the first blow that was struck at the integrity of the Senate was struck by the Senators themselves.

Senate Group Calls Meeting To Consider Probe of Bilbo

Richmond Va. Times Dispatch

WASHINGTON, June 27—(UP)—The Senate Privileges and Elections Committee tonight scheduled a special Saturday meeting to look into reports that Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (D-Miss.), has urged "red-blooded Mississippians" to keep Negroes from voting in the State's July 2 primary election.

Chairman Theodore Francis Green (D-R. I.), called the meeting to consider a formal request for a full-scale Senate investigation made by one of Bilbo's colleagues, Senator Glen H. Taylor (D-Idaho).

Taylor, who has accused Bilbo of borrowing "Hitler's tactics" in an effort to obtain re-election to the Senate, will appear before the committee.

Taylor urged in a letter to Green "take immediate steps to investigate this matter, so that Senator Bilbo's name may be cleared if he is innocent, and so that no citizens of the United States will be discriminated against in his right to vote because of color." Fri 6-28-46

Senator H. Alexander Smith, (R-N. J.), called on the Justice Department to supply him with all the information it has on the Bilbo incident. Smith is a member of the Privileges and Elections Committee. He described the Bilbo remark as "a terrible thing if it's true," and added:

"If it's true we'll have to move in on it."

He said an investigation of a Senate colleague would be "embarrassing" to all involved, but that an inquiry should be conducted because of "the principle of the thing."

Attorney-General Tom C. Clark announced earlier this week that the Justice Department was checking into alleged anti-Negro activities in connection with the election. Fri 6-28-46

His statement followed filing of an affidavit by the Association for the Advancement of Colored People charging that a Negro war veteran had been beaten and threatened because he tried to register for the primary.

The Lyncher's Klan-didate

Daily Worker 8-16-46

WILL Bilbo wear his KKK robes when he takes his seat in the Senate? Friday

Wouldn't put it past him.

So far no one in the Administration has uttered a peep on the spectacle of a Senator admittedly operating in an outfit dedicated to murder and violence defiance of the 14th, 15th and 16th amendments. Daily Worker

It seems that it's OK to defy the Constitution so long as that defiance is in the interest of landlords and exploiters of the people. New York, N.Y.

Of course, there's an ugly suspicion that many of Bilbo's more respectable colleagues privately share his views. Even if they don't, they know that the Bilbos are useful in maintaining their class privileges. But public opinion cannot tolerate Bilboism either in Mississippi or in Washington. Kick Bilbo out of the Senate. The Senate is on trial.

Negro Leaders Answer Bilbo

Daily Worker Washington Bureau Daily Worker New York N.Y.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 29.—The entire nation has a moral responsibility to see that Sen. Bilbo is not seated in the 80th Congress, Charles H. Houston, NAACP attorney, said in a round-table radio discussion broadcast by 212 Mutual stations tonight.

Others who participated in the round table were Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, moderator; Dr. Max Yergan, executive director of the National Negro Congress, and Thomas Richardson, vice-president of the United Public Workers, CIO. Mutual made time available to the four Negro leaders to answer Bilbo's views on white supremacy, expressed by the Senator on the "Meet the Press" program Aug. 9 Fri 8-30-46

SOUTHERN WHITE WOMANHOOD HAS BEEN saved again. The cause is worthy but the price is high: six more years of Bilbo and two of Rankin. We have no patience with Northern fuddy-duddies who insist that Bilbo was elected because we Yankees were not polite enough to mind our business. Far from having been elected by a commonwealth outraged at "outside interference," Bilbo was not elected by Mississippi at all. He can be regarded as the choice of his state only in the sense that Hamilton Fish might be regarded as the choice of New York in a balloting confined to the Union League Club. Mississippi has roughly 1,250,000 potential voters, but fewer than 200,000—16 to 17 per cent—showed up at the polls. (New York usually reports something like 77 per cent in a Senatorial campaign.) Of more than a half-million potential Negro voters, not more than two thousand thought it wise to put in an appearance at the election booths. Their reluctance was due in part to the poll tax. In larger part it was due to Senator Bilbo's loud and insistent advice to Mississippi whites to keep their black fellow-citizens from voting by types of persuasion that go with night-riding and misused sheets. Bilbo's ugly threats were a probable violation of law and entitle him to immediate attention from the Department of Justice. Even pending such action, there is no need for the United States: Gentlemen, you know as well as all of America the advice given by one Bilbo, of Mississippi, to his henchmen, what to do to keep Negroes from voting. Kill them if necessary, is my understanding, anything to keep them from the polls.

This is the Fourth of July. It is the grand day that our forefathers' blood made possible for liberty and Americanism. But did it? Not while Bilbos sit in Congress and make our laws. His conduct is nothing short of crime and open rebellion against the Constitution. I want to live in a republic that gives safety to all its inhabitants. That will not be the case if you administer the oath of a high office to one who openly advocates treasonable disfranchisement

Wants Bilbo Impeached

The Louisville Courier-Journal, Ky.

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal:

The following is an open letter to the Senate of the United States:

Gentlemen, you know as well as all of America that "each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members." It should have no trouble proving Theodore G. Bilbo unfit for membership on all three counts

to American citizens.

I think the American people should demand the impeachment of Bilbo and all such rabble-rousers. It is your duty as elected representatives of the people of this great country no longer to allow this tyrant to pose as an honorable member of the Senate of this great country. You, gentlemen, are on trial if you continue this man in office. His own utterances, in which he gloats, make him a stench in the nostrils of all liberty-loving people.

Louisville. Dr. W. H. DUNN.

KKK in the Senate

New York Daily Worker New York

WILL the U.S. Senate impeach Sen. Bilbo now that he has admitted to being a member of the Ku Klux Klan?

Bilbo has publicly stated not only his theories of "white supremacy," akin to the Nazi theories; he has also stated his contempt for the 14th, 15th and 16th amendments of the U.S. Constitution which say that no man shall be deprived of his rights because of race, color or creed. Mon 8-9-46

Will the Senate impeach Bilbo?

We doubt it, unless public opinion gets up on its hind legs and kicks good and hard.

The U.S. Senate is no sacred place, above the struggle of classes and economic interests. It is the stage where such struggles are waged. Only it happens to be loaded overwhelmingly with gents who love Wall Street, the trusts and the Big Money. There are some fighting liberals in it, though one hand could tally them off and leave a few fingers still uncounted. Mon 8-9-46

It goes without saying that there is not a single member of the Senate who believes in a new social system to replace the present rule of private capitalist property over the majority of the American working people.

Nevertheless, even this Senate is supposed to uphold democratic rights. And it is up to the progressive forces of the country to see that it acts to oust the Mississippi fuehrer who claims he was "elected" but who was "elected" by about 7 percent of the adult voting population.

It is a laugh to see Bilbo picking Sen. Taft as his foe, even red-baiting the cold-eyed Ohio money-grubber as "courting the Reds." Taft's game is to get a little free publicity as a "liberal" to take the curse off his murder of price control. It would be a great day for the country if both Taft and Bilbo were kicked out of office.

Will the Senate impeach its KKK member?

Man To Man

By Harold L. Ickes

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 10-16-46

Plenty Of Precedent Exists For Purging Bilbo From Senate

A nation-wide campaign has been undertaken to exclude the Bilbo man of Mississippi from the United States Senate. (Bilbo also means "fetter".) The curtain raising will be at a dinner tomorrow night at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City with George Marshal, Paul Robeson, Dashiell Hammett, Quentin Reynolds, Vincent Sheean, William Jay Schieffelin and others taking the lead. Bilbo should have been regurgitated long before this. But an emetic will not now be necessary. The Senate is in a position to do an act of self-purging that would be greatly becoming. If, as alleged, this product from the cane-brakes of Mississippi was elected Senator by "fraud and violence" and other unconstitutional methods, he can simply be denied the right to take the oath of office.

Bilbo's Fat Fee

The acceptance of money by members of Congress for influence brought to bear in obtaining contracts does not seem to worry some members of Congress even when caught. To what extent this immoral practice has been going on no one knows for sure. But there has been enough nauseating gas escaping to arouse suspicion in the minds of many. So far as "Chanticleer" Bilbo is concerned, the charge has been made that he accepted $25,000 for obtaining a contract for a constituent. This allegation was openly made by Ross A. Collins, for many years a respected and reputable member of the House. On the authority of Mr. Collins and the Clarksdale Daily Press I have made this accusation in my column. Apparently Senator Bilbo regards the charge as too trivial for his attention.

And yet I remember that William Lorimer of Illinois, even after he had taken his seat in the United States Senate, was expelled when it was proved that he had been elected by corrupt means. I remember that, subsequently, Frank L. Smith of Illinois was not allowed to take his seat because of an improper sluicing of money in his behalf, particularly by Samuel Insull, the corrupt and corrupting private uility magnate. I remember that a man by the name of Newberry, of Michigan, who spent more money than was permissible under the law, was persuaded to resign from the exclusive club that now takes pride in Bilbo and O'Daniel and McCarran and Tydings. William S. Vare of Pennsylvania also found the Senate door shut in his face by a vote of 58 to 22 for corrupt practices.

Now these four men were Republicans who were sternly frowned upon by a Republican Senate. I wonder if a Democratic Senate wants to go down in history as having fewer scruples and lower moral standards than was the case with a Republican Senate? This is no time for the Senate merely to yawn before turning over on its other side and going soundly to sleep again.

Inflammation of the Mouth

During his primary campaign Bilbo, apparently beginning already to show symptoms of that "inflammation of the mouth" for which he later summitted to medical treatment, went up and down the State of Mississippi intimidating Negroes and shouting that whatever means might be necessary should be adopted to keep them from voting. He had no rival in his stirring up of base race passions except former Governor Talmadge of Georgia. Bilboism and Talmadgism are both responsible for the brutal race riots that have broken out in some parts of the South since election day. Certain types of whites, who themselves live on the ragged edge of an economic system that does not "pass prosperity around" cannot be altogether blamed if they take their cue from a Bilbo or Talmadge.

Probably it would have a more salutory effect on the country if Bilbo were denied his seat in the United States Senate because of his scornful flouting of the rights guaranteed to Negroes under the Constitution of the United States. Of course a Bilbo could do this without a qualm of his atrophied conscience nut certainly no man even a little higher up in the scale of civilization could raise his right hand as a United States Senator and swear with his tongue in his cheek to uphold and defend the laws and the Constitution of the United States when he would not be there at all if he had not flouted the laws and Constitution of the United States. Perhaps it is better to raise the issue against Bilbo on this clear Constitutional and moral issue. However, it should not be overlooked that previous Republican Senates excluded Republican moral misfits from membership in that body on account of the illegal and immoral use of money, damaging charges with respect to which have also been brought against Senator Bilbo.

Bilbo Faces Senate Inquiry

PM New York, N.Y. Tues. 10-15-46

By Associated Press

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15.—Francis D. Flanagan, assistant counsel of the Senate War Investigating Committee yesterday said the Committee was investigating allegations that Sen. Theodore Bilbo (D., Miss.) received a $25,000 campaign contribution from a war contractor.

Sen. Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.), a member of the Senate group, previously had said an inquiry was under way, but did not disclose its nature.

Flanagan did not supply details in telling a reporter about the investigation.

Ross Collins, who unsuccessfully opposed Bilbo in the Mississippi Democratic Senatorial primary, had charged during the campaign that Bilbo accepted $25,000 from a war contractor.

Meanwhile the Supreme Court rejected a request that it bar Bilbo from his Senate seat.

The request was made by James L. P. Rumble, of New York City.

BILBO ON THE SENATORIAL CARPET

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

The latest word from Washington is that the Senate War Investigations Committee will take over the inquiry into the record of Mississippi's Senator Theodore G. Bilbo. The Campaign Expenditures Committee recently declined to bother itself about the Bilbo record or activities, and thus to all practical purposes gave the Mississippi Senator a clean bill of political health for his third term in the Senate.

Wed. 11-6-46

But a special force of committee investigators apparently uncovered enough evidence of questionable conduct on the part of the Mississippi Senator in connection with certain war contractors to warrant a scrutiny by the War Investigating Committee. The evidence is so incriminating that the acting counsel to the Committee feels safe in giving publicity to some of the charges against Senator Bilbo, among which is the charge that the Senator accepted $33,750 in checks from a couple of war contractors who found the senatorial influence of Mr. Bilbo profitable.

Another "chief charge" to be investigated by the Senate committee is one having to do with Bilbo's "dream house number 2," built by war contractors whom Mr. Bilbo had "befriended" in the matter of war contracts. Still another charge toward which the Committee has turned its inquisitorial eye is the allegation that Senator Bilbo used funds "pressured" from minor contractors on the pretense that they would be used to erect a parsonage near the Senator's Poplarville estate.

If the investigation pans out, the Bilbo scandal could make the Andrew J. May revelations look anemic. But that will be the end of it—the War Investigations Committee lacks the power to discipline members of the Senate, as does the Campaign Expenditures Committee which refused to review the campaign conduct of the Mississippi Senator. It is, therefore, difficult to see why the former Mead Committee has scheduled the Bilbo investigation "sometime before the new Congress meets."

It is just possible that the Senate Committee may hope to force the Bilbo matter before the entire Senate for action. The Senate is supposedly a little more sensitive of its reputation than the lower House, and if the scheduled investigation reveals the Mississippi Senator in a bad enough light, there is a possibility that the Senate may refuse to seat the solon from Poplarville, Mississippi. But remembering the case of Congressman May of Kentucky, and the indifference of the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures, there is little ground for optimism.

Responsible for Bilbos

"Liberals" are responsible for the Bilbos in congress and spokesmen of them know it, Wed. The New York politicians to shut up too. To be sure, it is not difficult for them about the Bilbos it is likely that Southern to fool the boobs to whom a Curley is a another kind than Bilbo. These Northern states would send to the United States senate saint.

Charleston, S.C. 11-6-46

Bilbo Contract Hearings Open Tomorrow

PM New York, N.Y. Tues. 11-19-46

Kilgore Group to Hear Evidence In Private

By ALEXANDER H. UHL
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19.—Despite his blustering denials that he has been up to anything wrong, Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.), of "Dear Dago" memory, now faces a double-barreled investigation into his anti-Negro campaign provocations and his relations with war contractors.

The Kilgore War Investigation Committee yesterday voted to begin closed hearings on Wednesday on charges that Bilbo accepted money and other gifts from Mississippi contractors during the past four years. A subcommittee was set up under the chairmanship of Sen. James M. Mead (D., N. Y.). The other members are Sens. James M. Tunnell (D., Del) and Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.).

The committee action was taken after hearing an outline of the charges against Bilbo by Francis D. Flanagan, assistant committee counsel who also assisted in preparation of the hearings on the war contract charges against Rep. Andrew J. May (D., Ky.) who was defeated in the elections. It is certain that Bilbo will be invited to appear and tell his side of the story.

The Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee voted Saturday to start public hearings at Jackson, Mich., on Dec. 2, into charges that Bilbo urged the intimidation of Negro voters. The fact that the hearings are to be held in Mississippi has brought protests from Negro organizations, which fear that witnesses will be threatened with death.

Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council, said:

"There is no question in any rational person's mind," he said, "that Negro witnesses who told the truth in Mississippi would not live to return home from the courtroom."

However, the committee takes the position that the witnesses in Mississippi should be given priority. There can be no doubt that the Jackson hearings will be held in an atmosphere highly congenial to Bilbo.

But the Kilgore hearings are quite another story. They will deal

For several weeks prior to June 17, 1946, I worked trying to get Negro citizens registered to vote, especially veterans. No threats were made to me personally, but all the Negroes had read in the papers the statement by Senator Bilbo telling white people to use any means to keep Negroes from voting and the statement by Congressman Rankin telling Negroes not to try to vote. Many were afraid to try to register or vote because of these statements.

This affidavit was signed by a Holly Springs, Miss., man. It and others are in the hands of the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee, which will start hearings next month.

I went up the walk toward the door and as I got close to these three men one of them got up and came toward me. As he did so, the officer turned his back and went in the door. The man said to me: "Where are you going?" I showed him my poll tax receipts. He swung at me with his fist, but I dodged and the blow missed.

Here is what happened when a Negro citizen of Gulfport tried to vote in the July 2, 1946, primary.

I went to the Pike County Court House in Magnolia that morning and asked for the certificate. They asked me what I wanted it for and I told them to vote. A white man in the office said: "What kind of flowers do you like, old man?" [illegible]

The signer of this affidavit is a 78-year-old Negro resident of McComb.

entirely with war contracts and what, if any, relation Bilbo had with them.

SILENCE IMPOSED ON BILBO INQUIRY

The Times New York, N.Y.

But Closed Session of Mead Group Is Said to Bare No Link to War Contracts

Thurs. 11-21-46

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20 — In sharp contrast with the ballyhoo preceding the Congressional elections, the investigation of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi by a special Senate subcommittee began and was quickly put under wraps today.

The silence was unusual even for this group, composed of Senators James M. Mead of New York, chairman, James M. Tunnell, Democrat of Delaware, and Homer Ferguson, Republican of Michigan. Planning and decisions on hearings were left to them in the assignment by the parent Senate Investigating Committee.

Another hearing may be held tomorrow if witnesses arrive from Mississippi and it also will be closed. It was emphasized that public hearings were unlikely until witnesses had been heard first in private, a procedure that was followed in the committee's investigations into military and war production matters.

It has been explained that this investigation is distinct from that undertaken by the special Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures, also inquiring into Senator Bilbo's fitness to be seated for a third term, which is concentrating on the campaign expenditures in the 1946 primary election.

Army Engineers Testify

The day's ninety-minute session of the Mead group, it was learned, was focused on contracts for the building of two air fields in Mississippi, Keesler at Biloxi and Key at Meridian.

Advance statements concerning investigators' reports have indicated that Senator Bilbo was influential in the awarding of the contracts and had accepted "campaign contributions" and other material favors from the successful contractors in 1942.

Called to supply orientation on the airfield projects, the witnesses were Col. J. L. Person of the Corps of Engineers and Douglas I. McKay, a retired colonel now in a civilian post with the engineers.

When Senator Mead emerged from the hearing room, he put a finger to his lips and emitted a loud "Sh-h-h-h!" Then he announced that it had been agreed that no information from the Army Engineers would be revealed. This, he added, was "a strictly executive session."

It was indicated later in an authoritative quarter, however, that nothing had been entered in the record that had definitely associated the Bilbo influence with the $20,000,000 to $35,000,000 of contracts for Mississippi airfield construction.

The subcommittee was said to have decided to recall the War Department representatives for further questioning later, also in closed session.

Meanwhile, the campaign investigating group continued preparations for hearings in Mississippi. The first will be held early next month at Jackson, principally into allegations that Mr. Bilbo so conducted his campaign as to incite intimidation of prospective Negro voters.

Committee Ratios Studied

Aside from investigations, Senate Republicans indicated today that their control over at least four key committees in the new Congress might be expanded beyond the narrow ratio indicated by the election returns.

The committees on which the Republicans particularly wish to avoid the general seven-to-six ratio in membership, prescribed by the Reorganization Act, are the Appropriations, Labor, Banking and Currency and the new Armed Services Committees.

While the Reorganization Act limits the number of Senate committees to fifteen, it is pointed out, the election left only forty-five Democrats in the Senate.

With the general ratio of fifty-one Republicans to forty-five Democrats, seven Republicans and six Democrats could be put on four-teen committees, leaving an eleven-to-ten margin for the oversized Appropriations body.

But the Reorganization Act also provides that no minority Senator may have more than two committee memberships. Hence places would be available for only ninety-four committee memberships.

Senators Studying Charges on War Contracts Call for Open Testimony in Capital

New York, N.Y. Sun. 11-24-46

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23—A Senate War Investigating subcommittee announced today that hearings on alleged financial dealings with war contractors by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, would be opened to the public on Dec. 12.

PUBLIC HEARINGS ORDERED ON BILBO

The Times

The subcommittee, headed by Senator James M. Mead, Democrat, of New York, has been holding secret hearings on the matter for the last four days.

The decision to take testimony in public was announced following another secret meeting today at which Wall Doxey, Senate Sergeant-at-Arms, was a witness. Mr. Doxey was defeated for renomination to the Senate in 1942, the year in which Senator Bilbo is alleged to have accepted $33,750 in contributions from two war contractors whom he is charged with having aided to get big construction jobs, according to the charges.

Francis D. Flanagan, assistant chief counsel of the Senate War Investigating Committee, said on Oct. 31 that it was indicated these funds were used by Senator Bilbo not for himself but for another Senatorial candidate.

Maintaining a policy of silence adopted when the secret hearings began, members and attachés of the committee would not discuss what had transpired at today's meeting beyond the fact that it had been decided to hold open hearings. Mr. Doxey likewise refused to comment.

The hearings will be held in Washington while the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee is taking testimony in Mississippi, beginning Dec. 2, on charges that Senator Bilbo incited the intimidation of Negroes in last summer's Democratic primary and was renominated because many Negroes stayed away from the polls.

Mr. Flanagan said today that Senator Bilbo had been invited to appear or send representatives to the Washington hearings. There was no evidence, however, that the subcommittee would attempt to force him to testify, as the full committee did last July in the case of Representative Andrew J. May, Democrat, of Kentucky.

Senator Bilbo has informed the Mead subcommittee that he would be unable to attend hearings in Washington. He has accepted the Campaign Investigating Committee's invitation to testify at the Mississippi hearings.

In a letter declining the former invitation Mr. Bilbo asked:

"How can I properly defend myself against a charge unless I know what it is in advance?"

The chief charges, Mr. Flanagan told a press conference on Oct. 31 before adoption by the committee of a post-election policy of secrecy, were that Mr. Bilbo accepted money and other favors from war contractors in return for "influence" exerted in obtaining Government contracts for $20 to $35 million of airfield construction in Mississippi.

The favors, according to Mr. Flanagan, included construction of an artificial lake, with "Dream House No. 2" in its center, on Mr. Bilbo's Poplarville (Miss.) estate.

Another phase of the investigation, according to the assistant counsel, anvolves a parsonage built during the war for the Juniper Grove Baptist Church, which adjoins the estate.

PM New York, N.Y. Tues. 11-19-46

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

BILBO CAN BE OUSTED

by Max Gordon

REGARDLESS OF WHO TRIES to claim the credit, the ouster of Sen. Bilbo of Mississippi from the Senate would be a terrific victory for progress and democracy.

The people want him out. They have said so loud and long. That includes Negroes, Italians, Jews, Catholics and just plain lovers of democracy of all religions and nationalities, all of whom have good reason to hate his guts.

Because of this popular hatred for the Mississippi Ku Kluxer and all he represents, the Republicans in the Senate have taken up the issue. It would be a serious mistake, though, to depend on the GOP Senate leaders to do the job on him.

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LAST WEEK, the Republican steering committee, headed by Sen. Robert A. Taft, announced it would try to prevent Bilbo from taking his oath of office in January, when the new Congress meets. This would automatically bar him from his seat.

Only a simple majority is needed for this. The Republicans have that majority. Besides, there are several northern Democratic Senators who would gladly join in. So it would seem that everything is set for getting rid of the arrogant, swaggering fascist.

Sled. 11-20-46

But it turns out there is a little gimmick in the Republican plan. For after announcing the Republican steering committee decision, Taft said he did not at all mean that the Republicans were going to vote against seating Bilbo. What he meant, he said, was that they would do it if it should be shown that Bilbo had done wrong.

Who is to show that Bilbo had done wrong?

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TWO COMMITTEES are surveying his conduct. One is the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee, headed by polltaxer Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana. This committee is investigating the reports that Bilbo, in the course of the primary campaign against him, had threatened violence against Negroes who dared to vote. Large numbers were thus kept from the polls. Bilbo won out by a narrow 4,000 margin.

The second committee is the **Committee On War Production, headed by Sen. Kilgore of W. Virginia**, which is scheduled to investigate reports that Bilbo took bribes in return for getting war contracts.

The most important accusations against Bilbo, those on which the real case against him is based, are those before the Ellender Committee.

The committee consists of two polltaxers (Ellender and Sen. Maybank of South Carolina), a reactionary Democrat (Johnson of Colorado), and two reactionary Republicans (Bridges of New Hampshire and Hickenlooper of Iowa). Ellender has said bluntly he believes the case against Bilbo is bunk.

He has, however, granted public hearings with the idea of riddling the evidence, which has been gathered by the Civil Rights Congress.

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HE HAS SCHEDULED the hearings in Mississippi and has ruled tentatively that only native Mississippians can testify. The Civil Rights Congress is demanding that hearings also be held in Washington and that others besides Mississippians be allowed to testify.

It fears that if the hearings are to be held only in Mississippi, Negro and other witnesses it has lined up will be intimidated.

There is considerable danger that the committee hearings will end in a whitewash unless public intervention prevents it. This will allow the Republicans to slip out from under on the plea that there is no case against Bilbo. They will doubtless try to make capital of the fact that a Democratic-dominated committee was responsible for clearing him. But Bilbo will remain in the Senate.

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TO PREVENT THIS, Anti-Bilbo sentiment in the country needs to be organized at once and directed at the committee. The people should insist, among other things, that open hearings also be held by the committee in Washington.

Even if the committee is compelled to find against Bilbo, there is a fear that many Republicans, whose policies closely resembles Bilbo's, will not go through with voting against him. Hence, public pressure has to be developed **at the same time against the entire Senate.**

2 Army Officers Testify In Investigation of Bilbo

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Thurs. 11-21-46

Washington, Nov. 20 (AP) — Secrecy veiled the first session today of a three-man Senate subcommittee inquiring into the relations between Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.) and a group of contractors who built Army airfields in his home state.

Further Hearings Planned.

Col. Douglas McKay, retired, and Col. J. L. Person, both from the office of the Chief of Army Engineers, spent an hour and a half behind closed doors with the war investigating subcommittee headed by Senator Mead (D., N. Y.).

They told reporters they were present to testify about the building of Keesler Field at Biloxi, Miss., and Key Field, at Meridian during the war. Neither had any comment on leaving the chamber.

Mead and other committee members, Senators Ferguson (R., Mich.) and Tunnell (D., Del.) declined comment other than to say that additional closed hearings would be held when more witnesses are available. Committee Counsel George Meader said the next session probably would be held tomorrow. Some Mississippi witnesses slated to testify today were reported delayed by poor flying weather.

The inquiry, described by committee members as uncontrolled with a parallel probe of Bilbo authorized by the special campaign investigating committee, centers on what they describe as allegations that Bilbo received money from war contractors and used the funds in an unsuccessful attempt to elect Wall Doxey to the Senate in 1942. Doxey, now Senate sergeant-at-arms, denied knowledge of any such expenditures.

Government contractors are forbidden to contribute to political campaigns.

The campaign committee is investigating complaints that Bilbo tried to prevent Negroes from

Mead's Decision Makes It Possible For the Senate to Unseat Bilbo

PM New York, N. Y. Sun. 11-3-46

By I. F. Stone
Washington Editor

WASHINGTON, Nov. 2.—That "Dear Dago" letter to a New Yorker may yet cost Bilbo his seat. Thanks largely to Sen. James Mead of New York, the Bilbo case will be the curtain-raiser when the new Senate convenes in January, and the chances are better than ordinarily realized that the Mississippi demagogue may be barred.

Bilbo was safe as long as the Mississippi investigation was the exclusive property of the special Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee under Sen. Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana. With Sens. Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma and Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina, the Southern Democrats have a majority of three on this committee. It has two Northern Republican members, Sens. Styles Bridges of New Hampshire and Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa. Neither progressives.

But when Mead resigned as Chairman of the Senate Committee to investigate the national defense program, he kept his place on the special subcommittee that body set up for its own inquiry into the Mississippi primaries. The committee is in a strong position because five of its members, Mead, Tom Connally (D., Tex.), James M. Tunnell (D., Del.), Harley M. Kilgore (D., W. Va.), and Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.) are also members of the Senate Privileges and Elections Committee, which will decide whether to place the Bilbo case before the Senate.

The anti-Bilbo forces here figure that it will take only one other Republican vote on the 16-man Privileges and Elections Committee to refer the case to the Senate.

The Chairman, Theodore Green (D., R. I.), Carl A. Hatch (D., N. M.), Abe Murdock (D., Utah) and Charles Gossett (D., Ida.) are expected to vote with Mead, Tunnell, Kilgore and Ferguson for submitting the case to the Senate. There are, beside Ferguson five other Republican members of the committee: Bridges (N. H.), E. H. Moore (Okla.), George A. Wilson (Ia.), H. Alexander Smith (N. J.), and Homer E. Capehart (Ind.). The anti-Bilbo forces count at least on Smith, which would give them a 9-7 majority.

The procedure will be for the special Mead subcommittee to hold hearings after the election and to make a report to the Senate Privileges and Election Committee before the end of the year. The hope is to have the case ready for submission when the Senate convenes. The Senate can refuse to seat Bilbo by majority vote, but once sworn in, it would take a two-thirds vote to unseat him.

Should the Mead subcommittee prove its charges, Bilbo would face the possibility of legal prosecution. This is the legal case involved in the allegations made public Thursday by Francis D. Flanagan, assistant committee counsel.

Pending bankruptcy proceedings by two war contractors in the U. S. District Court at Hattiesburg, Miss., brought to light a ledger item: "Doubtful accounts, Theo. G. Bilbo, $20,000," and a $5000 check to Bilbo by one of the contractors.

Should it be proved that these two payments totaling $25,000 were made to Bilbo for helping the contractors obtain war contracts, he would be liable under the U. S. Code, Section 202, Title 18. This makes it a crime punishable with disqualification from office, a $10,000 fine and two years in jail.

Bilbo in 1942 entered into a contract with Mike T. Morrissey, another contractor, to farm Bilbo's lands in Pearl River County for five years. The latter built an artificial lake with "a dreamhouse" on it for Bilbo, furnished the house and gave Bilbo a Cadillac. Morrissey had a contract at the Jackson Army Base at the time of the partnership agreement and later, allegedly with Bilbo's aid, got a contract at Kessler Field, Biloxi, Miss.

Should it be proved that the favorable terms accorded Bilbo in the partnership, the artificial lake, the house and the Cadillac were given to Bilbo for aid in obtaining a contract, he would be subject to the same penalties of disqualification, $10,000 fine and two years in jail.

In April, 1943, a check was deposited in the name of the "Juniper Grove Baptist Church Special Fund . . . by Sen. Bilbo." The check was from the M. T. Reed Construction Co., and the Mead investigation committee has a photostat of the check.

Bilbo is alleged to have solicited this and other contributions for the church and then retained control of the funds. If proved, this would subject him to a fine of $5000 or five years in jail.

The Mead committee confined itself to these charges (1) because as a war-contracts investigating committee, this is the extent of its jurisdiction, and (2) because, from the standpoint of political strategy, these charges may be more effective than those submitted to the Ellender committee.

These complaints have grown out of Bilbo's blatant admission that he is a Klansman and his interference with the right of Negroes to vote in the Mississippi primary. These complaints involve violations of the Hatch Act and the Civil Rights Act passed to enforce the 15th Amendment.

The Ellender committee investigators are checking the facts and the primary election. The record shows that there were 500,000 Negroes qualified to vote, but only 3000 dared cast their ballots after Bilbo's tirade calling on "red-blooded, Anglo-Saxon men of Mississippi to resort to any means" to keep Negroes from the polls, and "if you don't know what that means, you are just plain dumb." Bilbo won by a margin of 4000 votes.

Most often quoted in the complaints is Bilbo's statement on June 28 that the "best way to keep the Negro from voting is to see him the night before." The Hatch Act, Section 1, makes it unlawful "to intimidate, threaten or coerce . . . any other person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such person to vote . . ." The penalty is one year in jail, $1000 fine or both.

Bilbo's notorious letter saying "thousands of Negroes . . . especially Negro soldiers . . . are registering for the purpose of voting . . . in our Democratic primary. This these Negroes have no right to do and they must and should not be permitted to do," may be a violation of the Civil Rights Act, but the Ellender committee, with a majority of three Southern Democrats, is not likely to do much about it.

By United Press

POPLARVILLE, Miss., Nov. 2.—Sen. Bilbo cheerfully refused yesterday to comment on complaints that he had received gratuities from war contractors other than "I ain't done nothing and I ain't got nothing to say."

A Command Performance On Bilbo's Schedule

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

THEODORE BILBO always found it easy to convince his spellbound constituents of his virtue, even when it took an occasional airy dismissal of facts. But there are many people in the country who are thinking that he will not find the KILGORE Committee so gullible. Wed. 10-16-46

The committee is the lineal descendant of the famous TRUMAN Committee for investigation of war production. It is looking into charges of funny business in BILBO's conduct and his relations with war contractors.

In course of the recent primary campaign in Mississippi, Senator BILBO's opponents waved from every hustings the documentary evidence concerning a check for $25,000 which the Senator received from a contractor. "The Man's" explanations varied in tone from the injured to the defiant. To judge from his majority over four opponents combined, he had a right to think he had talked himself out of that one. But now the KILGORE Committee is going to ask the questions; and not only about the check but also about a subject much dearer to his heart—namely, his Dream House at Poplarville.

According to those who have seen the BILBO retreat, magnificent is a mildly descriptive word for it. Its opulence—and the splendor of one or two other items of the BILBO estate—has frequently been measured against the modest income of the BILBO who ten years ago was a newspaper clipper in the Department of Agriculture. It has been a source of wonder that one who subsisted thereafter on the notoriously inadequate salary of a Senator could have managed so handsome an establishment. And then there are those who remember that charges of the opposition to the effect that the Senator never paid more than $72 income tax in all the years of his public service put together, was a subject which called for much circumlocution by the Senator on the stump.

The KILGORE Committee, it is said, may want to know some of the answers. It is just too bad the members were not down in Mississippi last June, to hear the story as it was told to the voters. It was quite touching.

Drew Pearson

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Full Probe Of Bilbo Sought

Sun. 11-3-46

WASHINGTON — One of the last things done by Sen. Jim Mead before leaving Washington for his New York gubernatorial campaign was to fly in the face of the time-honored Senate rule that no senator attacks a colleague.

The colleague in this case was rabble-rousing Sen. Bilbo, of Mississippi, a fellow Democrat, and he is going to be attacked. Sen. Mead, with the cooperation of Sen. Kilgore, of West Virginia, who succeeds Mead as chairman of the old Truman committee, launched an important investigation of Bilbo which violates all the self-protection ethics of the United States Senate. They struck pay dirt.

Back in 1939 when O. John Rogge, now fired from the Justice Department, investigated the old Huey Long gang, he indicted A. B. Shushan, of New Orleans, for income tax evasion. Shushan, frantic to stop prosecution, approached Sen. Bilbo for help. Bilbo undertook to see if he could call off the Justice Department dogs and accepted $3,000 from Shushan, giving Shushan a note for that amount.

However, Bilbo was unsuccessful. John Rogge refused to drop the income tax case, whereupon Shushan demanded his money back.

Bilbo, however, didn't have the money, so $750 each was donated by Bilbo's secretary, Ed Terry, together with Grant Stewart, Robert Newton and Forrest B. Jackson, to pay off Bilbo's note to Shushan.

For about a year these men remained out of pocket. In 1941, however, Sen. Bilbo helped A. B. Friend and the Volz Construction Company get a contract to build Key Field in Meridian, Miss., at the cost of $1,515,090 with a fixed fee to the contractors of $62,175.

Whereupon A. B. Friend dug up the $3,000 previously advanced by Bilbo's secretary and friends, and finally paid off the money Bilbo had received from Shushan.

These are just a few of Sen. Bilbo's interesting operations now being investigated by his senatorial colleagues of the Mead-Kilgore committee.

Investigating Sen. Bilbo

The News Birmingham, Ala.

There are encouraging signs from Washington that the Senate, long scandalized by Sen. Bilbo, may take some action against this mouthpiece of racial prejudice and hate.

Members of two committees have pledged full and impartial inquiries of charges made against Bilbo in recent weeks.

The special committee to investigate expenditures of 1946 senatorial candidates has before it a charge made by a primary opponent that Bilbo received $25,000 from a Mississippi firm in "flagrant" violation of federal and state laws. Sen. Bridges, of New Hampshire, has termed the charges "extremely serious." Sens. Ellender, of Louisiana, and Hickenlooper, of Iowa, have joined Bridges in pledging a complete inquiry. The three make up a majority of the committee.

Sens. Bridges and Ferguson, of Michigan, have promised that the regular senatorial committee on privileges and elections will look into complaints that Bilbo's "white supremacy" campaign intimidated Negroes into staying away from the polls. Tues.

It is this committee that is concerned with over-all qualifications of men elected to the Senate. It has authority to start the proceedings to refuse a Senate seat to a man deemed disqualified. 10-29-46

Counseling the violation of the constitutional rights of American citizens to vote would certainly seem to merit the most complete investigation, with such disqualification in mind.

The Senate, of course, is traditionally reluctant to upset the choice of the voters of any state. Only in a few cases of flagrant violation of election laws has it ever disqualified a senator. So it is undoubtedly too much to hope that drastic action against Bilbo would follow, even with full disclosure of the facts.

Any investigation of his campaign tactics, however, is all to the good. It may further serve to place him in his true light as a man representing what is unhealthful in a democracy, rather than healthful.—Milwaukee Journal.

Civil Rights Congress Demands U. S. Senate Probe of Bilbo Fraud

Daily Worker New York, N. Y.

Thurs 7-4-46

The Civil Rights Congress renewed its charge yesterday that the primary race of Sen. Bilbo (D-Miss) was permeated by fraud. It issued a demand through its counsel, Emanuel Bloch, that the Department of Justice and the Senate Privileges and Election Committee immediately begin separate probes of the charges.

United Press reported that Bilbo held a slender majority over four opponents last night. It also reported that Negro votes were not being counted. Returns from all but 121 of the 1,713 precincts gave Bilbo 97,464 votes—a figure of only 2,857 more than the total of his four opponents. In Mississippi failure of one candidate to obtain a majority means a runoff primary.

Bloch, just returned from Mississippi where he had made an on-the-scene investigation, declared "the largest available reports on the outcome of the senatorial primary race make a thorough-going investigation imperative."

"The techniques used to intimidate Negro voters," Bloch asserted, "consisted of actual assaults on Negro veterans and admonition to leading Negro citizens to keep all Negro voters away from registration and from the polls and finally, continuous threats by public officials and private citizens that Negroes seeking to exercise their right of franchise would be subject to bodily harm."

Bloch asserted that investigation will confirm "that state and federal laws were willfully violated." The CRC also urged U.S. Attorney General Tom Clark to launch "immediate investigation with sufficient safeguards thrown around it to protect Negro citizens who are ready to testify and give evidence." It urged the Senate Privileges and Elections Committee to conduct a separate investigation by a distinguished group of public citizens.

The votes of Negro citizens, UP reported, were chiefly challenged in Bolivar County, which contains the all-Negro Mound Bayou community and Adams County, home of Natchez and its large Negro population. UP estimates were that 3,000 of the 5,000 registered Negro voters cast ballots and the majority were included in the count. Many polling stations impounded several hundred ballots of Negro voters on the ground that they would have supported a Republican candidate had there been one. Thurs 7-4-46

William H. Anderson, chairman of the state Democratic executive committee, said the challenged votes would be ruled by the individual county election committees with regard for the effect they would have on the statewide count. Bilbo trumpeted victory calls that the people of Mississippi had overwhelmingly approved his platform of invectives against Negroes and northern "N——r lovers."

Ross Collins, a candidate, charged Bilbo illegally received $25,000 from a contracting firm and asked a Senate investigation.

Rep. John Rankin was renominated.

NEGRO GROUP LAUDS IVES

The Times

His Pledge to Bar Bilbo From Senate Seat Acclaimed

Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council, issued a statement yesterday commending Irving M. Ives, Republican candidate for United States Senator, for Mr. Ives' assertion in a campaign address on Thursday that he would do everything in his power to keep Senator Theodore G. Bilbo from being returned to Congress. New York

Mr. Brown said his organization would urge that 200,000 signers of a petition to the Senate to deny a seat to Senator Bilbo vote for Mr. Ives on Nov. 5. The petition is being circulated by the council throughout the city and has a goal of 1,000,000 signatures. Sat. 10-26-46

HAROLD L. ICKES

The Constitution

Bilbo Ouster Is Imminent

Atlanta, Ga.

Thurs. 10-17-46

A nationwide campaign has been undertaken to exclude the Bilbo man of Mississippi from the United States Senate. (Bilbo also means "fetter.") The curtain-raising will be at a dinner tomorrow night at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City with George Marshall, Paul Robeson, Dashiell Hammett, Quentin Reynolds, Vincent Sheean, William Jay Schieffelin and others taking the lead.

Bilbo should have been regurgitated long before this. But an emetic will not now be necessary. The Senate is in a position to do an act of self-purging that would be greatly becoming. If, as alleged, this product from the canebrakes of Mississippi was elected Senator by "fraud and violence" and other unconstitutional methods, he can simply be denied the right to take the oath of office.

THE ACCEPTANCE of money by members of Congress for influence brought to bear in obtaining contracts does not seem to worry some members of Congress even when they are caught. To what extent this immoral practice has been going on no one knows for sure. But there has been enough nauseating gas escaping to arouse suspicion in the minds of many. So far as "Chanticleer" Bilbo is concerned, the charge has been made that he accepted $25,000 for obtaining a contract for a constituent. This allegation was openly made by Ross A. Collins, for many years a respected and reputable member of the House. On the authority of Mr. Collins and Clarksdale Daily Press I have made this accusation in my column. Apparently Sen. Bilbo regards the charge as too trivial for his attention.

And yet I remember that William Lorimer, of Illinois, even after he had taken his seat in the United States Senate, was expelled when it was proved that he had been elected by corrupt means. I remember that, subsequently, Frank L. Smith, of Illinois, was not allowed to take his seat because of an improper sluicing of money in his behalf, particularly by Samuel Insull, the corrupt and corrupting private utility magnate.

I REMEMBER THAT a man by the name of Newberry, of Michigan, who spent more money than was permissible under the law, was persuaded to resign from the exclusive club that now takes pride in Bilbo and O'Daniel and McCarran and Tydings. William S. Vare, of Pennsylvania, also found the Senate door shut in his face by a vote of 58 to 22 for corrupt practices.

Now these four men were Republicans who were sternly frowned upon by a Republican Senate. I wonder if a Democratic Senate wants to go down in history as having fewer scruples and lower moral standards than was the case with a Republican Senate? This is no time for the Senate merely to yawn before turning over on its other side and going soundly to sleep again.

DURING HIS PRIMARY campaign, Bilbo, apparently beginning already to show symptoms of that "inflammation of the mouth" for which he later submitted to medical treatment, went up and down the state of Mississippi intimidating Negroes and shouting that whatever means might be necessary should be adopted to keep them from voting. He had no rival in his stirring up of base race passions except former Gov. Talmadge of Georgia. Bilboism and Talmadgeism are both responsible for the brutal race riots that have broken out in some parts of the South since election day.

Certain types of whites, who themselves live on the ragged edge of an economic system that does not "pass prosperity around" cannot be altogether blamed if they take their cue from a Bilbo or a Talmadge.

PROBABLY IT WOULD have a more salutary effect on the country if Bilbo were denied his seat in the United States Senate because of his scornful flouting of the rights guaranteed to Negroes under the Constitution of the United States. Of course, a Bilbo could do this without a qualm of his atrophied conscience but certainly no man even a little higher up in the scale of civilization could raise his right hand as a United States Senator and swear with his tongue in his cheek to uphold and defend the laws and the Constitution of the United States when he would not be there at all if he had not flouted the laws and Constitution of the United States. Perhaps it is better to raise the issue against Bilbo on this clear Constitutional and moral issue. However, it should not be overlooked that previous Republican Senates excluded Republican moral misfits from membership in that body on account of the illegal and immoral use of money, damaging charges with respect to which have also been brought against Sen. Bilbo.

BILBO FACES INQUIRY BEFORE HE IS SEATED

The Times New York, N. Y.

Senate War Body Counsel Says Charges Involve Contractors' Checks, Mansion, Church

Fri. 11-1-46

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo will face hearings concerning his relations with war contractors, Francis D. Flanagan, acting chief counsel to the Senate War Investigating Committee said today.

The hearing will be held before Mr. Bilbo is due to take his seat for a third term, the committee counsel stated.

Mr. Flanagan, in a news conference he called, detailed "chief charges" against the Mississippian, as indicated from material in committee files. He disclosed that additional investigators had been sent to Mississippi in September when the Bilbo case "was put high on the agenda" of the committee.

On an election-minded Capitol Hill this development took on political significance in some quarters. The timing of the announcement was viewed as possibly being linked with thhe concededly tough fights faced by the committee's present chairman, Senator Harley M. Kilgore of West Virginia, and Senator James M. Mead of New York, who was chairman until September.

Mr. Kilgore is seeking re-election and Mr. Mead is the Democratic nominee for the Governorship of New York. There has been much pressure for action on the Bilbo case, by one Congressional committee or another.

Mr. Flanagan said that he called the news conference "on my own" in response to many inquiries. He would not say whether he had consulted any members o fthe committee.

The counsel said the committee had received numerous complaints in June, as the Mississippi primary grew warm, but had found that for a large part investigation of them was not within its jurisdiction. Such complaints, he said, were forwarded to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, headed by Senator Theodore Francis Green of Rhode Island. The Times

Allegations which involved war contracts, however, were studied, Mr. Flanagan said, and investigators were dispatched to Mississippi. By September, he said, much information was at hand. A memorandum was prepared and considered at the Sept. 25 meeting at which Senator Mead resigned the chairmanship, he said.

"It was agreed to send more investigators," he continued, "and they are still there. Senator Mead suggested that the record of the committee, when completed, be sent to the Committee on Privileges for consideration when dealing with the eligibility of members of the Senate to take their seats."

"Dream House" Under Scrutiny

New York, N. Y.

Mr. Flanagan gave details of three major charges which he said would be presented at the hearings. One concerned checks totaling $33,750 which Senator Bilbo was alleged to have accepted in 1942 from two war contractors he had aided in getting big construction contracts. Mr. Flanagan said it was indicated that Senator Bilbo used these funds, not for his own use but in the interests of another Senatorial candidate.

A second "chief charge" involved "Dream House No. 2," a dwelling erected in 1941 on an island in an eight-acre artificial lake on Senator Bilbo's estate at Poplarville Miss. Two war contractors involved in the committee investigation are alleged to have built the house, Mr. Flanagan said. A third is said to have created the lake. This charge, the committee counsel added, also involves the furnishing of the house and a high-priced automobile.

The third of the charges concerns a parsonage built during the war for the Juniper Grove Baptist Church, which adjoins the Bilbo estate. This inquiry, Mr. Flanagan said, would focus upon the collection of funds for building the parsonage, the property on which it was erected, whether it was intended and its status as to title.

"There are other allegations which involve the Senator Bilbo, Mr. Flanagan said.

Just when many Negroes were ready to vote in Mississippi for the first time, and just when Republican president of the United States. Many Negroes, they were being urged by many white and Negro supporters to go to the polls and frightened and confused, took his advice and helped reelect Bilbo such vermin as Bilbo out of public life, Howard reportedly at Howard's actions . . . After shouted, "Stop!" Howard Hall, don't the Republicans and

Sat. 7-20-46 National Re- Bilbo work harmoniously to-

gether in the Senate and House of Representatives?

Taft just couldn't live without Bilbo.

publican Committeeman from Mississippi, urged Negroes not to go to the polls on July 2, but to wait and vote in 1948 to elect a Republican.

Just when many Negroes ready to vote in Mississippi for the first time, and just when frightened and confused, took his advice and helped reelect Bilbo such vermin as Bilbo out of public life, Howard reportedly at Howard's actions . . . After shouted, "Stop!" Howard Hall, don't the Republicans and

Sat. 7-20-46 National Re- Bilbo work harmoniously to-

Perry Howard Does It Again For Bilbo

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

JACKSON, Miss. — After the . . .

MR. BILBO RELAXES AT HIS HEARING

The Senator from Mississippi listening to testimony yesterday

BILBO AIDE CARRIED 2 BANK ACCOUNTS

The Times

45a

Mississippi Financier States Secretary Wrote Funds in One Belonging to Senator

New York, N. Y.

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17—A Mississippi banker told the Senate War Investigating Subcommittee today of a mysterious special bank account carried by Edward P. Terry, former secretary to Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi. Mr. Terry is expected to testify about it tomorrow and to give details regarding his regular personal account.

The banker, J. M. Quinn, vice president of the Jackson State National Bank, at Jackson, Miss., testified that Mr. Terry opened a special account at his bank in 1937 with a deposit of $572.99. On April 8, 1940, after he had become Mr. Bilbo's secretary, he wrote Mr. Quinn that the funds in that account belonged to Senator Bilbo, and authorized the Senator to draw against them, according to testimony. Wed. 12-18-46

Account Closed and Reopened

The bank's records, which Mr. Quinn produced, showed that the account was closed and reopened several times between 1937 and 1944, and that only relatively small deposits had been made to it. The largest he mentioned was one of $1,240 on March 26, 1940.

Forrest B. Jackson, Senator Bilbo's attorney, testified that Mr. Bilbo knew nothing whatever about this account until about two weeks ago. Mr. Quinn said that the Senator had never, to his knowledge, made any deposits to the account or drawn any checks against it.

Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, then turned his attention to Mr. Terry's regular personal account at the same bank. Mr. Jackson had testified earlier, as other witnesses did yesterday, that Mr. Terry had obtained money from him from time to time, perhaps as much as $3,000, for various alleged purposes.

On one occasion, he said, his partner, D. Will Young, gave Mr. Terry $1,100 toward expenses of $1,800 Mr. Terry claimed to have incurred during Senator Bilbo's 1940 campaign. Mr. Jackson himself reimbursed Mr. Terry, he testified, for $750 which Mr. Terry subscribed toward the $3,000 needed to pay off a note held against Senator Bilbo by Abraham L. Shushan, wholesale drygoods merchant of New Orleans. He added that he might have given another $1,000 or more to the secretary at various times. The Times

Secretary's Balances Read

Turning to Mr. Quinn, Senator Ferguson wanted to know how Mr. Terry's own bank account was faring during these periods of alleged financial stringency. The banker read sample balances from his records, the largest of which was $22,532.18 on Sept. 8, 1945, about four months before he left Mr. Bilbo's employ.

When Mr. Jackson took the witness stand, Senator Ferguson asked him if he was prepared to waive all privileges in regard to questions that might be asked him which might concern his relationship as attorney with Mr. Bilbo. He said he was willing. Senator Bilbo waived any rights he might have for Mr. Jackson to withhold testimony. New York, N. Y.

Senator Ferguson asked why the "informal committee," consisting of Senator Bilbo, Mr. Jackson and Robert Gandy, had not declared its expenditures on behalf of Wall Doxey during the Senatorial campaign of 1942. Wed. 12-18-46

Mr. Jackson replied that the Mississippi Corrupt Practices Act only required "formal" campaign committees to file statements of expenditures.

"What good is a law like that?" asked Mr. Ferguson.

"It's no good," Mr. Jackson replied, "just like the Hatch Act."

Senator's Finances Examined

Mr. Jackson repeated much of his previous testimony in regard to the deal, after the primary in 1942, by which the "informal committee" tried to obtain the support for Mr. Doxey in the run-off of the organization which had unsuccessfully backed former Representative Ross Collins.

The attorney removed any intimation that his previous testimony might have carried that Mr. Collins himself asked for, or obtained, any of the $11,000 that was subsequently paid to Cecil Travis, a friend and supporter of Collins.

For the rest of the day the testimony centered around Senator Bilbo's finances in Poplarville, where he lives, and the Juniper Grove Baptist Church, of which he is sponsor and patron. Herbert H. McLeod, a representative of the Federal Land Bank system, said that the Senator had carried mortgages since 1935 totaling $15,000 on two different farms, and that the amount had now been reduced to about $10,000.

Robert M. Newton, president of the Bank of Commerce of Poplarville, and no relation to F. T. Newton, the Hattiesburg contractor who contributed $25,000 to Mr. Bilbo for the 1942 Doxey campaign, said his bank held mortgages from Mr. Bilbo, reduced to about $8,800 from $9,500.

Mr. Newton was one of the four men who made up the $3,000 to pay the Shushan note in 1940, and described himself as an old friend of the Senator. Mr. Ferguson asked how long Mr. Bilbo had been indebted to the bank.

"He isn't old enough to know," Mr. Bilbo said in an audible aside, pointing to Mr. Newton, who is a man of middle age.

Church Account Now $1,200

Mr. Newton testified that the special account for the Juniper Grove Baptist Church, on which Mr. Bilbo alone can draw, had amounted to as much as $28,000, and was now at a level around $1,200. Most of Mr. Bilbo's friends have testified to contributing to this church fund, one contractor having given $3,500.

The subcommittee's interest in the parsonage springs from the fact that the land on which it stands belongs to Senator Bilbo. The Senator brought in today the copy of a deed conveying the land to the church, but Mr. Jackson explained that the instrument was only deposited with the chancery clerk of Pearlriver County in escrow by verbal arrangement to protect the church against creditors seizing the property in the event of Mr. Bilbo's death.

Upon completion of the parsonage, Mr. Jackson said, it is the intention of Senator Bilbo to record the deed so that title would be legally vested in the congregation of the church.

The Rev. D. Wade Smith, former Army chaplain and now pastor of the church testifying today, tempered derogatory statements he is alleged to have made to an investigator for the subcommittee and another for the Bureau of Internal Revenue. They reported him as complaining that the parsonage was too large to be maintained by a preacher on a salary of $2,600 a year.

They also reported that he said he was forced to build a house for himself, upon going to Poplarville to live, because Senator Bilbo would not permit the parsonage to be finished. 12-18-46

Today the Rev. Mr. Smith said he had built his own house because he had always wanted to have a home, and had used his veteran's priorities to get materials.

Bilbo Confident All Is Well; Gets Ready For New Investigation

The Times

Birmingham, Ala.

Fri. 12-6-46

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 6—(AP)—Mississippi's uninhibited Sen. Theo G. Bilbo, confident that "everything is lovely—righteousness will prevail," prepared today to leave for Washington and a second bout of Senate committee investigation.

To one committee which spent four days investigating assertions that his campaign speeches incited violence and disfranchisement of Negroes, Bilbo yesterday said he had "no apology" for his advocacy of white supremacy and control, but he denied counselling violence or illegal acts in last Summer's Democratic primary.

* * *

"THE MAN'S" new engagement is with another committee investigating his alleged relations with war contractors. Bilbo said he would be there when the hearings opened Dec. 12, and expected "fine sailing."

Sen. Ellender (D., La.), chairman of the committee which conducted the hearings here, said he expected a unanimous report from that group, commenting that "the record gives just about the line of testimony I anticipated."

He said a preliminary report would be ready Dec. 16 and the final version in time for the convening of Congress.

Taking the stand in his own behalf before the committee yesterday, Bilbo testified in an approximation of his stump-speaking manner. A crowd that packed the federal courtroom broke into frequent laughter despite the pounding and shouting of attendants.

* * *

THE SENATOR SAID that when he recommended visiting Negroes the night before an election, he was not suggesting intimidation but merely that they should be reasoned with to avoid trouble.

He never counselled violence against Negroes, he said.

His position on Negro voting, he added was that Mississippi Negroes were Republicans and therefore legally disqualified from participation in Democratic primaries.

Bilbo denounced "outside enterference" by the CIO, "the Communists," "Time," "Colliers," commentators and various organizations which opposed him.

He grinned and agreed that he had said, "Claire Booth Luce is the greatest Nigger lover in the North except Old Lady Eleanor Roosevelt."

During its four-day session, the committee heard testimony from many Negroes about alleged beatings, intimidation and discrimination in registration and voting, and some contradicting testimony from officials and white citizens.

customary alphabetical system to take his oath. At that point in the proceedings the holdover membership would find the Democrats still in the majority.

Some Republicans agreed privately that it may be necessary to delay the Bilbo test until he and all others are actually sworn and seated. At that time the Democrats will be outnumbered, 51 to 45.

The Times * Birmingham, Ala.

TERRY WAS LISTED as a first day witness before the investigating subcommittee last Thursday,

scrutiny, advised his Republican colleagues meanwhile they might as well drop their plans to keep him fom taking the oath when the Senate meets Jan. 3.

"They can't stop me at the door," the 69-year-old Mississippi politician told a reporter. "They haven't got a scratch on me. Besides, my name is Bilbo."

This was a reference to the fact that he did the letter "B" the Mississippian was one of the first under the

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nce in landing war work.

* * *

HIMSELF, who shouted

eat Saturday that he did

damn dollar" of the $25,-

tractor hope to learn the "inside story" this week from Edward P. Terry, the Mississippi lawmaker's former secretary.

Attorneys for the war investigating subcommittee whose hearings have been marked by blows and brickbats, said they expected the once missing Terry to be on hand for today's session. But Dr. H. C. Watkins said at Quitman, Miss., last night that no decision on travel plans for his patient would be made until after a checkup today.

The committee planned to go ahead with its hearing by calling additional contractors. It is inquiring into reports that Bilbo accepted cash and expensive gifts in return for assistance in landing war work.

* * *

BILBO HIMSELF, who shouted at Saturday that he did not get "a damn dollar" of the $25,000 political fund handed to Sen. Theo-

Bilbo Investigators Hope For Full Story From Ex-Secretary

The News

But Doctor Says No Plans Made Yet For His Patient To Travel

Birmingham, Ala.

BY EDWIN B. HAAKINSON

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16—(AP)—Senators digging into the $25,000 political fund handed to Sen. Theo-

but failed to appear after writing the investigating group that the "lives of my wife and daughter" as well as his own had been threatened by unknown persons.

The committee called upon FBI agents to aid in the search and Terry turned up in a hospital at Quitman. Served with a subpoena, he assured committee aids he would return to Washington as soon as his doctor permits. He said he had suffered a heart attack.

Hearings On Bilbo Are Ended

The Call
Kansas City, Mo.

Committee Likely To Recommend Denial of Seat

Fri. 12-13-46

JACKSON, Miss.— (NNPA) — Chairman Allen J. Ellender of the Senate campaign investigating committee at the close of hearings here Thursday wished for a unanimous report absolving Senator Theodore G. (The Man) Bilbo of responsibility for denial to colored people of the right to vote in the July 2 Mississippi Democratic primary.

Ellender, who hails from the neighboring state of Louisiana where methods similar to those used in Mississippi are employed to suppress the colored vote apparently is not likely to get his wish.

Guilt Well Established

Bilbo's guilt appears to be sufficiently established by the evidence given the committee to warrant Senators Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire, and Bourke B. Hickenlooper, of Iowa, Republican members of the five-man committee, in recommending that he be denied the oath of office for a third term beginning January 3. They were instructed to submit recommendations to the Republican conference called for December 30.

A preliminary committee report is expected to be ready by December 16 and the final report in time for the convening of Congress.

Meanwhile, another hearing by the Senate war investigating committee was scheduled to begin in Washington, December 12 into charges that Bilbo accepted gratuities from Mississippi war contractors. The outcome of these hearings also are expected to have a bearing on his fitness to sit in the Senate as a member of the 80th Congress.

50 Witnesses Heard

During the four-day hearing the committee heard more than 50 witnesses testify that they were prevented from registering or voting either by force, intimidation or persuasion, or had been afraid to attempt to register or vote.

The hearings ended Thursday with Bilbo vigorously denying he incited violence or intimidation, but admitting that he did not believe that colored people generally were qualified to vote in the Mississippi Democratic primary.

In his statement to the committee Bilbo said:

"Please let me call your attention to the fact that this is the first Democratic primary held in Mississippi in 56 years where the Negro ctizens of the state have offered or attempted to vote, and you can readily appreciate the keen interest that was aroused throughout the state among the white Democratic voters as well as the great opposition such attempt aroused in the minds of all people. It is true that heretofore a great many of our Negro citizens have registered, qualified and voted in our general elections, but not since 1890 has there been any attempt on the part of the Negroes to participate in the Democratic primaries in Mississippi.

"It has been my contention and the contention of practically all of the Democratic voters of Mississippi that no Negro was qualified to vote in a Democratic primary even if qualified to vote in a general election.

Bilbo declared: "If I am to be censured and condemned and denied a seat in the U. S. Senate because of my views and convictions honestly entertained, I do not hesitate to say that every Senator, Congressman, Governor and State official in Mississippi for 56 years must likewise be censured and condemned." All, he asserted, have entertained the same views on the exercise of the franchise by colored people.

Ignoring so-called senatorial courtesy, Senator Hickenlooper cross-questioned Bilbo when he finished his prepared statement.

"Did you tell an audience that Clare Boothe Luce (retiring Republican representative from Connecticut) was 'the greatest n—— lover in the North except for Old Lady Eleanor Roosevelt,'" he asked.

Grinning crookedly, Bilbo retorted: "I sure did; it's true, you know."

Asked if he had advised horsewhipping certain colored persons, he squirmed: "No, what I advocated was ridin' 'em out of town on a rail," and it wasn't true, he added, that he had proposed "atomically bombing and exterminating the Negro Progressive Voters' League."

"The Man" conceded that he had urged the whites to "see the n—— the night before election" if any of them indicated an intention to vote in the Democratic primary. But he insisted that he meant vocal, not physical violence.

Blaming all the trouble on "outside meddlers like the CIO, PAC, Walter Winchell, Drew Pearson, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Civil Rights Committee," Bilbo lisped:

"Sidney Hillman didn't give a damn about the Negro or his family down here when he sent in money. He was just after political control. That kind of organizer oughta be rode out of town on a rail—and tar-and-feathered, too."

He admitted that he "advised every red-blooded man in Mississippi" to resort to any means—but he said he specified "legal means"—to keep colored people from the polls last July.

Insisting that colored people could qualify to vote in the Democratic primary, Bilbo said there were "two whole wings" of the Republican Party from which they could choose.

After Bilbo completed his testimony, Forrest Jackson, his counsel, called several white political leaders, most of whom said they were political opponents of the Senator. They all testified that Bilbo had not incited any violence or denial of civil rights, and that his views on the "white primary" for the Democrats of Mississippi agreed with theirs.

Camille Thomas of Natchez, a former WAC lieutenant, said her right to vote was challenged at the polls and that she had been "very much frightened" by Bilbo speeches.

"Isn't it common knowledge that for years there has been a feeling in Mississippi and other states that only white people should vote in primaries," asked Senator Ellender.

"It may be common knowledge, but it has never been accepted by Negroes," she answered. The witness recited inflammatory portions of Bilbo's speeches, in which the senator called "on every red blooded white man" to keep the colored people away from the polls.

Another witness, Samuel K. Phillips of Holly Springs, said he was stopped from voting in the Democratic primary on the ground that he actually was a Republican which he denied. He advocated that colored Mississippians be permitted to form their own party.

Several witnesses related delays and excuses given them by the officials which made it impossible to register. The Rev. R. S. Bostick, Grenada, said the sheriff warned him to stay away from the polls lest trouble develop and that, as a result, other colored people didn't even try to vote.

Emanuel P. Bloch, counsel for the Civil Rights Congress of New York City, said after the hearings closed that his organization would demand additional public hearings in Washington.

"Senator Ellender's conduct as chairman of the investigating committee was shocking," he said. "In his zealousness to act as special pleader for Senator Bilbo, Senator Ellender violated every tenet of ethics and propriety, and overlooked the fact that he was sitting as an impartial judge sifting the evidence."

Two witnesses from Greenwood told the committee last Wednesday that they were paid $25 each by white citizens to advise 32 registered colored war veterans not to vote.

J. D. Collins, a well-to-do shoe repairman, testified the white men "asked" him to circulate their advice among the colored veterans.

The other, A. C. Montgomery, a taxicab owner, said that the white men "told" them to keep the colored veterans from voting.

Both witnesses agreed that the white men told them they feared trouble if the colored veterans voted in the primary because of a speech Bilbo had made in an adjoining county in which he urged that all means be employed to keep colored people away from the polls.

Shelby Steel, white insurance agent, and Mayor Allen Stafford confirmed the witnesses' statements except that both denied testimony by Collins that they told him Bilbo's speeches "had stirred up a lotta hell."

Policeman Robert L. Williams of Gulfport, subpenaed by the senators, said that he arrested Richard E. Daniel outside the Gulfport city hall on election day. Daniel testified last Wednesday that Williams had beaten him insensible in the jail after he tried unsuccessfully to vote and that he had created no disturbance. Williams said Daniel had been arrested for creating a disturbance outside the city hall.

The policeman, who is 6 feet 6 inches tall, said he was called to help a deputy sheriff handle Daniel after the latter began "cursing and cutting up." Daniel resisted a routine search at the jail, Williams said, and the officer struck him "two or three times with my open hand in the mouth." Under questioning as to why force was needed to subdue Daniel, a short and slender man, Williams said the deputy sheriff "could not handle him without creating a lot of disturbance around some ladies who were there." Shown some stained clothing Daniel had produced as evidence, Williams said Daniel had bled from a cut lip and the stains might have resulted from this blow.

Dr. M. S. Love, Gulfport physician told of treating injuries to Daniel and Barnado Collier, who testified of being assaulted there. Dr. Love testified that he did not vote, that colored people generally are afraid to vote in Mississippi, and that their fear may have been increased by Bilbo's speeches.

Mighty Is The Man, But Truth Prevails

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky. Wed. 12-18-46

If Theodore G. Bilbo is not to be barred from his seat in the Senate, it is safe to say that his influence in that body has been destroyed for good and all. The shoddy record of his continued, shameless exploitation of high office, his avidity to accept financial favors from one and all, if you want to call his transactions that, has become nauseating. And this time he won't be able to shout it all away as the lying emanation of damyankees and Communistic plotters against Mississippi's Anglo-Saxon purity. He isn't, in short, standing on the pine-scented hustings and talking to a crowd of infatuated or inflamed constituents.

The weight of testimony to the effect of Bilbo's moral unfitness is getting to be just about overwhelming. Cadillac cars and an artificial lake, a Dream House and loans passing hands in furtive meetings, promissory notes taken by gentlemen who sought business from the Government or required influence to escape legal jams—they are piling up on the debit side of the Senator's ledger. The lake goes dry. The dream wavers into a nightmare.

Those who are acquainted with the folklore of a Bilbo know exactly what to expect. "The Man," we don't doubt, is quite likely to admit it all. To do so has always been his brazen technique. But we shall hear him blithely asserting that there was nothing like a shakedown in any of it. There was nothing, we shall be asked to believe, except the kindly purposes of great-hearted friends, nature's noblemen, indeed, showing tributes of affection, or perhaps volunteering unsought assistance to a temporarily embarrassed chum. What, the Senator will thunder (if his lack of a lower plate permits such tones), is wrong about that? And then will come the Scriptural injunctions.

But we are greatly mistaken if the country fails to discern the shocking portrait of a senator as a fixer—for a price. And even the camaraderie and the prerogative of the most indulgent logrolling club on earth will hardly be stout enough to stand against that, we guess. The twilight of The Bilbo descends. It isn't funny.

12-18-46

Bilbo Again

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Having apparently weathered one Congressional investigation, Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi last week was undergoing another. Ten days ago a special Senate Campaign Investigating Committee concluded hearings in Mississippi's capital city of Jackson of charges that Mr. Bilbo had incited intimidation of Negroes to keep them from voting in the State Democratic primary last July. There were indications that he would be cleared. Last week another matter was being probed. In Washington the Senate's War Investigating subcommittee delved into Mr. Bilbo's alleged financial relations with war contractors in Mississippi.

One charge was that in 1942 the Senator had accepted $25,000 from F. H. Newton, a contractor of Hattiesburg, Miss., and had used the money to help pay campaign expenses of some of his friends. Yesterday Mr. Bilbo, without taking the witness stand, told the committee that he "didn't get a damn dollar" of the money.

Sun.

The committee hearings were stormy. At one point former Representative Ross Collins of Mississippi, one of the instigators of the present investigation, resented a witness' implications that said: "I have fought Bilbo for thirty-he had been friendly with Senator five years." 12-15-46
Bilbo. He knocked the witness off the stand. Then, breathing heavily, he

Man To Man

The Advertiser

By Harold L. Ickes

United States Senate—Not Bilbo—Is On Trial In Current Hearings

Montgomery, Ala.

A Senate subcommittee has been weighing Senator Bilbo's right to his seat. Witnesses have told, under oath, that the Negroes, who are approximately equal in number to the whites in Mississippi, did not go to the polls because of intimidation. Other evidence has been to the effect that Bilbo has accepted money and other gifts in such amounts and in such circumstances as to raise a grave question as to his legal or moral right to continue in the Senate. Mon. 12-30-46

Many believe that Senator Bilbo is on trial. This is not the fact. It is the Senate of the United States that is on trial.

Some who like to speculate, have concluded that the Democrats will out-maneuver the Republicans, who will constitute a majority in the next Senate, with the result that Senator Bilbo will be given the oath of office. In other words, they are persuaded that moral and constitutional doubts with reference to Bilbo will be decided on the basis of cynical politics. I do not share such a low opinion of the Democratic senators as to believe that they will vote for Bilbo just because he is a Democrat, because he is much else besides. Moreover, I cannot think of anything that would do the Democratic party more harm than for it to wallow in that disgusting political putrefaction that goes under the name of Bilboism.

Plenty Of Precedent

A majority of the Senate can deny Bilbo the right to take the oath of office, whereas it would require a two-thirds majority to expel him. In 1926 Frank L. Smith, of Illinois, and William S. Vare, of Pennsylvania, both Republicans, were denied the right to take the oath of office by a Senate that contained a Republican majority. Both Smith and Vare were charged with spending too much money in the primary elections of that year. In the case of Smith, the resolution denying him the right of membership was on the ground that the expenditure of excessive sums of money was "contrary to sound public policy, harmful to the dignity of the Senate, dangerous to the perpetuity of the free government, and tainted with fraud and corruption."

The campaigns of Frank L. Smith and William S. Vare were snowwhite when compared with that of Theodore G. Bilbo. Will the Senate find that the money and other gifts accepted by Bilbo were less "harmful to the dignity and honor of the Senate" than anything that was done by either Smith or Vare? William Lorimer of Illinois was seated as a Republican and subsequently expelled (again by a Republican Senate) and Truman H. Newberry of Michigan, another Republican resigned at the suggestion of the Republican leadership, rather than run the risk of expulsion. Has the Democratic leadership advised Bilbo to resign?

"To Protect and Defend"

Evidence has been produced to show that Senator Bilbo was guilty also of accepting money for the exercise of senatorial influence in a drug addict case. He besought war contracts for constituents and friends from whom he received cash and other presents. He intimidated the Negro voters of his state, incited to violence, and insisted upon a denial of constitutional rights.

In a column released as of Oct. 16, I called attention to the Smith and Vare cases and suggested that when Bilbo presented himself to take the oath of office, he should be denied that privilege. It would be a ghastly farce for this man to raise his right hand and swear to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, after having openly flouted that Constitution. Nor would those senators who might stultify themselves and make a mock of our institutions by voting for Bilbo fail to be regarded, in public estimation, as standing on the same level with Bilbo himself. It would be difficult to respect a Senate that would admit Bilbo on the record that he himself has tailored. Mon. 12-30-46

And so, I say that it is the Senate that is on trial. It has the power and the constitutional right, it may even be suggested that it has the moral obligation to bar the doors of the Senate to a political pariah. As a senator, Bilbo would only degrade the Senate as he has disgraced his party by flaunting his contempt for the Constitution that he has sworn, over and over again, to uphold and defend.

The United States Senate cannot afford to become an accessory after the fact in political high crimes and misdemeanors that would make a mockery of public morality and strike at the heart of our institutions.

The Yardstick for Bilbo

Jennings Perry

PM New York, N.Y.

JACKSON, TENN.

Will they seat The Man next week? I'm afraid they will, and it will be a pity for many reasons, one being simply that the world would be a brighter place without a Theo. G. Bilbo in the U. S. Senate. It could help the pursuit of happiness along.

Will the Democrats back Bilbo at the showdown? I'm afraid they will—all or almost all. Some will vote to seat him out of "party loyalty," though it should be apparent to any Democrat that Bilbo is one of the party's greatest liabilities; that to allow him to claim sanctuary under the party name will be a stupidity even more costly than the attempt to pull through Rep. Andrew J. May of Kentucky at the general election.

Perry

Most of the Democrats, even the Southern ones, will have to hold their noses to give the highball for Bilbo. But some of the Democrats, especially the *Southern ones*, will vote to seat The Man, because they feel they must in deference to and in defense of the system under which they themselves win elections.

It has been pointed out by several excellent wits that the coming test is not upon the fitness of the nasty little Mississippian but actually upon the quality of the whole Senate membership, since the "most exclusive club" is the sole judge of the qualifications of its members. But to me this is too neat a pinning of the blame. Certainly for so great a nation, seeking to live in order under the law, some stouter safeguard should have been erected long ago.

There was, it seems to me—and now, if ever, it seems to me, is the time it should be taken down and dusted off and put to the use for which it was intended. I mean the constitutional requirement that the representation of any state in Congress shall be reduced proportionately as the state may trangress upon the right of its citizens to vote. Mon. 12-30-46

The Bilbo question cried for surgery. But why should the august Senate probe around with nutpicks for some minor wen on Bilbo's record that could "justify" a severance of his claim upon a Senate seat? Why open up his festering race phobia already so well known? Why pick at his inglorious relations with war contractors, with narcotic addicts, with un-American prejudice groups in his own and other states? Why not seize the scalpel specially and wisely provided in the surgical chest of the Constitution itself and cut out the malignant condition of which Bilbo is not the cause but the result?

The only excuse that will or can be given by those Senators who will vote to seat Bilbo is that, repulsive though he may be, he was elected by the people of his state. But this is a most transparent fiction and an exceedingly shoddy one. Everybody knows that Bilbo has never in his life had to face a free election: that only a fringe of the population of Mississippi still has the vote; that the vast majority of the people of Mississippi continually and systematically is excluded from the ballot box. 12-30-46

The intent of the Constitution toward this situation is quite clear. To bar Bilbo from the Senate next Friday it would be sufficient for the sergeant-at-arms to read aloud the plain language that fits his case, the Constitutional requirement that he be barred.

The "people" of Mississippi did not elect Bilbo; a handful of Mississippi people did. But a state is all of its people, not a privileged coterie, and it no more can be said that "Mississippi spoke" in Bilbo's election than that Bilbo now should have the right to speak for Mississippi in the national legislature. The crime lies less at the man's door than at the door of the wretched electoral system that produced him. The Senate may, if it chooses, bar him on the grounds that he is personally obnoxious; but what is obnoxious to our form of government, and pointedly made punishable in our basic charter, is the state of oliliarchy that exists behind him.

I don't expect the Senate to remember this or to act upon it, and its failure to do so will be, I am sure, the gravest pity of all.

Campaign to Oust Bilbo Raises Weighty Issues

The Afro American Baltimore, Md.

Minority Leaders Hold Constitutional Violations Supersede Fees for Contract

Sat. 12-21-46

By RALPH MATTHEWS

WASHINGTON

One of the most important lessons brought out by the probe into the financial activities of Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (Dem., Miss.), now in progress in the Senate Office Building is that intolerance and dishonesty go hand in hand.

It seems like poetic justice that, so far, the only two officeholders exposed for helping to mulct Uncle Sam out of millions for the benefit of their friends were also the most vociferous champions of white supremacy.

Constitutional Issue

However, there is another point of view subscribed to by most race leaders and endorsed by both Charles H. Houston, NAACP counsel, and Edgar G. Brown, who pushed the ouster petition campaign.

These opine that all other methods should be secondary to the constitutional issue of preventing colored citizens from voting.

Mr. Houston contends that the main objective is not to get Bilbo. The Man, but to render a death blow to Bilboism, a fascist philosophy of racial superiority that is spreading.

If Bilbo can be ousted on the white primary issue, a precedent can be established to unseat other Dixie solons who owe their hold on Congress, and hence the nation, to the same political system which makes Bilbo almost invincible.

Ellender's Fear

That is why Senator Ellender of Louisiana, while ostensibly con-

cadetships to West Point.

corps of scientists, was d

eliminate race prejudice

ing our soldiers that th

of the world with whom

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brothers under the skin.

Watch Demagogues

While leading the fig

the FEPC, which simply sought to

guarantee all citizens

earn a living in the

The Case of Al Capone

They cite the case of Al Capone, the Chicago racketeer, as a precedent. Chicago police were unable to pin him down, although it was hardly a secret that he was the brains of the bootleg racket and believed responsible for many gang murders.

But the Federal Government moved in and sent him to Atlanta prison for income tax invasion. Supporters of this theory contend that the Bilbo ouster should be accomplished by using all leading

If both the rectal vote intimida

tion charge and the war contract

probe fail, it is felt that the FBI

should then probe the tip dropped

by Drew Pearson that Bilbo sold

objective is to keep the Mississip-

pian from taking his seat and, if

this cannot be accomplished on

the racial issue, that the war con-

tract probe should be pushed

Bilbo by any means at hand.

was designed to

judice by teach-

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whom they came

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hue, were all

skin.

Congressman May

It was Congressman May who

kept the War Department from

distributing the widely-discussed

pamphlet, "The Races of Man

kind," to members of the Armed

Forces.

This booklet, compiled by a

A few months ago, it was Congressman May of Kentucky who was also engaged in helping his congressional friends in Mississippi to tunes at the expense of the help payers.

Thus we see that prejudice and dishonesty go arm in arm. Ameri-

come suspicious everytime a dem-

rich

profits from the nation while men were bleeding and dying in the fox-

holes, in the air, and on the seas

ca would do well to recognize this

combination for what it is, and be-

come suspicious everytime a dem-

ocrat lifts his voice.

Ouster Debated

At present, there are two schools of thought on efforts to oust Bilbo from the Senate. One group around Capitol Hill would consider it a victory to rid the

ducting the Bilbo probe in Mississippi in the interest of the nation, sought in reality to whitewash Bilbo. Sat. 12-21-46

Instead of pressing the probe, he assumed the role of Bilbo's defense attorney and tried to discredit and intimidate witnesses who appeared against him.

Important Brief Ready

One of the best jobs done on the Bilbo case so far is a 90-page brief drawn up by Congressman Charles Lafolette of Indiana, which is being used as a guide in the Senate ouster proceedings.

Mr. Lafolette spent several months searching Congressional records for precedents to be used.

He, too, insists that no issue other than the one involved in the denial of the right to vote to colored citizens should be used.

Old Maryland Case

He has cited numerous cases covering more than 50 years to show how Senators-elect and Congressmen have been denied their seats.

One of the most interesting is the case of Phillip F. Thomas of Maryland, who was denied his seat in the 40th Congress in 1867. The Marylander was accused of giving his own son a gift of $100 and his blessing when he went off to join the Confederacy.

This was considered sufficient to make him unfit to sit in the Senate of the United States and he was not permitted to take the oath of office.

Bilbo has repeatedly expressed opinions and ideas which show a contempt for the Constitution of the United States by flaunting the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. His opponents contend that contempt for any portion of the Constitution is contempt for the whole.

'The Man' Gives Testimony Advocating White Supremacy

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Fri. 12-6-46

By EDMOND Le BRETON

JACKSON, MISS., Dec. 5—(AP)—Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, "The Man," of Mississippi, stood pat on his advocacy of "white supremacy and white control" but denied flatly to investigating senators today that he had advocated violence or illegal acts against Negroes during his primary campaign.

The unruffled senator, his diamond horseshoe stickpin sparkling in the glare of camera flashes and newsreel floodlights, slipped into his stump speaking manner as he reviewed the campaign last Summer in which he was nominated for a third term in the Senate.

He declared that when he said organizers should be "ridden out of town on a rail" and when "I suggested taking some tar and feathers along and not forgetting a match," he was talking about CIO men trying to organize Negroes—not about the Negroes themselves.

Bilbo told the Senate committee, which came to Jackson to look into a petition seeking to have the senator refused his seat, that he had violated no laws when he asserted Negroes should be kept from voting in the primary. He complained that newspapers misquoting him by omitting the phrase "by any lawful means." Mississippi Negroes are Republicans, Bilbo asserted, and therefore ineligible to vote in Democratic primaries.

The senator's personal appearance, in a Federal courtroom packed to the last inch of standing space by both white persons and Negroes, was the climax to the closing session of the four-day hearing.

Evidence received earlier from more than 50 witnesses included statements, often contradicted, that Negroes had been beaten, struck, taken to jail for disturbing the peace, and otherwise prevented from registering or voting during the campaign.

Sen. Hickenlooper (R), Iowa, questioned the Mississippian at length on newspaper accounts of his campaign, and Bilbo frequently turned the examination into a crackling interchange of quips.

Asked about a reported statement that "Clare Booth Luce is the greatest nigger lover in the North except old lady Eleanor Roosevelt," Bilbo grinned and answered, "I said that."

His enunciation impared by a recent mouth operation, Bilbo paused occasionally to speak distinctly.

He listened to another reported quotation, "the people of Mississippi are sitting on a volcano. There is a nationwide effort to integrate niggers into the social life of the country."

"I subscribe to that," Bilbo said. "If I didn't say it, I wish I had."

But he denied saying that anyone should be horsewhipped, that Negroes trying to vote should have gasoline poured on them, or that the leaders of the Mississippi Progressive Voters League, one of the organizations opposing him, should be "atomically bombed and exterminated from the surface of the earth."

The committee, headed by Senator Ellender (D), Louisiana, planned to return to Washington immediately to begin work on a report for presentation at the beginning of the new session of Congress in January. The report may make a recommendation as to whether Bilbo should be seated, or may merely summarize the evidence, attaches said. The committee gave no hint.

Another hearing, on Bilbo's alleged relations with war contractors is scheduled by a different group in Washington, Dec. 12.

Drop Bar to Bilbo In Favor of Boot

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 27—(AP)—Republicans Friday dropped plans to try to bar Sen. Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, from taking his seat Jan. 3 in favor of a campaign designed to oust him later.

The strategy was considered at a closed-door session of the Republican Steering Committee but a final decision was postponed pending the meeting Monday of the entire Republican Senate delegation. Sat. 12-28-46

A Senator who attended Friday's committee meeting reported the anti-Bilbo strategists have decided that he can be ousted by majority vote after the new members have been sworn in and the Republicans attain their 51-to-49 majority.

Only 59 men will have taken the oath and be fully qualified Senators when the eightieth Congress convenes at noon Jan. 3. Of these, 31 are Democrats and 28 Republicans. Thus, if voting followed party lines, the Republicans would be better off to wait. New and re-elected members are sworn in four at a time in alphabetical order and Bilbo would be in the first batch.

The effort to oust the 69-year-old Mississippian probably will be based on one or more of three allegations looked into by investigating committees:

1. That he solicited contributions from war contractors.

2. That he received money from a narcotics addict after getting the Narcotics Bureau to waive objections to supplying the addict with a daily morphine ration.

3. That he tried to intimidate Negroes to keep them from voting in last Summer's primary when he was renominated over four opponents.

Sen. Ferguson, of Michigan, the lone Republican on the War Investigating Subcommittee which looked into Bilbo's relations with war contractors, telegraphed Chairman Mead, Democrat, New York, Friday asking that the hearing be reopened Monday on the narcotics phase.

Ferguson said he wants to get direct testimony on the narcotics angle from two doctors—A. J. Podesta, of Vicksburg, Miss., and James Logan, of Natchez — and from John Carr, of Natchez, described in previous testimony as a narcotics addict.

Dr. Harry J. Anslinger, head of the Federal Narcotics Bureau, testified that after a conference with Bilbo over a letter Bilbo had received from Podesta, he wrote that the Narcotics Bureau had no objection to Logan prescribing two grains of morphine a day for Carr. Anslinger explained that the narcotic law permits such a ration for addicts whose lives would be in danger without it.

Later, Anslinger testified, he was told by a Federal agent that Carr sent Bilbo $1,500 through Podesta.

Bilbo denied receiving any money for such a service although he said he did receive a contribution from Podesta for a church parsonage fund he was collecting.

Parliamentary experts said Bilbo would continue to draw pay as a Senator until such time as the Senate might declare his seat vacant. If he were ousted, the Senate would adopt a resolution declaring his seat vacant and notify the Governor of Mississippi.

Primary Elections (Mississippi--Probe)

Ellender Whitewash Of Bilbo Not Assured, GOP Prober Says

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

45a-8

BULLETIN

NEW YORK—In his Sunday night broadcast, Walter Winchell, noted radio commentator and news columnist, said a big scandal was in the making over the recent probe of Bilbo's anti-Negro activities in Mississippi during his campaign for re-election. He charged that Senator Ellender of Louisiana, chairman of the senate committee, and the committee's attorney, with being "unfaithful in the proceedings," saying they acted as defense counsel for the Mississippi senator. He also charged that Ellender had made financial contributions to Bilbo's successful campaign.

Sat. 12-14-46

WASHINGTON—As members of the Senate committee probing charges that Sen. Theodore Bilbo has been instrumental in denying the vote to Negroes in Mississippi during his recent campaign for reelection reconvened here to draw up their report a sharp division of opinion became evident.

Committee Chairman Ellender, Louisiana Democrat, predicted as the hearing terminated in Jackson that Bilbo would be cleared by a unanimous decision of the committee.

This statement was promptly challenged by Sen. Hickenlooper, Republican of Iowa, who announced publicly that he had not yet made up his mind. Hickenlooper and other Republican members of the investigating committee have been directed by their party steering committee to direct the opposition to the seating of Bilbo when the 80th Congress convenes on Jan. 3.

The committee was meeting early this week to prepare a preliminary report. Its final report, Ellender said, would be ready for the opening of Congress.

Meanwhile preparations were under way for the opening early this week of another investigation by a Senate committee into the campaign expenditures of the Mississippi demagogue. It is charged that Bilbo accepted gratuities from Mississippi war contractors to the tune of $30,000, some of which were used to finance his campaign of last summer.

Chairman Mead, New York Democrat, promised that the committee would study all relevant facts. Thirty witnesses have already been summoned to appear before the committee which is holding its hearings in the nation's capital.

Meanwhile, Bilbo, arrogant and assured, announced that if he is unseated, he will be a candidate again in a special election which must be held 90 days after a vacancy occurs according to Mississippi law.

Hickenlooper's statement in reference to the recent hearings was regarded as significant here. Until he spoke there was widespread belief that Bilbo was to be white-washed on the charges brought against him by Negroes.

Hickenlooper declared, "Republicans are not engaged in any plot" to either retain or reject Bilbo. "The question," he said, "is not a partisan political issue but rests entirely upon the propriety of the individual, regardless of what party he belongs to."

Negroes, displaying a courage few whites suspected, converted the Mississippi hearings from a routine inquiry into a first class probe by appearing in scores to testify against methods employed by Bilbo to garner white votes in his last campaign.

Sat. 12-14-46

Without being summoned several hundred indicated a desire to testify, and if all had been heard, the hearings would have continued for several weeks.

Ellender cut the hearings short with the statement that the testimony was repetitious and added nothing more to the evidence supporting charges that Bilbo had been responsible for intimidating Negro voters.

In a face-saving act, Bilbo himself, admitted statements ascribed to him but said that everyone, including news reporters, had overlooked a phrase he had always used in talking about keeping Negroes from the polls.

This phrase, he said, was one urging whites to stay within the law.

Hickenlooper questioned Bilbo at length on newspaper accounts of his campaign, and Bilbo frequently turned the examination into a crackling interchange of quips.

Hickenlooper asked whether the sum total of Senator Bilbo's campaign remarks were designed to keep the Negroes from the polls." Bilbo turned the question back by replying: "No, I didn't want the Negroes to vote. Would you, if you knew they would vote against you?"

He listened to another reported quotation, "The people of Mississippi are sitting on a volcano. There is a nation-wide effort to integrate niggers into the social life of the country."

"I subscribe to that," Bilbo said. "If I didn't say it, I wish I had."

He denied saying that anyone should be horsewhipped, that Negroes trying to vote should have gasoline poured on them, or that the leaders of the Mississippi Progressive Voters' League, one of the organizations opposing him, should be "atomically bombed and exterminated from the surface of the earth."

Bilbo was on the stand an hour and 35 minutes. He was followed by a group of white attorneys, many of them his political opponents, who agreed that his racial creed was in keeping with Mississippi tradition.

Bilbo spoke with difficulty because of a recent oral operation which prevented him from wearing his lower plates, but he answered back sharply under Hickenlooper's questioning.

Chicago, Ill.

Bilbo Highlights

JACKSON, Miss. — No decision was announced and no further hearings will be held in the Bilbo case, Senator Ellender stated here Thursday after four days of testimony before the Senate Investigating Committee.

The committee meets in Washington on Dec. 16, to render what Ellender said he hopes will be "a unanimous report."

Houston's Presence Felt

Although his application for permission to file a brief prepared by the NAACP was denied, Charles H. Houston, prominent Washington attorney, made his presence felt here as a behind-the-scenes advisor to witnesses and people interested in the investigation.

The Afro-American

When Mr. Houston left Thursday morning, Thurgood Marshall, NAACP chief special counsel, arrived to take up where he left off.

A taxi driver told me, "No colored driver in Jackson will haul a white person. Why? Well, when whites get out of the cab they give the driver whatever they feel like—and the driver has to take it."

During the course of the hearing five charges of violence were heard—and in every case the Bilbo attorneys produced some official to testify that the accusers were "drunk and disorderly."

Typical was the case of Richard E. Daniel of Gulfport, who testified that a policeman named Williams sent him to a side when he went to the polling place.

There, two white men beat him about the face and neck. Later, he was arrested and fined $10 on a charge of being drunk and disorderly.

Baltimore, Md.

Accept Pay From Bigots

One of the sensations of the hearing came when J. D. Collins of Greenwood, chairman of the Progressive Voters' League, testified that he and a friend named Montgomery were given $25 each to "go around and advise 32 colored people not to vote."

Collins said the money was given to him and Montgomery by Shelby Steele, white insurance man, at a meeting between Steele, Means Johnson, attorney, and Mayor A. D. Safford of Greenwood.

Sat. 12-14-46

'Expression of Appreciation'

On the stand, Steele admitted he had given Collins and Montgomery the money but said it was only an expression of appreciation for their help in preventing trouble on election day.

Mayor Safford merely denied the charge and added that "there isn't a citizen in Greenwood who has more colored friends than I do."

Joseph Parham, 72, of McComb, said he was shoved off the sidewalk while en route to the voting place on July 2, by Emmett Sauls, city marshal. He was then arrested and taken before the chief of police, but later released.

Bilbo, when pinned down by Senator Hickenlooper (Rep. Iowa) as to whether his speeches had not actually been intended to keep colored from the polls, made the following classic answer:

"No, I didn't want the n—rs to vote. Would you want anyone to vote who was going to vote against you?"

From a local white paper: ". . . The five senators serving on the investigating committee down at the Federal building no doubt realize that they have been listening to a lot of bare-faced lying by colored witnesses during the past few days — witnesses who have been crudely coached in the perjured testimony offered."

"Senator Ellender's conduct of this investigation was shocking," stated E. H. Block, attorney for the Civil Rights Congress, here Friday.

"In his zealousness to act as a special pleader for Senator Bilbo, he has violated every standard of ethics and decency, and completely forgot that he was supposed to be acting as an impartial judge," added Block.

Bilbo Hearing Top Show In Capital Last Week

The News Birmingham, Ala.

BY SCOTT MORTON

WASHINGTON, Dec. 23—(NANA)—The best show in Washington this past week was the Bilbo hearing. It had tragedy, drama, comedy, suspense and colorful characters. It had received excellent stage direction from publicity-minded producers, Sens. Mead, Ferguson & Co., and it attracted a big audience, comprised largely of the press. Bilbo was starred. But, except for a few asides, he did not take a cigar in it.

Inherently the situation was anything but amusing. A United States senator was virtually on trial on charges of having accepted thousands of dollars from war contractors.

Yet much of the testimony was amusing. Superficially so at least. Michigan's Ferguson has an acid skill at turning a witness's witless testimony back upon him, making him appear a fool, and, in this hearing, Ferguson was not hard pressed. Thus there were humorous moments; the world enjoys seeing some one else play the fool.

The drama went deeper than its

Liveliest manifestation, which came at the moment when a witness, a former congressman, knocked another witness over backward in his chair. This was outward show of bitter conflict; the reputation of more than one man had been furled for all to see.

* * *

THE TESTIMONY THAT various candidates for sale in 1942 price. Accusations, denials, confessions of a sort were shouted to the high, marble ceiling of the Senate caucus room. This was only politics in Mississippi, they said. If you are defeated in the primaries you allow a winning candidate to pay what the Mississippi boys call "operating deficit" of your campaign. As simple as that!

Nor did the men who made political campaigns and expensive gifts to Bilbo. The senator's house needed painting; a contractor wanted a swimming pool; a hearing room and some committees refuse to use it. Reason: You can't hear in it.

Why spectators ever attend is mysterious.

Because his lower dental plate is loose, Bilbo was particularly difficult to understand.

12-23-46

He got one of the biggest laughs of the session when, in explaining why he was having accepted contributions from war contractors, he said the other day, it that there was nothing questionable in his having accepted contributions from war contractors. Actually, it is a most unsatisfactory third contractor built it. In addition, they lent him large sums of money.

The room in which the hearing was held, in the Senate Office Building, is large and magnificent. —marble walls, marble pillars and four stunning crystal chandeliers; a crimson carpet on the floor. As someone said the other day, it would make a fine ballroom. Actually, all 22 acres. The senator's swimming pool, a hearing room and some committees to understand.

* * *

THE DOES NOT LOOK THE PART HE PLAYS. this man from Mississippi. His personal appearance is unimpressive. He looks like any slight old man whom age has shrunken and turned to a parled brown. His face is pinched, the skin is tight across the bones, his mouth is a thin, hard line and a great part of the time he holds a

pensive automobile from a contractor, he said: "It is just an old Southern custom."

Post Says Bilbo Hearing Sickening

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The Washington Post, in an editorial which appeared in last Friday's edition under the caption, "Bilboism," said:

Wed. 12-11-46

"It is impossible to read the reports of the Bilbo investigation in Mississippi without a sense of sickness. Witness after witness has appeared before the Senate Campaign Expenditure Committee to tell of threats, of crynical denials of the right to vote, of outright brutality. And, according to Mary Spargo, who is covering the hearings for The Post, Bilbo's attorneys and supporters sit listening to this testimony "with broad grins." Public officials, as well as private citizens, callously acknowledge the most flagrant disregard of constitutional rights—and defend this disregard with a shrug of the shoulders and a sneering assertion that that's the way things are in Mississippi.

"In such an atmosphere, it took courage for Negroes to appear before the Senate Committee. It took courage for a Jewish rabbi and Catholic priest to support the stories of violence and coercion which the Negroes told; they were among the few white men to testify against Bilbo. In Jackson, Mississippi, where the hearings are being held, the Jackson Daily News recently printed an editorial attacking Percy Green, editor of the Jackson Advocate, a Negro weekly, who has assumed leadership in bringing charges against Senator Bilbo. Mr. Green had attended a [illegible] protest lynching and, according to the Daily News, "discussed racial tensions in his state." The Daily News editorial then observed: 'One of these days Green is destined to learn a great deal more about racial tensions than he now knows.'

"The Senate committee has been told that out of 350,000 Negroes in Mississippi eligible for registration, only 2,500 were actually registered; and it is estimated that the State has about 30,000 Negro veterans who are exempted by law from payment of the poll tax. The statistics at least suggest very strongly that some influence other than indifference was at work in Mississippi. They suggest, too, that men who have the courage to expose this situation deserve and need the shield of the Federal Government's protection. They should be called before the committee by subpena—those who wish to come as well as those who are reluctant—so the authority of the United States may be asserted in an area where it is now commonly held in contempt.

"It is clear, we think, that Senator Bilbo is not without direct responsibility for the situation that exists in Mississippi. He speaks there with a certain authority derived from his membership in the Senate of the United States. He preaches doctrines of hate and violence and crime—doctrines which, taken together, make him the author of the system which can best be called Bilboism now prevalent in Mississippi. Whether it is the system or the senator himself that kept Negroes from the polls is not of primary importance. Bilbo's guilt in either case is inescapable."

Election System, Not Bilbo, Will Be Blamed, Thomas Says

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Washington, Dec. 22 (AP)—Senator Elmer Thomas (D., Okla.) predicted today Democratic members of an investigating committee will hold next week that the Mississippi election system and not Senator Bilbo (D., Miss) prevented Negroes from voting there.

Mon. 12-23-46

Thomas told a reporter that as a member of the Senate elections subcommittee which held hearings on the ground, he is convinced that "Bilbo did nothing that almost every other politician in Mississippi hasn't done" in this year's primary campaign.

Bilbo was accused of preventing Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary in which he won renomination. Republicans looked to this charge as a possible ground for efforts to unseat him.

Thomas said he regards the Mississippi primary system as being in the process of an evolution that eventually will lead to voting by Negroes in increased numbers.

Thomas' prediction on the findings of the Democratic majority found Republicans still apparently undecided what they will do about a minority report at a December 30 meeting of the group. Senator Hickenlooper (R., Iowa) said he does not know yet what, if anything, the minority will have to say about Bilbo.

I'm A Poor Man, Bilbo Says, Never Sought Gifts, Funds

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Thurs. 12-19-46

Only Got One Auto, Furniture, Senator Tells Investigators

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19—(AP)—Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) declared at his war contracts investigation today that he never had sought gifts or funds "with the possible exception of the money that I borrowed to make a property settlement with my ex-wife."

Taking the stand with a 10,000-word prepared statement, Bilbo said that evidence to date showed "that I am a very poor man and heavily involved in debt and that I received during all the period that the investigation has covered but two Christmas gifts, one an automobile and the other living room furniture consists of a sofa, three floor lamps and two table lamps."

* * *

BILBO BEGAN READING HIS STATEMENT after a brief discussion with the Senate war investigating subcommittee as to whether interruptions should be allowed in his testimony.

The Mississippi senator said he preferred to read it straight through, as he had made an effort to prepare it in "an orderly, sequential way."

Sen. Ferguson (R., Mich.) protested that the committee had not had a chance to peruse it and should be allowed to question Bilbo at any point it chose.

Speaking somewhat indistinctly because he is unable to wear his lower dental plate Bilbo said "it will take about an hour" to read the statement.

THE STOCKY LITTLE SENATOR took the stand after a tumultuous week of testimony regarding thousands of dollars in campaign contributions, alimony payments, and gifts of an expensive automobile, a new home, an artificial lake, and an elaborate Baptist church parsonage on his Mississippi plantation.

Bilbo said all the charges against him had been raised by Ross A. Collins, former Mississippi congressman, and his ex-secretary, Edward P. Terry.

All the charges, he said, were fully discussed in the recent Mississippi election, in which he emerged victorious over four primary opponents.

* * *

THE ISSUES WERE RAISED in his state by two groups, he went on, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and an "oust Bilbo committee" in New York City.

"One of them is an all-Negro group, which is headed by a man about whom I think it is fair to say that most recognized Negro leaders in America believe can be justly charged with expediency on the basis of past performance," the senator said. "The other group includes Communist Party members and quite a few other people who have been closly identified with Communist-front activities."

Reviewing his political and financial careers, he said he learned early in life that he must buy all the land he could on credit.

As a result, Bilbo said he now owes two banks about $22,500 on mortgages. All went well until he had to settle $21,750 for alimony in 1938, the senator said, for which "I borrowed every dollar."

The News

OF HIS FORMER SECRETARY, Bilbo said Terry "has been so free with his wild, hazy, vicious and traiterous hallucinations."

Terry yesterday told of being threatened with death if he testified a gaiinst his former boss. Continuig, Bilbo said:

"They want Bilbo destroyed and unseated because of my convictions and ideologies which are opposed to the great objectives of posed to the great o bjectives of the all-out Negro groups and Communist groups in America."

Bilbo said that Terry and Collins had joined forces in producing an anti-Bilbo circular "which I have read and analyzed" and in which I find at least 25 seperate, distinct, contemptable, pusillanious and limicolous lies."

(Limicolous: "living in mud").

Bilbo poured out contempt for Collins and cited the primary election results in Mississippi to show the former Congressman was unable to carry his home county in this year's Senate race.

He said Collins "has been the most thoroughly, completely and everlastingly condemed, damed, and repudiated man in the history of the state." Birmingham, Ala.

The 69-year-old veteran of many a political battle was unperturbed as he waited his summons to the witness stand to be queried by members of the war investigating committee concerning his dealing with war contractors.

"They have not shown a thing except that I got an automobile and I owe a lot of debts," was Bilbo's comment to a reporter on the progress of the hearing.

He referred to a full week of testimony regarding thousands of dollars in campaign contributions, alimony payments, and gifts of an expensive automobile, a new home, an artificial lake, and an elaborate Baptist Church parsonage.

BILBO'S TURN CAME after Edward P. Terry, his former secretary, was summarily dismissed as a witness late yesterday for refusing to answer questions regarding the disposition of $15,000 he obtained to find and finance a Mississippi opponent to "beat Bilbo."

Chairman Mead (D., N. Y.) and Sen. Ferguson (R., Mich.) ordered charges of "perjury" and "contempt of the Senate" brought against Terry. He had been looked upon earlier by opponents of Bilbo, as a "star witness" in their efforts to keep the Mississippi senator from taking his seat next month.

Terry, jittery and haggard, occupied most of yesterday's sessions telling freely of the relations he and the senator had had with various war contractors and Bilbo supporters.

Thurs. 12-19-46

But he closed up when Ferguson pressed him for full details on the $15,000 he said he obtained last year in New York City, while still Bilbo's secretary, to use to defeat his boss.

At first Terry had testified reluctantly that the $15,000 was given him by a "Simon Liberman, of New York City." Then he told the committee that when he was unable to find a Mississippi candidate to oppose Bilbo this year he returned the money to Liberman.

DURING A RECESS Ferguson discovered that Liberman had died five months before the date Terry said he paid back the funds. He confronted Terry with this information when the latter returned to the stand.

Terry, pleading that he had been "confused," then testified that he had returned the $15,000 to where Liberman's "estate would get it." He declined to elaborate, asserting that to do so would ruin his credit and that the incident was not involved in Bilbo's relations with war contractors.

After he twice refused to tell the "whole story," Mead and Ferguson instructed attorneys for the investigating group to push both perjury and contempt actions against Terry.

PM New York, N.Y.

He Mortgaged Juniper Grove Baptist Property, Too – Until Recently

45a

Wed. 12-18-46

By Victor H. Bernstein
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18.–Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo's frenzied financing, in which it would take a Ponzi to distinguish a gift from a loan or a political contribution from a personal gift, yesterday was embellished by a Bilbo deed which was supposed to have conveyed a church building and five-bathroom parsonage to the board of deacons of the Juniper Grove Baptist Church, but in reality conveyed nothing but Bilbo's promises—if that much.

The Juniper Grove institution has been in a building on Bilbo's plantation in Poplarville, Miss., for many years. The church itself is practically completed, but the parsonage is not yet liveable.

Despite repeated testimony of many witnesses during the last five days before the Senate War Investigating Sub-committee, that practically every war contractor who had a nodding acquaintance with Bilbo gave a contribution to the church-building fund, the faucets in the five bathrooms still yawn for water.

And the church's present parson, Rev. D. Wade Smith, is living two miles from the parsonage in a house he built for himself only last year, evidently having tired of waiting for the water to run.

Title to the church, the parsonage and the land on which they stand have always remained in Bilbo's hands. But three days before the current hearings opened, the Senator executed a deed turning all this property over to the board of deacons on consideration of $1.

But some weeks earlier—and also since the beginning of the Senate investigation into Bilbo's finances and their relation to war contracts—the Mississippian had put into escrow in a local bank a deed which in effect turned the property over to the church deacons only upon the owner's death.

Questioned yesterday by Sen. Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.), Bilbo's own attorney, Forrest Jackson, admitted from the witness stand that he believed "title is still in escrow" and that his client's grand gesture made on the eve of the hearings "didn't have any legal effect on ownership of the property."

Bilbo had collected some $27,000 in a special Juniper Grove Church account to which he alone had access. Bilbo had mortgaged the church property along with most of the rest of his plantation.

Yesterday he produced documents to show that in the last few weeks his mortgagors – the Farm Land Bank and the Bank of Poplarville—had relieved the church property from their mortgages and left it free and clear.

Forrest Jackson of Jackson, Miss., attorney for Sen. Bilbo, is shown at a Senate War Investigating Committee hearing in Washington.
Associated Press Wirephoto

Rev. Smith testified he had been called to the church as pastor in October, 1944, with the understanding that the parsonage would be available to him. Evidence was introduced to show that some months ago he had told a Senate committee investigator that he had been "forced to build my own house because Sen. Bilbo wouldn't let me move into the parsonage" and that "attempts to find out about Sen. Bilbo's special church account were thwarted by the bank clerk, who always changed the subject when asked about it."

But on the stand yesterday, Rev. Smith tried to soften his earlier testimony and denied he had ever attempted to inquire into the special church account or that Bilbo wouldn't let him into the parsonage. "It simply wasn't liveable," he said, and added that he thought five bathrooms might be too much for his family, which includes a wife and two daughters, one of whom is in college. 12-18-46

Odds on Bilbo: 60-40 And Take Your Pick

PM New York, N.Y.

Wed. 12-18-46

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18.–Reporters covering the Bilbo hearings here seem fairly divided on whether the Senate will permit The Man to retain his seat, with a slight advantage in Bilbo's favor.

PM yesterday polled 17 newsmen, more than half of those present in the hearings room. Nine thought Bilbo would keep his seat; eight thought he'd lose it. 12-18-46

On betting odds, however, Bilbo came out definitely the winner. One Southern reporter quoted odds of five to one that the Mississippian would keep his seat, while the highest odds quoted the other way were 65-35, cited by a New Yorker.

Favorite odds quoted were 60 40 and take your pick.

Dem Group Expected To Whitewash Bilbo

PM New York, N.Y. Mon. 12-23-46

Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo seemed sure today of a whitewash report on at least one count of the double-barreled investigation into his alleged intimidation of Negro voters and his relations with Mississippi war contractors.

Sen. Elmer Thomas (D., Okla.), predicted last night that he and two other Democratic members of the committee which investigated the vote charge will hold this week that the Mississippi election system and not Bilbo kept Negroes from the polls.

Thomas himself is convinced, he told an AP reporter, that "Bilbo did nothing that almost every other politician in Mississippi hasn't done" in the state's recent primary. "Sen. Bilbo's views on this question are well known. As far as I can see, he didn't say anything in Mississippi that he hasn't said on the Senate floor."

Thomas maintained that the Mississippi primary system was in the process of an evolution that eventually will lead to voting by Negroes in increased numbers.

"I watched the same thing happen in Oklahoma," he said, "where there is now no question about Negroes voting so long as they are qualified voters."

There is still the possibility of a dissenting report by the two Republican members of the committee. Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper (R., Ia.), said last night he did not yet know what, if anything, the GOP faction would do. The other Republican member is Sen. Styles Bridges (N. H.)

Chairman Allen J. Ellender (D., La.) was spectacularly friendly toward Bilbo during the public hearings at Jackson, Miss., and the third committee Democrat is Sen. Burnet Maybank (S. C.).

The new GOP-controlled Senate is slated to get at least one unfavorable report on Bilbo. Sen. Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.) is already working on a report of the War Investigating Committee's probe into dealings between "The Man" and Mississippi war contractors. At hearings in Washington, Bilbo acknowledged receiving funds from them, maintained they were used to finance the unsuccessful Senatorial primary campaign of Wall Doxey in 1942. 12-23-46

Saying Howdy to Bilbo is Costly

PM New York, N.Y.

Tues. 12-17-46

By Victor H. Bernstein
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.–One of Mississippi's most expensive pastimes, apparently, is to drop in to say hello to Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.). For instance:

Item: Mike Morrissey, testifying yesterday before the Senate subcommittee investigating Bilbo's connections with war contractors, said he was passing through the Senator's Paplarville estate one day, saw some of the Senator's men chopping down trees, and thought maybe a lake would look good on the estate.

So he built the lake at a cash outlay to himself of $3,672, leaving an island in the middle for the construction o fa "dream house" for Bilbo, and while he was at it he also excavated ground enough outside the lake for a swimming pool.

Morrissey said the money he spent on the lake was entered originally on his books as an expense on a hole in the ground big enough for a swimming pool, and some sand and gravel and a cement mixer nearby, and said, "Why, Senator I could pour that cement for you cheaper than anybody."

So Junkin poured the cement at a net material and labor cost to himself of $1194.42, made up a bill for this amount, marked it "paid in full" and sent it along to Bilbo.

P.S. Junkin was a sub contractor on the eslser Field project, having done about a half million dollars worth of business on it.

Item: M. T. Reed, contractor, testified he happened to drop in to see Bilbo one day and told the Senator, "Why, Theo, your house needs painting." So he engaged E. C. Daniel, painting contractor, to paint the house at a cost to himself of $1790.79, and then wrote off this amount on his books as a "bad debt."

(cost: $1912). 12-17-46

But what was expected to be fireworks sort of sputtered out. Abe Shushan, one of Huey Long's henchmen who got a 30-month sentence for mail frauds in Louisiana in 1940, was expected to testify that he had "loaned" Bilbo $3000 with the expectation that the Senator would try to do something for him.

Shushan admitted the loan, but insisted it was made on behalf of G. R. Stewart, a Mississippi merchant and good friend, who had intervened with him on Bilbo's behalf "because he was having trouble with Mrs. Bilbo."

Reed testified further that on another occasion, while enroute to New Orleans, he dropped in to see the Senator and said:

"Why, Theo, I hear your collections for building that lovely Juniper Grove Baptist Church and parsonage on your property are going pretty slow. Would $3,500 help?" So he made out a check to the Juniper Grove Church for $3,500.

P.S. Reed's Mississippi war contracts ran into tens of millions of dollars.

Item: Robert Gandy, church deacon and member of the "informal" committee to elect Wall Doxey as Senator in 1940, was called back to the stand and testified he met Ed Terry, formerly Bilbo's secretary, on the street in Jackson just before Christmas in 1941, and Terry said to him, "Say, we ought to get the Senator a Christmas gift. How about furniture for his dream house on the island?"

Gandy said he thought that was a fine idea, so Terry borrowed $500 from a local bank, gave in exchange a note which was endorsed by Gandy. Contractor Reed made good on the note.

These are just a few items from a day of complicated evidence which indicated also that Bilbo got several loans – some of which were either not paid at all, or only partially repaid—and also received a dandy new Cadillac from Contractor Morrissey for Christmas in 1941

They Can Take Some Credit From GOP for Denying Him Seat

PM New York, N.Y. Thurs. 12-26-46

WANTED: Five Democratic Senators who do NOT want to yield the country's Negro vote to the Republicans in 1948. If the five, in addition to practical political sense, also have a feeling for justice, democracy and the dignity of the U. S. Senate, all the better. Applicants will kindly apply to the President *pro tem* of the Senate on Jan. 3 by voting NO on admission of Theo. G. Bilbo to that august body.

By VICTOR BERNSTEIN

The vote of five Democratic Senators may be enough to keep Bilbo out of the Senate when that body convenes on Jan. 3. Some extreme optimists say three may be enough.

The calculation is based upon the fact that only 60 Senators—30 Republicans and 30 Democrats—will be eligible to vote at the moment that Bilbo's right to take his oath of office is challenged.

These 60 comprise 59 hold-overs from the old Senate plus Sen. Baldwin (R., Conn.), the only new Senator who will have been sworn in by the time Bilbo's name is called (swearing in is traditionally done by alphabetical order). All other new Senators, as well as those re-elected last November, will have no vote on the Bilbo issue, for they will not yet have been sworn into office.

An informal poll taken by a Republican Senator who has been identified with various recent investigations into Bilbo's shenanigans, indicates that 28 of the 30 holdover Republicans are prepared to bar the Mississippian.

Inasmuch as 31 votes are necessary to stop Bilbo from being sworn in, the Democrats will have to provide at least three votes. But cautious calculators, who believe profoundly in the maxim that there's many a slip between the cup and the lip, are figuring on the need for at least five to offset a couple of possible last-moment Republican fainthearts.

All this is predicated, of course, on the supposition that the Bilbo issue will be solved squarely along political lines, with the Republicans voting more or less en bloc against Bilbo with an eye to the Negro vote, and the States' rights Democrats voting for Bilbo with an eye to the Southern white vote. But if some of the Democrats should assure Bilbo's ouster by voting with the GOP, they could also take some of the credit politically.

Where, then, will the five anti-Bilbo Democratic votes come from?

Possibilities most frequently mentioned include Robert Wagner (N. Y.), who by his record can be counted upon as a certainty; Scott Lucas, Ill., and Francis Myers, Pa., both of whom have large Negro constituencies; and Morton Downey, Calif., John Murray, Mont., and Glen Taylor, Ida., who have

PROSECUTION – NOT WHITEWASH FOR BILBO

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

By Benjamin Davis, Jr.

Tues. 12-31-46

Enough evidence has been piled up against the fascist Bilbo not only to unseat him, but to raise the question of a Federal prosecution. Yet, it is as plain as Pike's Peak certain members of the two committees which held hearings upon him are planning a whitewash for this revolting Ku Kluxer. What a nice way to begin the new year.

DAVIS

The activities of this man over the years, particularly in the recent period when he became even more brazen — together with the limited birdseye view of him before the two Senate Committees—are a stench in the nostrils of every decent American.

Although the capitalist press depicted him in the most ludicrous poses, pretending he was merely an annoying clown, Bilbo represents a serious fascist danger in our country. He will be laughed off only at the peril of embattled democracy in America.

To perceive the full menace of Bilbo, one has to consider simultaneously the drive against organized labor by the big monopolies, through the GOP-polltax majority in the 80th Congress and through the insidious anti-labor program of the National Association of Manufacturers.

NO DOUBT

It has been proved beyond a shadow of doubt that:

1. Bilbo is a Ku Kluxer. This he brazenly admitted over a nationwide radio hook-up.

2. Bilbo incited violence against Negroes seeking to vote in the recent elections. His statement over the radio that Negroes should be kept from the polls at all costs using any and every means was not even denied by Bilbo.

Instead he defiantly admitted it, under circumstances where everyone knew that he was giving orders to his fellow Ku Kluxers in his acknowledged "Bilbo post" of the KKK. Moreover, these orders were carried out against countless Negro citizens, and veterans especially.

3. The charges Bilbo accepted war contract bribes, aided a drug addict and generally violated the principle of free elections beggar description.

POINTED OUT

What the Communists have repeatedly pointed out is, namely, that when one finds a public official who thrives on Negro, Jew, labor, or red-baiting, he runs the whole gamut of political corruption and reaction. Bilbo is the shining example for all who might have considered his "white supremacy" views as "naughty peculiarities."

In Mississippi, it wasn't the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee, which brought out the evidence against Bilbo. The credit for this goes to the courageous Negro veterans who braved the murderous terror of Bilbo's fellow Klansmen, after the Senate Committee held the hearings in Mississippi for with the obvious and sinister hope that Negroes would be afraid to testify.

The evidence which came out during the hearings of the Senate War Investigating Committee was clear, in spite of certain members of the committee. For at one point, although it was Bilbo on trial, yet the committee cited for contempt one of the witnesses testifying against Bilbo!

ENOUGH EVIDENCE

Be that as it may, it is clear that there is enough evidence to place before a Federal Grand Jury. Unseating him is the least of the penalties for this would-be Hitler.

One senator has declared in advance that it isn't Bilbo who is at fault, it's the system. (Although one cannot agree on Bilbo, one could agree if he meant the capitalist system.) This argument is ridiculous. One might as well say of a murderer who shot his victim to death that it wasn't the murderer, it was the pistol.

Another, Sen. Thomas, says that if action is taken against Bilbo, all the other senators may be embarrassed by Bilbo's digging up their skeletons. No doubt there are others in the Senate who have unsavory records, and they ought to be exposed. But this is not an excuse, this is an expression of cowardice at best. But, in any event, he certainly gives an excellent reason why a new third people's party is needed in this country, if for no other reason than to get a few clean officeholders in the highest legislative body of America, who will stand up against a fascist.

Bilbo must be denied a seat on Jan. 3. Thereafter it will be much more difficult to dislodge him. For on Jan. 3 only a majority of the senators are necessary to deny him a seat. After Jan. 3, a two-thirds majority of the Senate is necessary. The Negro people—ther labor-progressive supporters—will watch the action of every single senator Jan. 3.

Every labor and people's organization in the country should send a representative on the delegation to Washington to unseat Bilbo Jan. 2, under the auspices of the American Crusade to End Lynching. 12-31-46

No whitewash for Bilbo! No seat for Bilbo! Indict Bilbo!

Vindicates White House in Case Bilbo Is Cleared

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 12-14-46

Tobias Opposed; Probe Held Victory for Brown;

By RALPH MATTHEWS

WASHINGTON

There is a lot of behind-the-scenes speculation over the timing of the announcement of President Truman's Civil Liberties Committee.

The Executive Order naming this committee is very similar to President Roosevelt's action in naming the Fair Employment Practices Committee but without the scope or power of the former.

The timing, however, was significant, coming right after the Republican resurrection and in the middle of the Bilbo probe.

Jumping the Gun

By taking this step, the President cleared his skirts and put the White House on high ground in case the Senate Investigating Committee, headed by Louisiana's Allen Ellender, exonerates Mississippi colleague.

With the Republicans taking the credit for pushing the Bilbo probe and thereby lining up a flock of grateful colored votes, Truman resorted to an old FDR trick of jumping the gun by taking the edge off of his opponents' issue with a counter move.

Most of the appointments to the 15-man committee met with general approval. Mrs. Sadie M. Alexander of Philadelphia and Dr. Channing H. Tobias of New York are the only non-white members.

Many Washington leaders, however, expressed disappointment over the Tobias appointment.

Conciliation Feared

Some think that his work as a YMCA executive and his connections with the Phelps-Stokes Fund and his many other affiliations will not only occupy much of his time, but to the individual efforts of Edgar G. Brown.

In the face of ridicule, insult and actual physical danger, he has devoted his entire efforts toward rousing sentiment against the Mississippi bigot.

In Los Angeles, Brown was actually beaten up while distributing his oust-Bilbo petitions to the American Legion and, of all things, by colored legionnaires who objected to his injecting the race issue into what they called "peaceful interracial convention."

Persistent Lobbyist

He has one million names on a petition to be presented to Congress demanding Bilbo's ouster when that body reconvenes.

Moreover, it was he who hung around the Senate Office Building both day and night egging the Republicans on to the probe when they were in their first flush of victory.

Many were willing to accept the padded report of the Ellender Committee, made by white investigators. This report showed that no colored person in Mississippi could be found who actually had been prevented from voting.

This report gave the impression that all of the witnesses would give hearsay testimony, much of which could not be pinned down.

It was Brown who persuaded Senator Taft and company to carry their own probe direct to Mississippi and not trust the Ellender report.

White Also Attacked

"After we finish with Bilbo," declared Howard, "we want to start on our side of the Congress on our side of the Congress demanding Bilbo's ouster putting rid of Channing Tobias and Walter White as group around the Senate Office Building

Howard is sore with both of these men because they have refused to see any good in the Republicans.

BOASTFUL SENATOR STILL CONFIDENT HE'LL RETAIN SEAT

The Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

45a

WASHINGTON—The mill is grinding slowly but exceedingly fine. Democratic America, slow to anger, and even slower in cleaning out despots within her midst, has turned her full wrath upon defiant Theodore G. Bilbo whose sordid story now encompasses threats of death against those courageous enough to testify against him.

From editorial page to picture magazine to radio microphone to public platforms comes a persistent, ever-loudening demand: Bilbo Must Go! Sat. 12-21-46

This week, immediately on the heels of hearings by the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee in Jackson, Miss., where Negro witness after witness related the sickening story of how they were beaten and otherwise intimidated to prevent them from voting, it now turns up that Bilbo mistreats white people, too. Not "damyankees," but his fellow Mississippians for whom he professes so much love.

This not-so-surprising revelation came during hearings before a Senate War Investigating Committee on charges that he received "gratuities" from war contractors whom he helped to obtain Army contracts. Sessions were characterized by rowdiness, disorder and fisticuffs between Robert Gandy, a Jackson insurance agent, and Ross Collins, former Mississippi Congressman.

However, Bilbo still does not believe the Republicans will be able to bar him when the new Senate convenes Jan. 3. He has announced: "They can't stop me at the door."

SEEK OTHER WAYS TO UNSEAT HIM

But Republican strategists have vowed that regardless of the outcome of current hearings, they will seek other ways to unseat him.

Technical rules will make it difficult to deny Bilbo his seat on opening day, said GOP sources, but they have found that he could be ousted by a majority vote which sustained any charges made against him.

Expulsion by a moral turpitude charge would require a two-thirds vote. If the charges are so broad that both categories are covered a majority then could decide whether only a majority vote was needed to get rid of him.

In the meantime, another key figure in the case, Edward P. Terry, Bilbo's erstwhile secretary, has turned up "in a nervous state" in a Quitman (Miss.) hospital while FBI agents were looking for him. Terry claims he was warned under threat of death not to testify, but the War Investigating Committee will hear his story this week.

"PRETTY ROUGH"

He was originally scheduled to testify Monday, but hospital authorities said he was feeling "pretty rough' and would have to stay put a bit longer.

J. Marvin Quinn, Jackson (Miss.) banker to whom Terry revealed the anonymous death threat, has also been served a subpoena. The committee ordered him to produce records of his bank's financial dealings with Terry.

MISSISSIPPI CONTRACTORS

Also on hand to join the parade to the witness stand will be A. L. Shuhan, prominent New Orleans contractor and supporter of the late Huey Long who is supposed to have had some queer dealings with Bilbo. He will be followed by three Mississippi contractors — Michael Morrissey, M. T. Reed and A. B. Friend. All these names have crept in and out of testimony linking Bilbo with mysterious political and financial manipulations.

A letter from Terry to Chairman Mead of the War Investigating Committee was read into the record last week-end. Dated Nov. 2, it said that an anonymous person telephoned him at Meridian, Miss., on Nov. 26 and told him "that should he participate or take any part in connection with the investigation of Senator Bilbo, my wife and daughter would pay with their lives."

The letter also said that on Oct. 31 another anonymous caller told him "you would pay with your life if you had anything to do with an investigation of Bilbo then going on in Mississippi."

The letter also recalled that last April "I was, in presence of witness told that I would be killed if I gave out any information might have detrimental to Senator Bilbo." The Courier

As the committee's case shaped up last Friday's session was enlivened by the fight between Collins and Gandy. Testimony showed that Bilbo had received a total of $35,000 from Mississippi war contractors whom he had aided in securing Army contracts. One contractor, Francis T. Newton, of Hattiesburg, Miss., had testified earlier in the day that on Sept. 7, 1942, he had given Bilbo four checks totaling $25,000. Pittsburgh, Pa.

CASHED FOUR CHECKS

Bilbo, earlier testimony established, had helped the Newton-Glenn Construction Company to get the contract to build the $13,967,005 Keesler Field at Biloxi, Miss., as a co-venture with other contractors.

Under a withering examination by Senator Homer Ferguson, Rep., Mich., Gandy said he had cashed the four checks for Bilbo and taken the money to Bilbo in a hotel room.

Pressed by Senator Ferguson to tell what had become of the money after it had been turned over to Bilbo as the chairman of an "informal committee" to aid the candidacy of Wall Doxey, now Senate sergeant-at-arms, against Senator James M. Eastland, Gandy explained that after the regular white Democratic primary in Mississippi in 1942 it was necessary to carry on certain "maneuvers" to get "eliminated" candidates to support Doxey.

Senator Ferguson inferred from Gandy's testimony that the eliminated candidates had to be paid for their support of the candidates who were in the run-off primary.

Gandy said he wouldn't put it that way. He labeled the payment to eliminated candidates as "an operating deficit."

HAS HIS SYMPATHY

Senator Ferguson wanted to know whether a man in Mississippi could make more money by losing in a campaign than by winning. Gandy replied that the loser in the run-off primary had his sympathy because he had to bear his own "operating deficit."

Gandy described a conference with Mr. Collins, another "eliminated candidate" for the purpose of getting a statement supporting Mr. Doxey. As Gandy told his story Collins moved forward and was invited by Senator Mead to sit closer where he could hear the witness.

Gandy testified that Collins had designated Cecil F. Travis as his representative to discuss his "operating deficit" and went on to give his version of an argument between Collins and Bilbo over Collins' refusal to allow the latter to see, prior to publication, a statement he had prepared supporting Doxey.

HITS THE FLOOR

Suddenly, Collins swung from a sitting-down position. Gandy hit the floor. Collins was on top of him and began to pound and kick him when Capitol police intervened and stopped the fight. In the commotion, Senator Mead adjourned the hearing and Capitol police shooed the audience out of the room. Sat, 12-21-46

The hearings are enlightening. They explain the difficulty colored construction contractors encounter in getting Government contracts, although under War Department procedure it was possible for Mississippi contractors who had had no construction experience and were considered incapable of performing the work, to get a contract by joining in with a reputable out-of-State contractor.

Other stories were told of the affairs in Mississippi money transactions, enough for the committee to recommend that "Bilbo must go" if it desires to do so.

Some say, however, that with even all this damaging evidence there is a definite move on foot to "whitewash" the man and give him a clean bill of health.

But notwithstanding, the effort to unseat Bilbo will go on.

SENATOR'S USE OF DEROGATORY TERMS HIGHLIGHTS HEARING

The Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 12-14-46

By LUCIUS JONES, Staff Correspondent

JACKSON, Miss.—"I have no apology for my belief that Democratic primaries should be controlled by whites and that white supremacy should govern." That was the bold and defiant climax by U. S. Senator Theodore G. (The Man) Bilbo of an hour and fifty minutes of testimony here Thursday afternoon before a U. S. Senate Investigating Committee headed by Senator Allen J. Ellender, Houma, La., Democrat, and also composed of Senators Styles Bridges, New Hampshire Republican; Elmer Thomas, Oklahoma Democrat; Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa Republican, and Burnet R. Maybank, South Carolina Democrat.

(Bilbo took the witness stand at 1:18 Thursday afternoon, read his prepared statement for nearly an hour, answered questions or made voluntary observations the rest of the time, and left the stand at 3:08.)

BLAMES "OUTSIDE INFLUENCES"

Senator Bilbo, answering a question from Senator Ellender as to whether most of the controversy over the Mississippi Democratic Senatorial campaign July 2 was caused by outside influences, replied: The Courier

"Without a doubt the outsiders are not interested in the welfare of the n——rs; they only want political control. I think all of them ought to be ridden out of town on a rail."

"ISOLATED" AND "SPORADIC" CASES

As the testimony of Senator Bilbo and several later witnesses, all pioneer figures in Mississippi politics, rolled on, it became evident that the strategy of all Bilbo supporters was (1) to attribute the July 2 terrorism and brutality to racial tension caused by "outside influence"; (2) to characterize the disturbances as "isolated and sporadic happenings" rather than general cases typical of most of the State on election day; (3) to try to establish in the minds of the Senate investigators that Negroes are "traditional Republicans" but merely turned to the Democratic primary for the first time this year because of the alleged "outside influence," and (4) to try to establish the fact that for fifty-six years Negroes in Mississippi have been politically inactive, and that their laxity July 2 was due to this same "traditional inactivity" rather than to violence and intimidation fomented by the speeches of Bilbo.

JACKSON, Miss.—A verdict on the Bilbo election contest will be rendered in about ten days, Senator Allen J. Ellender, chairman of the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee, said here last week. The committee will meet in Washington the week of Dec. 16, to render its decision.

him by Senator Hickenlooper, used the word "n——r" seventy-nine times in referring to Negroes—and an array of witnesses in his behalf, who were called to the stand after his testimony, used the derogatory term an additional forty times. One of the Bilbo witnesses used the term "d——ies" three times in reference to would-be Negro voters.

The four-day public hearings, which began Monday and ended Thursday in Federal District Court, located in the U. S. Post Office Building at the corner of Capitol and West Streets here, were conducted in morning sessions which began at 10 o'clock, with an hour open for lunch, and afternoon sessions that started at 1 o'clock and lasted until 6 o'clock, except for Thursday, the final day, when all deliberations were terminated and the hearings were closed at 4:45.

hope and prayer that the committee, in all justice, will deny this petition in toto and give me the exoneration that the record both justifies and requires, and my full confidence in the membership of this committee leads me to believe that will be done promptly."

PETITION FILED BY MIXED GROUP

The petition preferring charges that Bilbo's speeches created fear among Negroes and frightened them from the polls in sufficient numbers to have affected his third-term election was filed—with the aid of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Civil Rights Congress—by forty-eight colored and two white Mississippians.

But Thursday, Bilbo, without the usual bravado and swagger which has been typical of his political demeanor when preaching his doctrine of white supremacy, denied in total "deflation" that he had "exhorted, agitated and made any inflammatory appeals to the passions and prejudices of the white population of Mississippi to foster, stimulate, inspire, create and intensify a state of acute and aggravated tension between white and Negro races in the State of Missis-

Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 12-14-46

DENIES HE ADVOCATED VIOLENCE

"As to the statement that the n——r from voting way to keep a n——r from voting was to see him the night before," dis- Bilbo commented, "I meant through that, by custom, the use of persuasive advice and not violence."

When he had finished reading the long, prepared statement, Senator Bilbo said, "Democratic primaries have been limited to 'white citizens.'

"In all my speeches," Bilbo said, "I urged them (white citizens) to take whatever legal and lawful steps were deemed necessary to see that n——rs did not vote in the primary."

BILBO "EATS UP" WORDS

On the witness stand, Bilbo, the storm center of Mississippi politics, denied he sought to incite violence between the races.

"I urged citizens to prevent Negroes from voting by 'any means at their disposal,' contending that the Democratic primaries have been limited to the white citizens."

When he had finished reading the prepared statement, Senator Bilbo said, "I urged them (white citizens) to take whatever legal and lawful steps were deemed necessary to see that n——rs did not vote in the

caused him to announce after adjournment of the local hearings that he would demand an additional public hearing in Washington. Mr. Bloch characterized "Senator Ellender's conduct as chairman as shocking in his zealousness to act as a special pleader for Senator Bilbo, in which he (Ellender) violated every standard of thesis and decency and overlooked the fact that he was sitting here as an impartial judge."

sippi."

PUSHED BILBO PROBE—Percy J. Greene, militant editor of the Jackson (Miss.) Advocate, was one of the first to call for an investigation into biased campaign tactics used by Senator Theodore Bilbo in the last State primary election. The fearless editor testified last week before the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee.

DENIES NEGRO QUALIFICATION

Bilbo charged that most of the electors who signed the petition against him are not qualified to participate in the Democratic primary in which he was nominated under the constitution and laws of Mississippi—let alone the approximately 3,000 who did vote in the July 2 primary and other Negroes who claimed a right to vote but were not registered or did not cast a ballot.

Senator Bilbo said his opposition to Negroes voting in the Democratic primary in Mississippi is based upon State statutes requiring the person to agree to support the candicate declared the nominee of the party in the general election, and the act requiring them to have been in accord with such party in the primary of which he offers to vote for the past two years.

CALLS NEGROES TRADITIONAL REPUBLICANS

"It has been the general understanding for fifty-six years in Mississippi that the n——r race has almost without exception been affiliated throughout all that time with the Republican party. I have always admitted that a n——r is not denied his right to vote in Mississippi, provided he met the qualifications as set out by the constitution and the election laws."

Asked how many parties there were in Mississippi, Senator Bilbo answer kippantly, "Three. You see, we have two Republican parties in Mississippi—the Black and Tans, headed by a n——r doctor named Sidney D. Redmond, and the Lily-Whites."

The Mississippi solon took time out to get off his chest this statement:

"I still contend that outside influences should not be permitted to dictate the internal laws and policies of any State—and especially Mississippi, where such influences emanate from such sources as the CIO Political Action Committee, Walter Winchell, Drew Pearson, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Civil Rights Congress, and such."

It was in this connection that, earlier in his discourse, Senator Bilbo had admitted to the Senate Committee questioner that he was quoted correctly in a statement in which he said Clare Booth Luce is the biggest n——r lover in the North, except Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Senator Bilbo, now 69 years old and admittedly active in Mississippi politics the forty-six years since he ran for a county office at the age of 23, confessed that he once belonged to the Ku Klux Klan, but that that was twenty-five years ago and he was never active in the organization. He summarized his position on the matter by saying:

"I am no more a member of the Ku Klux Klan than Justice Hugo Black or Gov. Ellis Arnall."

SAYS NEWSPAPERS MISQUOTED HIM

Although the Associated Press, United Press, the Negro Press, Time magazine, the local dailies of Mississippi, and every other source of quiz material the Senate investigators had on hand, all quoted Senator Bilbo similarly, he categorically denied that he had urged the white citizens of Mississippi to resort to any means at their disposal to keep Negroes from voting. He said these reputable publications twisted his meaning and omitted the phrase, "by any lawful and peaceful means."

The script used by Mr. Bilbo in a radio interview, later answered by outstanding Negro leaders over the same network, was cited, and the Senator then admitted saying the best way to keep a Negro from voting is to see him the night before, but, with great diligence, Mr. Bilbo then explained that he didn't mean that violence should be used, but rather persuasive advice.

Signing off, after nearly two hours, during which he virtually lisped due to some mouth ailment, Senator Bilbo, The Man, The Mighty Monarch of White Supremacy, threw in—as if for good measure—the confession that all that he had said were his views, honestly expressed, as a United States Senator. Then he concluded by saying that if it were left to him, personally, not a single Negro would ever vote in the State of Mississippi—for the simple raeson that not a single Mississippi Negro is qualified under the constitution and the election laws of the State.

Didn't Get A Dime, Says Bilbo; Collins Ditto; Terry Turns Up

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sun. 12-15-46

By EDWIN B. HAAKINSON

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14.—(AP)—Senators trying doggedly to discover what became of a $25,000 campaign contribution by a war contractor in checks drawn to Senator Bilbo (D.), Mississippi heard from Bilbo himself today that "I never did get a damn dollar of it."

They heard from former Rep. Ross Collins, who knocked down a witness for saying he got about half of it, that he was paid nothing.

They heard from Roland Wall, another politician said by witnesses to have shared in the pot, that he was promised $8,000 and collected $6,000.

And they never did establish where all the money went when the Senate War Investigating Subcommittee recessed until Monday.

Then they hope to learn more from a key witness who had been missing until he turned up in a hospital at Quitman, Miss., last night. He is Edward Terry, former secretary of Bilbo, who wrote the committee he had been threatened with death if he should testify.

Collins and Wall were low men in a four-way Senate primary in 1942. The top men, James O. Eastland, who subsequently won, and Wall Doxey, entered a run-off. Witnesses testified contributions were made toward the campaign "deficits" of Collins and Wall in the interest of gaining their support for Doxey, who was backed by Bilbo. The testimony was that $11,000 to $14,000 for Collins was paid to Cecil Travis, a campaign aide of his.

"That statement was wholly untrue," Collins insisted.

Denials also came from witnesses Collins had called to his hotel room when he learned Bilbo was coming for a conference with him, and from Miss Lura Harrison, a stenographer Collins had hidden behind a bedroom door.

Miss Harrison said she had destroyed her stenographic notes but recalled what was said because Collins and Bilbo did most of the talking and the conference lasted "not more than five minutes."

Collins said when he learned that Bilbo was coming he hurried out and "collected all the witnesses I could get."

"I did this because I knew Bilbo," Collins said.

Senator Ferguson (R.), Michigan, asked what the witness meant.

"Well, I'd known that individual for about 35 years in politics," Collins replied.

"I could not retain my self respect and support any one he was for," Collins continued.

Wall told the committee he did not know about the contractor's $25,000 contribution during the campaign. He said that if he had, he would have pressed a whole lot harder for the $2,000 he claims is still owed him.

He added, amidst a roar of laughter from the spectators, that he told some friends en route to Washington he might ask the Senate Committee to help him collect it.

Asked by Chairman Mead (D.), New York, whether it was customary for a defeated candidate to have his campaign expenses paid if he threw his support later to the victor, Wall said it was in Mississippi.

He added, incidentally, that he had lived in Mississippi only 25 years and that because he was a North Carolinian by birth some of his opponents had tried to make out "that I was a Republican."

Doxey, who has been senate sergeant-at-arms for several years, entertained for an hour as a witness telling about his surprise at learning—after he lost the election—of the $25,000 contribution. He said he had been told that most of it was paid to two of his opponents defeated in the first primary to get their support in the run-off.

"I didn't have the heart to ask Senator Bilbo what he did with the rest of it," Doxey said, adding that unpaid bills from that losing campaign had bothered him for several years.

The invitation to Bilbo to testify about the $25,000 from a war contractor came from Senator Ferguson (R.), Michigan, after other witnesses had lapses of memory or incomplete records about various phases.

Without arising from his chair, Bilbo said he would be "glad to testify" but wanted to "make my statement at the conclusion after all the evidence has been presented and in written form."

But as to the $25,000:

"I'll say now I never did get a damn dollar of it."

Meanwhile an apology and a subpoena appeared to have cleared up two other startling angles of the inquiry.

Ross Collins, former Mississippi congressman, who brought yesterday's session to a sudden halt by a flying attack with fists and feet upon a witness, filed a written "sincere and humble apology" and appeared today as a smiling spectator.

Edward Terry, former secretary and political lieutenant of Bilbo, was located in a hospital at Quitman, Mass. Terry disappeared last Thursday when he was to testify and informed the committee by letter that he feared for his life and the safety of his family.

Chairman Mead (D), New York, announced a subponea had been served on Terry and the key missing witness would "appear forthwith."

The FBI and other government agencies had been on the trail of Terry until a business associate reported last night that he had entered the Quitman hospital in a "highly nervous state."

There, wearing blue pajamas and chain-smoking cigarettes, Terry told reporters that "my testimony will have a definite effect on Bilbo's political future" but gave no details. He added that his testimony "can be verified from the written records of one or more parties."

After hearing Collins' letter of apology, Mead assured that the subcommittee would give everyone a chance to answer any and all charges. No further action on the attack was planned by the committee or the principals themselves.

Robert Gandy, middle-aged Baptist church deacon and insurance man from Jackson, Miss., who was sent sprawling to the floor by Collins yesterday, resumed the stand to tell about handling the $25,000 and disbursing part of it.

Gandy was quizzed by senators and then attorneys trying to learn what "payment" or "consideration," went to Collins in the Doxey runoff campaign.

"You had a pretty good memory until this morning," Ferguson observed.

Finally the witness recalled that he took the checks endorsed by Bilbo to a bank, got $25,000 cash and then "deposited it on a bed."

After a conference of Bilbo and other Doxey supporters with Collins and his backers, Gandy related, he paid $11,000 in cash to meet the "operating deficit of Ross Collins" in the first primary.

He said this money went to Cecil Travis and declared Travis had been designated by Collins to receive it.

Earlier Gandy said a similar "operating deficit" payment went to Roland Wall, another loser in the first primary, in order to win Wall's support for Doxey.

"You see, this was a Mississippi political campaign," Gandy remarked.

Ferguson demanded "facts" instead of politics.

"They are inseparable," Gandy replied. "I don't want to testify upon any of this but I'm trying to give the committee what it wants."

Forrest Jackson, attorney from Jackson, Miss., who is both a witness and Bilbo's personal attorney, then took up the trail of the $25,000 cash.

He confirmed much of Gandy's account but could not give exact details on payment of the $25,000.

"I knew that all the $25,000 went into the pot," Jackson said. "We spent the money, and we still owe money."

Jackson and others testified much of the money went for radio broadcasts, newspaper advertising, sound-trucks and transportation of defense workers to their homes to vote.

Senators wanted to know how much more than $25,000 was spent on the campaign. Jackson declined "to guess" but said it was above $25,000 and under $75,000.

ing and the disaster.

progressed while weakened sections of the tenement skeleton and fire-weakened ice plant threatened to fall on the workers.

In addition to aid given the survivors by the City Welfare Department and private organiza-

tory tenement, housilies, collapsed after n adjacent abandoned ad caused a wall to g down part of the with it. The victims d under a pile of broken masonry two . More than 30 per- injured.

The six-story ing 22 families, ice plant had c fall, bringing do W. T. Whelan, deputy chief police inspector, announced that no other occupants of the tenement were buried u ment were known to be missing after six bodies had been re- moved and identified today, that further digging would only risk additional lives.

tions, the New York Chapter of the American Red Cross today appropriated $10,000 to restore to families such property as cloth-

The dogged rescue work

Much of the

THOMAS L. STOKES

The Constitution

Let Bilbo Tell All If He Has Something

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—Sen. Bilbo cried out "Yankee interference," "Communists," and so on in his primary election campaign in Mississippi last Summer because some people outside the State had some feelings about his re-election and spoke out. A number of people in Mississippi felt about the Senator as did many beyond her borders, judging from the election returns. Sun. 12-29-46

NOW SEN. BILBO, in a desperate attempt to save his Senate seat, is resorting to a species of blackmail. He is letting it be known that he is digging into the relationships of other Senators with war contractors. His own record has been thorougly aired.

This, Sen. Thomas, Democrat, Oklahoma, now says "may produce the most embarrassing debate in the history of the Senate."

So what?

Personal "embarrassment" now joins other specious issues in the Bilbo matter. There is either a case against him or there isn't, and the Senate is likely to find itself challenged by the public to determine that clearly and act accordingly, without confusing basic issues with all sort of extraneous matters, including a personal fright and fear complex.

THE ISSUES are two:

His threats and intimidation of Negro voters in the primary.

The alleged gifts and contributions from war contractors.

Reports of the public hearings by the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee in Mississippi several days ago seemed ample proof of charges that Sen. Bilbo had tried to intimidate Negro voters, and were especially convincing to this writer who is familiar with Southern politics and political methods.

This is a basic issue in our Democracy, going directly to the right of franchise. The public is entitled to consideration of this issue by the Senate, and it hardly seems possible for that body to duck it if it regards itself as a protector of the essential liberties of our people. 12-29-46

BEYOND THAT is the other, and unrelated, war contract issue which will form the basis soon of a report by the War Investigating Committee following its exhaustive public hearings.

It is doubtful if the public will understand any attempt in the Senate to duck that. Now that it has come out that Sen. Bilbo is going into the records of other Senators, it would seem only fair, and better for the Senate, that the Mississippian say whatever "embarrassing" things he has to say, rather than let his intimations go unchallenged.

"EMBARRASSING" debates are nothing new in the Senate. Huey Long of Louisiana used to read the records of his colleagues on various matters in open, public sessions. That was "embarrassing." But his colleagues and the Senate survived it. If there is anything about other Senators that is unethical, it should come out. The public is entitled to it. If Sen. Bilbo is trying to pull a bluff, then his bluff should be called.

There is something else involved in the Bilbo case, too, which is a sample of strange reasoning. This is the defense mechanism of Southern politicians and many Southern people that deplores interest by people elsewhere in the affairs of a Southern State. We are, after all, part of one nation. That was decided quite a few years back.

FURTHERMORE, what happens in a Southern State is of more than curious interest elsewhere. Sen. Bilbo, for example, has his influence on people everywhere in the United States as a member of the Senate. He votes and speaks on issues that affect them directly. Notorious examples were his long-winded filibustering on the anti-poll tax and FEPC measures.

The Senate, under the Constitution, is the judge of its own members, and this is a trust that the people expect to be kept. It is doubtful that they will be satisfied with any stretching of the "State rights" issue which seems to be the intention of some Southerners.

Bilbo Report Nears Its Final Stage

The News

WASHINGTON, Dec. 25—(AP)—A tentative report on the relations of Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) with war contractors is being circulated today among members of the Senate war investigating subcommittee for approval or amendment.

Later, following up the hearings held last week, the full committee will inspect the report. The present plan is to make it public next Monday. Birmingham, Ala.

A dozen contractors were among the witnesses examined in the open hearings. All were connected with large airfield projects in Mississippi during the early days of preparedness for war. Wed. 12-25-46

Some testified about lending Bilbo money, others to performing jobs for him at his "dream house" estate near Poplarville, Miss. Still others said they had given him money for Wall Doxey's unsuccessful Senate campaign in 1942.

Bilbo contended that all the committee had shown was that he received a car and a small amount of furniture as Christmas presents, and still owes a lot of money.

The committee's report is expected to play a big part in Republican efforts to deny Bilbo a seat when Congress convenes Jan. 3. Contents of the report were a closely-guarded secret.

GOP STEERING BODY WILL ACT ON BILBO

The Times

New York, N.Y.

Takes Up Today Proposal to Bar Seat for Alleged Use of Position for Gain

Tues. 12-31-46

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 30 — The political fate of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi was confided today to the new Republican Steering Committee of the Senate. The committee will consider tomorrow what action, if any, should be taken to keep Mr. Bilbo out of the eightieth Congress.

The Republicans, who will constitute the majority of the Senate which convenes Friday, held their organization meeting today, but there was no time for discussion of the Bilbo question. Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan, who was elected to the steering committee, said he would see to it that the issue was discussed at tomorrow's meeting.

Mr. Ferguson is the only member of the steering committee who has had direct contact with the Bilbo inquiry. He was the minority member of the War Investigating subcommittee which looked into allegations that Mr. Bilbo had profited from improper financial relations with various Mississippi war contractors.

Funds Group Drafting Report

The Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee is drafting the report on its investigation of charges that Mr. Bilbo incited intimidation of Negroes in his campaign for renomination last spring. This committee, headed by Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, held hearings in Jackson, Miss.

Since both of these committees were appointed by the Senate of the Seventy-ninth Congress, their Republican members were in the minority. The overturn in Senate control, however, insures that the minority reports of both committees will secure full attention.

Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire and Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa were the two Republican members of the Ellender committee. Mr. Bridges said today that he would seek to have Mr. Bilbo unseated on the ground that his election was not a proper one, in view of the intimidation of Negroes to maintain the "white primary" in Mississippi.

This course appeared to attract the favorable attention of most Republicans today, but they realized that it presented difficulties. Mr. Bilbo could be excluded on such charges by a mere majority vote in a Senate which will number fifty-one Republicans to forty-five Democrats.

A factor, however, is the possibility that a motion to have Mr. Bilbo stand aside when it came his turn to take the oath of office Friday might precipitate a filibuster by southern Democrats.

Would Defy Filibuster

Senator Owen Brewster of Maine advocated use of this course, however, declaring that the Democrats would have to take the responsibility before the country for a filibuster.

The action proposed by Senator Ferguson would probably have to be taken under a motion for expulsion which, under the Constitution, calls for a favorable vote of two-thirds of the members present. Some Republican leaders indicated today their belief that such a majority could not be obtained.

The war contract charges, which involve upward of $30,000 in cash, plus the dredging of a lake, the construction of a swimming pool, painting and other improvements to Mr. Bilbo's Dream House and Dream House Junior, may be upheld by a majority report of the War Investigating Committee.

Four Republicans, Senator Ferguson, Senator Brewster, Senator William of Knowland of California, and Senator Joseph H. Ball of Minnesota have announced they will sign a condemnatory report.

There were indications today that two Democrats, Senator James M. Mead of New York, chairman of the war investigating subcommittee which conducted the Bilbo hearings, and Senator Harley M. Kilgore of West Virginia, might join the Republicans to make a majority of six of the ten members of the full committee.

The three Democrtic members of the Campaign Expenditure Committee, Senator Ellender, Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma and Senator Burnett R. Baybank of South Carolina, have made it clear that they will report that Mr. Bilbo merely followed the customs of the Southern States in advocating a "white primary" for the Democratic party. 12-31-46

Mr. Bridges will, according to intentions expressed today, report that Mr. Bilbo was not duly and properly elected. The position of Senator Hickenlooper has not been made known.

Kentucky and Mississippi

The Courier-Journal

I was very much amused at your editorial on Bilbo in The Courier-Journal (December 21), and it was interesting to note your comments.

First, we had a swimming pool for a big-shot politician in this State, and the then President asked the people to return Chandler to Washington. This they did. And then this year we had a congressman mixed up with war contractors, and he at the last minute was taken ill. He did not face an investigation and Bilbo did. And on top of all this our senior Senator Barkley went in the Seventh District and asked the people to return this congressman to Washington, but the good people saw fit to get them another congressman, and they are to be praised for this. Louisville, Ky.

I was born and reared in Mississippi. I lived down there till 12 years ago. I know Bilbo personally. He has not accepted anything except gifts from these war contractors and that has been a custom in Mississippi ever since I was big enough to vote. Bilbo has never had a dime of his own, and, as he testified, he owes everybody that will let him. Fri. 12-27-46

I am not taking up for Bilbo, but just making a little comparison of what he has done with what we have here in Kentucky. So I suggest that The Courier-Journal help get its own politicians in line, and then worry about Mississippi and Bilbo. I will admit that your paper headed in that direction in the recent election, but let's see what happens in the next election. J. Y. O'BANNON.

Paducah, Ky.

IN THE 18TH DISTRICT

The Times

Decision by the House Campaign Expenditures Committee to investigate the election of Representative Marcantonio from the Eighteenth Congressional District in this city is a natural and proper outgrowth of District Attorney Hogan's inquiry into the murder of Joseph Scottoriggio, a Republican campaign worker, on election morning. Scottoriggio was fatally beaten on his way to the polls. The committee wants to know whether or not it was part of a pattern "to intimidate voters and influence the election."

The House, like the Senate, is the sole judge of the qualifications of its members. Other investigations have been made of the campaign of Senator Bilbo, in Mississippi, and the primary campaign of Mr. Axtell, unsuccessful Democratic nominee for Congress in Kansas City. It is the right and duty of Congress to establish the facts in any election where intimidation has been publicly charged. Asked a week ago if the attack on Scottoriggio was a "political" assault, District Attorney Hogan said that, while other possibilities were not to be dismissed, everything thus far obtained "pointed exclusively to that motivation." New York, N.Y. Thurs.

There is no reason why the two investigations, that by the House committee and the criminal inquiry here, cannot proceed side by side, with mutual benefit. An aroused public will expect both investigations to be thorough. 11-28-46

OFFICIALS REFUSE TO INVOLVE BILBO

The Times

Solid Front Resists Efforts to Link Senator With Violation of Negroes' Civil Rights

New York, N. Y.

VETERANS ARE PERSUADED

Thurs. 12-5-46

Two Negroes Tell the Inquiry They Urged 32 to Stay Away From Polls at White Behest

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 4 — A solid front of white municipal officials resisted efforts today by the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee to connect specific violations of Negroes' civil rights with Senator Theodore G. Bilbo's campaign speeches last spring. Most of them claimed only a nominal acquaintance with Mr. Bilbo.

Two Negroes from Greenwood told the committee that they persuaded thirty-two Negro veterans not to go to the polls for the Democratic primary election of last July 2 at the instance of three leading white citizens, with the knowledge of the city's Mayor. One of them, J. D. Collins, a well-to-do shoe repairman, told the committee the white men "asked" him to circulate their "advice" among the Negro veterans.

The other, A. C. Montgomery, a taxicab owner, said that the white men "told" them to keep the Negro veterans from voting. Both witnesses agreed that the white men had told them they feared trouble if Negroes voted in the primary because of a speech Mr. Bilbo had made in the adjoining county in which he urged that all means be employed to keep them away.

Get List of Negroes

Their account agreed that the white men gave them a list of thirty-two Negro veterans who had registered, who were exempt from poll tax under the 1946 Mississippi law, and were otherwise qualified to vote. Collins said he agreed to the wisdom of keeping the Negroes from voting by persuasion and accepted the commission because of his high regard for the white men. He said he "felt they wouldn't cater to anything low."

Shelby Steel, white insurance agent who was one of the leading spirits in the electoral peace plan, and Mayor Allen Safford confirmed the main outlines of the Negroes' statement, except that they both denied testimony by Collins that they told him Senator Bilbo's speeches "had stirred up a lotta hell."

They both said Mr. Bilbo's name was not mentioned during any of the talks they had with him or Montgomery. Means Johnston, an attorney and former state legislator, and Earl Eqquen, a former sheriff, the other two participants in the plan, did not testify.

Mr. Steel represented the scheme as an unofficial venture in civic welfare, intended to avoid disorder. He said the group had advised the Negroes that they had every right to vote, but that "tough elements" in the town might make trouble for them and they could not be protected. Because of his esteem for the Negroes, Mr. Steel said, he did not want to see them have to leave town. 12-5-46

Mayor Safford confirmed Mr. Steel's statement about the excellence of racial relations in Greenwood, with no race riots or disturbances in fifty years.

Bilbo Influence Denied

Mayor A. B. Williams and Chief of Police E. R. Sanders of McComb said that Senator Bilbo's campaign oratory had no effect of enhancing racial tensions during the primary campaign. The Mayor explained that primary elections are usually hotly contested in Mississippi.

On these occasions large crowds are attracted to the polls, disputes flare up and it is difficult to prevent fights. On such days, he said, "it is our main concern to keep whites from getting together," which prompted Senator Burnet R. Maybank, Democrat, of South Carolina, to interject that other cities sometimes have fights and killings during election campaigns—even New York City.

Robert L. Williams, policeman of Gulfport, denied that the beating of Richard E. Daniel, Negro veteran, in the county jail there on July 2 had anything to do with the Negro's attempt to vote, as Daniel testified yesterday. The officer said he arrested Daniel for being drrunk (not 'dog drunk," he specified) and disorderly outside the polling place. When the Negro resisted search at the jail he said he had to slap him two or three times with his open hand.

Senator Styles Bridges, Republican, of New Hampshire left Jackson today to attend a Republican Congressional Conference on Finances in Washington. His departure leaves Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa as the sole Republican member of the committee. 12-5-46

Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, chairman of the committee, said tonight he hopes to finish examination of the committee's witnesses tomorrow morning. It is expected that Forrest Jackson, Mr. Bilbo's chief counsel, will put on a few witnesses intended to refute previous testimony, and will then put Mr. Bilbo on the stand for a voluntary statement and subsequent examination by the committee. The hearings will probably be concluded late tomorrow.

AT CONGRESSIONAL HEARING IN MISSISSIPPI

Senator Theodore G. Bilbo assumed this pose as a witness testified before a Senate committee investigating charges that he prevented Negroes from voting in the primaries last July. Associated Press Wirephoto

WRIT SEEKS TO FREE WITNESS IN SLAYING

The Times

New York, N. Y.

Court Allows 'Reasonable Time' to Question Man Held Since Nov. 15 in Election Case

Supreme Court Justice Denis O'Leary Cohalan reserved decision yesterday on a writ of habeas corpus to free Dominick Petrone, 41-year-old ex-pugilist now being held in $20,000 bail as a material witness in the fatal beating of Joseph H. Scottoriggio, Republican campaign worker in the Eighteenth Congressional District, on Election Day. Thurs. 12-5-46

Arguing against the writ, Assistant District Attorney Jacob Grumet asserted that "when Judge [James G.] Wallace fixed the bail, he had before him testimony that Petrone, on that very day, had heard someone say that 'Joey' and a bunch of the boys were going to beat the hell out of somebody."

"Who is Joey?" asked Justice Cohalan. "When you refer to people in this court, don't refer to them by their first names."

"It is all in the record which I will submit to Your Honor," the District Attorney answered.

Joseph (Joey) Rao and Michael (Trigger Mike) Coppola are being held in $250,000 bail each, as material witnesses in the case.

Nathan Stern, attorney for Petrone, said his client was "a reputable citizen" employed as an inspector by the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity and was being held illegally.

"On Nov. 15 he [Petrone] had an appointment to meet a detective who was investigating the death of Scottoriggio," Mr. Stern said. "Petrone kept the appointment and was taken into custody. He has been held ever since. Even his wife has been unable to see him. His brothr attempted to see him and was taken to the District Attorney's office, where he was held for eleven hours before he was permitted to se him.

"He hasn't been charged with anything. All they say is that Petrone is alleged to have heard something somebody said to somebody."

The attorney asserted that his client had no record.

Mr. Grumet said Petrone's detention was necessary and that "holding him for eighteen or nineteen days is not an unreasonable length of time."

Justice Cohalan replied:

"On the face of it, at least, this man is a reputable citizen. We certainly want the murderer of Scottoriggio brought to justice. The public wants it. The court wants it. But certainly you should make up your mind just how long you are going to hold this man as a material witness.

"If you can't get the information you want from him in a reasonable time, I'm going to let him go."

It was agreed that Mr. Grumet would provide the court with a copy of the testimony given to Judge Wallace and that both sides would submit to the court today memoranda giving their estimates of the time they would require for questioning.

The court then took the case under advisement.

RANKIN PROPOSES MARCANTONIO BAN

The Times

Representative of Mississipp Says Congress Will Be Asked to Deny Seat to New Yorker

New York, N. Y.

The right of Representative Vito Marcantonio to represent his Harlem district in Congress was questioned yesterday in Washington by John E. Rankin, Mississippi Democrat. Representative Rankin said a resolution denying Mr. Marcantonio the right to sit would be offered when Congress convened on Jan. 3. Thurs. 11-30-46

Mr. Rankin's declaration came a day after Representative Percy Priest of the House Campaign Expenditures Committee had announced that election conditions in

Mr. Goldstein called to the stand application filed by Rao and Mike James Tyndall, who have been held in affidavit on which Rao and Coppola have been held beyond indicating that he had Nov. 16 because the witness presented private evidence to pola have been held. The witness presented private evidence to connection with the admitted that both men had de- Judge James Garrett Wallace in plied to him any knowledge of the General Sessions before the judge fixed the $250,000 bail.

Justice Levy said he would hand down his decision on Dec. 11.

He avoided any clue to the evidence on which they were being held beyond indicating that he had

Socialist, who was deprived waukee district of his seat after World War I. There is no appeal from a House decision, as each body of Congress has the right to pass on the qualifications of its own members.

Mr. Marcantonio had no comment here on Mr. Rankin's statement. The two men, said Mr. Marcantonio's home district were to be investigated. The inquiry would be on the basis of reports made after the killing of Joseph Scottoriggio, anti-Marcantonio Republican worker, on Election Day.

Mr. Rankin indicated that the resolution aimed at depriving Mr. Marcantonio of his seat would be based on the latter's political beliefs and affiliations. A precedent is the case of Victor Berger, Mil-

habeas corpus application filed by Joey Rao and Coppola. They have been held in $250,000 bail since Nov. 15 because of possible connection with the killing of Joseph Scottoriggio.

David Goldstein, attorney for Mr. Goldstein said both had been held without bringing them before the grand jury and that taken to the District Attorney's office.

Mr. Goldstein had had them questioned about their income taxes, not the assault, when first that either they

Mr. Hogan stressed the past criminal records of the two men.

Justice Levy said he would hand down his decision on Dec. 11.

Aaron J. Levy reserved decision on cut to $1,000 or $1,500 each.

Senate GOP Says It Will Bar Bilbo

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Sat. 11-16-46

WASHINGTON, Nov. 15.—The powerful anti-Bilbo sentiment of the people back home is causing the Republicans to make noises about denying Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, notorious race inciter, his seat. The GOP Senate steering committee has decided to challenge his taking the oath of office when the new Senate opens in January rather than to try to unseat him after he takes the oath. The first procedure requires only a majority, the second a two-thirds vote. The GOP is being prodded by northern Democrats who have fought Bilbo in the past.

But the long-time alliance of the GOP leaders with the southern polltax tories, plus their own innate reactionary attitudes, may yet make this only noise. While the GOP will have an absolute majority in the Senate, it may still need polltaxers' help in putting through its reactionary program in case of presidential vetoes.

Basis for the attack on Bilbo are his attacks on the Negro people in the course of the election campaign, including incitements to lynchings in case they tried to vote, and his alleged acceptance of bribes from a war contractor in return for special favors.

Two committees are investigating these separate angles now. One is the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee, headed by Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D-La). The other is the Senate War Expenditure Committee, headed by Sen. Harley Kilgore (D-WVa).

Democrats are divided as to whether these two Democratic-led committees should act first. Tory Democrats, of course, want the business dropped. Northern Democrats are for pushing the charges through.

Bilbo Hearing Is Flop—As a Drawing Card

The Courier-Journal

Washington, Dec. 12 (AP)—As a spectacle, the Bilbo hearing today was pretty much of a flop.

This opinion is official. It comes from a Capitol policeman. He and six other guards were assigned to the investigation of Senator Bilbo and his role in certain war contracts. Fri. 12-13-46

The hearing began at 10:08 a.m. By 10:17 there were 22 spectators in the large, ornate Senate caucus room. This averages one guard for every 3.14 spectators. Louisville, Ky.

By 11:27 business had more than doubled. Now there was 47, or 6.71 psectators per guard.

CRC Asks Bilbo Probe Outside of Miss. Too

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

A plea that the open hearings on Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo's fitness to take his seat in the new Senate not be confined to Mississippi was directed today to the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee by the Civil Rights Congress. Sat.

Applauding the decision of the Senate committee to open its inquiry in Jackson, Miss. on Dec. 2, the civil rights organization warned that certain witnesses, especially Negroes, would be reluctant to give testimony in the "restrictive and threatening atmosphere which pervades the state." 11-23-46

A Warm Reception for Mr. Bilbo

Times-Dispatch Richmond, Va.

An Editorial from the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

BY present indications, Senator Theodore G. (The Man) Bilbo, of Mississippi, will face a warm reception when he comes forward to claim a seat in the new Congress. The warmth will not be of the friendly variety.

According to "an influential Republican Senator," the Republican steering committee in the Senate has decided that one of its members (as yet unselected) will rise to a point of order on January 3, the day the new Congress meets, and object to Mr. Bilbo's taking the oath of office. If present plans mature the Republican majority (backed perhaps by a substantial Democratic showing unless party solidarity is invoked) will vote to refer the objection to the Rules Committee. This committee, in turn, will promptly call for reports from two other groups, the Special Campaign and War Investigating Committees. There should be little delay in obtaining those reports. Mon. 11-25-46

Both the investigating committees have been checking complaints about Mr. Bilbo's political and financial activities for three months or more. The Campaign Committee has had investigators and attorneys at work in Mississippi since the primary there last Summer that resulted in Mr. Bilbo's nomination for his present Senate seat. They have been sifting the evidence behind complaints in regard to a long list of electoral abuses with major emphasis on the charge that Negroes were kept from voting by intimidation. The war committee has been assembling a file on Mr. Bilbo's relations with war contractors since last Spring and dispatched an additional crew of investigators to Mississippi in September after a decision to put "the Bilbo case" high on its agenda. The committee's counsel recently disclosed that the members are much interested in questioning Mr. Bilbo about the manner in which he acquired an eight-acre artificial lake on his Mississippi estate and the so-called "Dream House" erected on an island in that lake.

The Rules Committee, if really aroused, can also call for a report from the regular Committee on Privileges and Elections. This old-line standing committee is said to have an intriguing Bilbo file of its own.

There is a persistent legend that the "exclusive club" which is the United States Senate is very tender in its treatment of members whose credentials are challenged. True enough, it has usually been reluctant to take up charges against individual members or members-elect. But when it has taken them up, it has shown itself capable of tough action. Three cases can be cited since the turn of the century.

In 1910 charges of bribery and corruption were made against William Lorimer, of Illinois. After an initial investigation, the Senate declined, by a close vote, to unseat him. But a committee of the Illinois Legislature uncovered new evidence—and in 1912 the Senate reconsidered its verdict and ousted him with an emphatic vote.

In 1919 Truman H. Newberry, who had defeated Henry Ford for Senator from Michigan the year before, was indicted under the Michigan Corrupt Practices Act. Though found guilty in the lower courts, he was "cleared" on appeal by a Supreme Court ruling that the act was unconstitutional. The Senate accepted him by a 46-41 vote—but the general feeling of censure among his colleagues as well as in popular opinion prompted him to resign after 10 months of tenure.

In 1926 charges of corrupt practices and exorbitant campaign expenditures were preferred against William S. Vare, of Pennsylvania. The Senate refused to accept his certificate of election and ordered an investigation. Mr. Vare was a power in his party's councils and the fight was a long one. But in 1929 the case was pushed to a vote and he was rejected, 58-22.

Mr. Bilbo can derive scant reassurance from such precedents. They suggest that he can place little reliance on senatorial courtesy or any reluctance of the Senate, when pushed to it, to face facts about its members—and that his chances of remaining in the Senate will depend primarily upon his ability to refute the evidence being amassed against him.

A Most Curious Procedure

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

THE Ellender Senate Committee is certainly going about its investigation of election charges against Sen. Bilbo in a phony way.

The findings of this committee, as well as of another Senate committee investigating the Mississippi polltaxer's alleged acceptance of bribes from war contractors, are supposed to be the basis for kicking him out of the Senate.

The Ellender Committee, headed by a Louisiana polltaxer, is conducting public hearings in Mississippi. Its chairman is asking Negroes to come voluntarily before the committee to testify that Sen. Bilbo's actions in the elections kept them away from the polls. Mon. 12-2-46

This is certainly a curious procedure. The case against Bilbo rests chiefly on the speeches he made urging violence against Negroes who tried to vote. Obviously, if Negroes were afraid to go to the polls because of his threats of violence and lynchings, they are going to be even more afraid to appear before the committee to testify directly against Bilbo.

This is why the Civil Rights Congress and numerous other groups interested in fighting Bilbo have insisted that there must also be public hearings in Washington, and that people outside of Mississippi be allowed to testify. Three Mississippi Negro groups have also asked that Negro witnesses be subpenaed by the committee.

As the matter stands now, Sen. Ellender appears to be paving the way for a whitewash of Bilbo. The heat will have to be put on him to compel any real investigation.

Full Senate Inquiry Is Voted On Bilbo's Right to His Seat

The Times New York, N.Y.

Campaign Investigating Committee Acts on Complaints That He Incited Intimidation of Negroes—Public Hearings Ordered

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Sun. 11-17-46

Special to THE TIMES

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16—The Senate Campaign Investigating Committee voted today to hold a full-dress investigation of whether Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, was fit to be a member of the Senate.

After a closed meeting at which it considered complaints that Senator Bilbo had obtained renomination in the Democratic primary last Summer by inciting the intimidation of Negroes to keep them away from the polls, the committee announced it would hold public hearings on the question at Jackson, Miss., beginning no later than Dec. 2.

The action, said Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, the chairman, was based on complaints of forty-eight Mississippi citizens who signed a petition and made affidavits which were presented to the committee by the Civil Rights Congress, with headquarters in New York City.

By inflammatory statements during the campaign, the complaints charged, Senator Bilbo had "advocated, counseled, inspired, encouraged, incited, aided and abetted" the white population "to commit acts of violence and intimidation" against Negro voters.

Senator Bilbo, the complaints said, "has become a symbol of oppression and reaction against the Negro people." They noted that he had won renomination by a "bare majority of less than 4,000 votes" and called on the Senate to refuse to seat him. Sun. 11-17-46

In addition to the formal complaints, the committee considered reports of its own investigators who recently returned from Mississippi.

While denying that the investigators' findings supported the charges, Chairman Ellender said that he nevertheless voted for public hearings and also cast the proxy of Senator Burnet R. Maybank, Democrat, of South Carolina, in the affirmative.

Other members were present and voted affirmatively in person. They included Senators Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, and Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, who were designated by the Republican Steering Committee yesterday to prepare a report for submission to the Republican Conference Dec. 30.

Senator Ellender stated, some of the hearings probably would be held in Grenada and Hattiesburg after those in Jackson had been concluded. He said the hearings should last about two weeks. None will be held in Washington.

The chairman's talk with reporters outside of the committee room was interrupted by Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council, who asserted Mr. Ellender had previously said public hearings might lead to "killing of Senator Bilbo should be considered on whether the seating of Senator Bilbo should be contested.

While the campaign committee is not required to report to Congress before the new session begins Jan. 3, Senator Ellender said, the committee had decided to welcome witnesses he desired, Mr. Ellender said, to mouth infection, however, and it would be able to appear or even to come to Washington. The chairman's talk with reporters was questionable whether he would be able to appear whenever they were ready for them.

He said the committee had decided to cided, for the present at least, to limit witnesses to citizens of Mississippi but that others might be permitted to testify later if it were deemed they had pertinent information to offer. The Times

ing." Mr. Brown wanted to know if the Senator felt witnesses testifying against Senator Bilbo would be "unsafe." Sun. 11-17-46

"You are trying to be sensational," Mr. Ellender replied. "The answer is no, of course not."

Senator Ellender said the committee would not look into charges of financial deals in 1942 between Senator Bilbo and War Production contractors. The committee's activities were limited to campaign activities in 1946, he stated.

The Senate War Investigating Committee, however, is expected to meet Monday to decide whether to investigate that phase of the Bilbo question.

In another action taken at today's meeting, the Ellender committee censured a book called "The Plot Against America" and voted to turn the matter over to the Attorney General for prosecution of the author for libel. The book, published during the Montana Democratic primary campaign, contained an attack on Senator Burton K. Wheeler; who was defeated in the primary.

Mr. Ellender said that the committee condemned the book as "one of the vilest, most contemptible and obscene pieces of so-called literature ever to be published concerning a man in public office in the United States."

He identified the author as David George Kin, but Louis C. Wyman, Associate General Counsel of the committee, said that this was a pen name.

Coddling Bilbo

Daily Worker

SENATORS Ellender, and Bilbo, of Mississippi, may think their little joke has settled matters for good. They had their hearings down in Jackson and it was proved to everyone's satisfaction that the Negroes should "know their place" and not try to vote. New York, N. Y.

To everyone's satisfaction, that is, except the 10 million Negro people in the USA and the millions of patriotic Americans who take the Bill of Rights and the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution seriously.

Senator Ellender and the GOP Senators on the five-man committee may try to whitewash the cruel and degrading rottenness of the "white supremacy" racket. But the noble and inspiring heroism of the Negro witnesses will not die. It will march on. Sat. 12-7-46

Meanwhile, public opinion ought to insist in no uncertain terms that the hearings be continued in Washington. For the shameful flouting of democratic rights by the "white supremacy" racketeers weakens democratic liberties in every part of the country.

Bilbo Election Probe Opens Today

Daily Worker, New York, N. Y.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 1. — Blustering U.S. Senator Theodore Bilbo arrived here with three lawyers and about 50 of his "white supremacy" pals to defend his reelection against investigation by a Senate sub-committee of charges that he prevented duly qualified Americans from voting in the July 2 Mississippi Democratic primary. In this state the winner of the Democratic primary is assured of election.

Bilbo was renominated by only 4,000 votes. Mon. 12-2-46

The charges which the Senate Campaign Investigations Committee will probe here tomorrow were contained in a petition by 50 Negro and white Mississippians, initiated by the Civil Rights Congress. The civil rights group has been conducting a nationwide drive to oust Bilbo from Congress.

The 50 Mississippians charge Bilbo waged "an aggressive and ruthless campaign" which deprived 500,000 Negroes of their right to vote in the Democratic primary. They said Bilbo made "inflammatory appeals to the passions and prejudices of the white population of Mississippi," and urged the Senate to void the electon and keep Bilbo from his seat.

Attorney Charles H. Houston is expected to present a brief against Bilbo for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Bilbo, in a statement on the eve of the investigation, once more declared that "under our state laws the Negro does not have a right to vote in the Democratic primaries if he has not been in accord with the party for at least two years, so that let's out all Negroes"

Mon. 12-2-46

Bilbo also said the charges were "an indictment of the whole white race of Mississippi, in which we are accused of being bigoted, prejudiced, undemocratic and unconstitutional."

BILBO

Besides the campaign committee's probe, two other investigations are imminent. Mon. 12-2-46

1. An inquiry by the Senate War Investigating Committee into charges Bilbo accepted gratuities from Mississippi war contractors. Hearings on the "war profiteering" charge—entirely distinct from the campaign charges — will begin in Washington on Dec. 12.

2. An investsigation by the Senate Republican steering committee to determine the advisability of making an effort to keep Bilbo from his seat.

The GOP committee, headed by Robert A. Taft of Ohio, has appointed Sens. Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R-Iowa) and Styles Bridges (R-NH) to inquire into the many charges against Bilbo and report back.

Both Bridges and Hickenlooper are members of Ellender's committee.

Democrats Join Republican Plan To Unseat Bilbo

Investigating Group Members In Favor Of Quizzing Senator

BY EDWIN B. HAAKINSON

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16 — (AP) — The Republican drive to bar Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) from his seat gained some Democratic aid Saturday as the Senate campaign investigating committee voted a full scale inquiry into his anti-Negro stand.

BILBO

The vote was unanimous on the part of the three Democratic as well as the two Republican committee members.

Public hearings will be held in Mississippi no later than Dec. 2.

Specifically, they will explore sworn complaints Bilbo violated the constitution by preventing Negroes from voting in the primary in which he won renomination.

If the charges are upheld, they would provide a basis for the Republican steering committee to proceed with its avowed intention of challenging Bilbo's right to the seat. Sun. 11-17-46

THE STEERING COMMITTEE has appointed Sens. Bridges (R., N. H.) and Hickenlooper (R., Iowa) as a subcommittee to plan the strategy. They also are members of the campaign investigating committee. Democratic members are Chairman Ellender, of Louisiana, and Sens. Elmer Thomas, of Oklahoma, and Maybank, of South Carolina. Birmingham, Ala.

The campaign investigating committee also: News

1. Decided to ask Atty. Gen. Clark to prosecute, if possible, those responsible for a book entitled "Plot Against America" which figured in the Democratic senatorial primary in Montana. The veteran Sen. Burton K. Wheeler lost the Democratic nomination to Leif Erickson but Erickson was defeated in the November election. Ellender termed the book, which attacked Wheeler, "one of the vilest and most contemptible and obscene pieces of literature" ever used against a public office holder.

2. Informed Patrick J. Hurley unsuccessful Republican opponent of Sen. Dennis Chavez (D., N. M.) that Hurley "or anyone he designates" may file sworn charges against Chavez. Ellender said the committee then may send investigators to New Mexico.

3. Decided not to act on complaints against Sen. McKellar (D. Tenn.) made by Edward Carmack unsuccessful Democratic primary opponent of McKellar.

4. Announced no complaints had been received as a result of the close Senate election contests in Maryland or West Virginia.

ELLENDER SAID THE BILBO HEARINGS will be held in the central, northern and southern parts of Mississippi at or near Jackson, Grenada and Hattiesburg.

Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council, interrupted Ellender's announcement to newsmen to ask the senator whether he still expects "killings" to result from the public hearings. Brown said Ellender previously had predicted "killings" if Negroes testified in Mississippi and asked whether they would be safe.

"You are just trying to be sensational again," Ellender told Brown adding that witnesses would be safe.

Ellender at first said the hearings will involve charges on the "racial issue" filed "by some New York organization."

But Hickenlooper noted the charges actually were sworn to "by citizens of Mississippi" although prepared by the Civil Rights Congress of New York.

Milton Kaufman, executive secretary for the Civil Rights Congress, later handed newsmen a statement which said it had filed the petition and evidence "charging Sen. Bilbo was reelected through fraud and intimidation and constitutional violations."

The statement added the Senate War Investigating Committee should hold similar hearings on charges involving alleged transactions by Bilbo with war contractors.

Ellender was asked whether persons other than citizens of Mississippi could testify.

"No," the chairman said. "We don't want the whole nation to be in Mississippi. It's limited to Mississippians." Birmingham

Ellender said Bilbo will be notified of the hearings and invited to testify or present witnesses. Ala.

Meanwhile a friend of the senator here said Bilbo's physical condition may prevent his appearance on Jan. 3 when Congress opens. News

Bilbo, 69, recently was injured in an automobile accident near his Poplarville, Miss., home. Before that he underwent hospital treatment in New Orleans for a mouth ailment. Sunday

Bilbo Must Go Unit Organizes

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

This Bilbo Must Go Movement was organized in Atlanta Thursday night in a meeting at the Butler Street YMCA. Sun. 11-24-46

The meeting was called by Dr. E. G. Boddie, while Rev. W. S. Smith was elected chairman of the committee and Mrs. J. L. Jackson, secretary. Other members of the committe enicluded B. F. Cofer, Rev. W. H. Borders, Rev. A. M. F.

Scott, Charles Greenlea, J. E. Matthews, Rev. W. S. Smith, Charles Mathias and E. G. Boddie.

In a message calling for Bilbo's demise in the senate, the group said: "Senator Bilbo stands for everything that over-advocates election is a threat to democracy, black, yellow, and white—men and women, labor, veterans and al high ideals of America and humanity.'

The Bilbo Must Go meeting was sponsored by the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America. The meeting pledged to use every legal means posible to keep the Mississippi Senator Bilbo. His seat from taking a seat in Congress in January.

Senators George and Russell to vote against seating Senator Bilbo.

en died in World War II to defeat

SEN. BILBO DEFENDS 'WHITE SUPREMACY'

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 12-7-46

45a

B-U-L-L-E-T-I-N!

JACKSON, Miss.—Senator Bilbo Monday morning requested that he or his attorneys be allowed to do the cross-examining at hearings now being conducted by the Senate Investigating Committee. The request provoked a sharp difference among committee members. More than 150 witnesses, many of them Negro war veterans, were present, despite earlier indications there would be difficulty in obtaining voluntary witnesses.

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

JACKSON, Miss.—Here in the modern Federal Court building of this ancient Capital City of the Magnolia State Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, defiant and boastful, prepared to "defend" his platform of "white supremacy" as a jury of his colleagues sat to decide his political fate.

Bilbo, who won out in the Mississippi State Democratic primary by 4,000 votes, will have to tell the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee just why (if he admits it) he advocated prevention of duly qualified Americans—Negroes—from voting in the July 2 primary. His foes claim that had Negroes been permitted to vote without fear of reprisals, he would have lost by an overwhelming vote.

The Committee will probe the charges and then recommend whether or not "The Man," as he is facetiously referred to, should be permitted to take his seat in the Eightieth Congress which convenes Jan. 3.

RECALL OLD TRIAL

Although a U. S. District Courtroom is the scene of the attraction, the hearing is likely to be the biggest thing of its kind since the days when the same bespectacled Bilbo was impeached in the State Legislature on a bribery charge, was tried by the State Senate and won an acquittal by one vote.

This time, Bilbo is facing the U. S. Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee. Its members are taking a look into the talkative Senator's political tactics last summer during the State's Democratic primary. Chief complaint against "The Man" is that he urged white voters to keep colored voters from the polls by force, if necessary.

HASN'T CHANGED

Several colored citizens were beaten when they did attempt to vote. The Courier

The hearings were started Monday morning, and conducting them are Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, and Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa.

The ailing Bilbo, surrounded by three attorneys, arrived here Friday from his mansion in Poplarville. He insisted that "I am here as an innocent bystander, but of course if anything hot develops I have two or three lawyers who will give the matter proper attention." Pittsburgh, Pa.

He told reporters that Senator Ellender had forwarded him a copy of the complaint, and described it as an "indictment against every white man and woman who believes in the white race."

SHORT OF WITNESSES

A large conglomeration of spectators jammed the courtroom for the opening session. Close to fifty witnesses were expected to testify, but, so far, the Committee has been able to find less than twenty-five. Riley W. Shanks, general counsel for the Committee, urged all Mississippians to testify if they have any information to substantiate or refute charges that Bilbo's campaign speeches intimidated would-be voters, but despite this plea and promises of Committee protection from reprisals, the Committee has encountered "a lack of cooperation" which Shanks termed "surprising and disappointing." Sat. 12-7-46

WITNESSES AFRAID

The Progressive Voters League, T. B. Wilson, president, called on the Committee to use its power of subpoena to force witnesses to testify, but the Committee has indicated an unwillingness to follow this procedure unless it is proven necessary.

Colored leaders asserted that the hearings would be a "flop" unless the Committee subpoenas Negro witnesses, who fear to volunteer testimony.

Ellender said he was surprised at the national interest shown in the hearings, and he criticized efforts of "outsiders who want to throw Bilbo out regardless of the evidence."

NO NEED FOR GUARD

An effort by "outsiders" to have Governor Fielding Wright call out the State Guard to protect Negroes who wish to testify against Bilbo was denied. Said he: "Negroes have been testifying against white men in Mississippi for fifty years to my personal knowledge and I see no reason for them to be fearful now."

The current hearings mark one of the few times that social issues have been involved in a Senate contest, and it stands as a milepost in the struggle by Negroes to better their political status in the South.

Before the Mississippi hearings are ended a second Senate Committee will begin public airing in Washington of charges that Senator Bilbo accepted gifts from war contractors.

GOP PLAN DOUBTFUL

Republicans in the Senate intend to caucus Dec. 30 to discuss whether to challenge Senator Bilbo when he claims his new seat in January. They might not challenge him because it is possible that they will be defeated in the move.

Washington observers are paying little attention to the rumor that Bilbo might resign because of illness. Sat. 12-7-46

Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, last week requested that his organization be represented before the Committee by counsel to present a brief on the law involved in the case. If Senator Ellender grants this request, the NAACP would send Attorney Charles H. Houston of Washington, D. C. here.

Stating that it could be established that the statements and public utterances of Senator Bilbo, during his primary campaign, advocated the use of fraud, force and violence to deny Negro citizens certain Constitutional rights the NAACP asked that it be given the opportunity to present the Committee with evidence of these statements, and that the Committees have Senator Bilbo present so that "he may deny or admit, under oath, before your Committee, the making of these statements . . ."

The NAACP added, in its letter: "We further direct the attention of your Committee to the fact that within a week after the conclusion of the Democratic primary in Mississippi in which Senator Bilbo was successful . . . he openly declared the necessity for making statutory changes in the primary election laws of the State of Mississippi in order legally to prevent Negroes from voting in the Democratic primaries of that State. We specifically ask that he be required to answer, under oath, whether or not he made such statements. Should he make such an admission, it will immediately be obvious that at the time Senator Bilbo made the statements first referred to above, he knew Negroes had a legal right to vote in the Democratic primaries of the State of Mississippi under the law as it then existed!"

Spur Civil Rights Fight

Citizens Organize To Oust Bilbo

45a

NEW YORK—A National Committee to Oust Bilbo, sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress, created to rally national support for Senate action on unseating Bilbo, was announced this week by Quentin Reynolds and Vincent Sheean, co-chairmen.

Organized to make effective the present widespread sentiment for barring Senator Bilbo from the new Senate, the National Committee to Oust Bilbo is spearheading a popular petition campaign urging the Senate to act on charges that he won re-election through fraud and intimidation.

"The charges of violence and intimidation now before a senate committee were signed by a group of courageous Mississippi voters, largely through the assistance of the Civil Rights Congress," Mr. Reynolds explained.

WOULD ENCOURAGE NEGRO CITIZENS

"Ousting Bilbo would not only remove an avowed member of the Ku Klux Klan from the Senate," declared Mr. Reynolds, "but would represent a setback for the system of terror, disfranchisement and race supremacy which Bilbo typifies.

"It would also serve as vast encouragement to the increasing number of white and Negro citizens of the South who seek the democratic right of franchise and free election," he added.

Goal of the campaign is to present petitions bearing one million signatures to the Senate when it convenes in January.

NAMES COMMITTEE

The newly launched committee, consisting of religious, labor business and professional leaders, includes Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Rabbi David deSola Pool, David O. Selznick, George F. Addes, Albert Einstein, Mark Ethridge, the Rev. Dr. Harvey Emerson Fosdick, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Albert Sprague, Coolidge, Justice Jands H. Wolf, Van Wyck Brooks, Aaron Copland, Earl B. Dickerson.

Also, John Garfield, Oscar Hammersteinll, Paul Robenson, Sholem Asch, the Rev. Dr. Russell Bowe, Edgar Sr Snow, William Rose Benet, Christian Gauss, Fannie Hurst, Dr. D. V. Jemison, Garson Kanin, Dr. Harlow Shapley, Gene Kelly, Rockwell Kent, Cornelia Otis Skinner, J, Raymond Walsh, Alain Locke, Katherine Dunham, Lenord Bernstein, Dr. Anna W. M. Wolf, Oswald Veblen, Vilhjalmur Stefanson, Dorothy Parker, and the Rev. Dr. Guy Emery Shipler.

Answering Perry

Dear Sir:

I would like to call your attention to an error of fact which I believe is contained in Jennings Perry's column of Dec. 30. New York, N.Y. 12-5-47 Sun.

In discussing ways and means of barring Bilbo from the Senate (something I would *love* to see!) he says: "I mean the constitutional requirement that the representation of any state in Congress shall be reduced proportionately as the state may transgress upon the right of its citizens to vote." Further along in the same column Mr. Perry suggested that at the time the Senate convened all that would have been necessary would be for the sergeant-at-arms to read the section of the Constitution mentioned, and Bilbo would automatically be barred.

Mr. Perry apparently was referring to Section 3 of the Fourteenth Amendment, and therein lies his error. That section refers to Representatives only and would not, therefore, apply to a Senator. Furthermore, Paragraph 1 of Section 3 of Article One of the Constitution says there must be two Senators from each State. Sun. 12-15-47

New York SEYMOUR SHAPIRO

WASHINGTON NOTES

BILBO'S PRINCIPLE IS IN THE BANK

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

By Rob F. Hall

WASHINGTON

THE THING THAT emerges with particular force from the Bilbo hearing before the Senate War Investigating Committee is the base immorality of the senior Senator from Mississippi. Mon. 12-23-46

I suspect that I, along with others, always felt Bilbo was motivated by principle, albeit a rank reactionary principle. I suppose we believed he was chiefly by ideology—a vulgar, backward, fascist, racist ideology but nevertheless something which made sense to the warped slave-master psychology of Bilbo and his friends.

The testimony before the committee, however, has established to the satisfaction of most observers that Theodore G. Bilbo has been motivated by nothing more complicated than his own self interest. His political organization has been in the final analysis merely a conveyor belt by which funds, gifts, Cadillac automobiles, furniture, houses, a lake and other assorted real estate have been transported into his possession.

Not that the Senator lacks an ideology. It is the ideology of Southern bourbon fascism, that is, of the plantation owner. Pleading before the committee that he is "a very poor man," Bilbo admitted he owns 3,300 acres, with about 20 tenant houses, and his own mansion, "Dream House No. 1." Mon. 12-23-46

•

A PLANTER in his own right, therefore, he is in character when he blames the charges against him on "two groups, the Negro group and the Communists." Similarly he was in character when he did his act for the newsreel photographers.

"Say something, Senator," the cameraman said as they focused their lenses on him.

"Keep the Russians out—keep the Russians out—keep the Russians out," Bilbo said, enunciating slowly.

At this writing, it is impossible to say what will be the verdict of the Senate. Certainly Senator Ferguson and Mead are pressing the charges against Bilbo here far more energetically than did their colleagues, Ellender and Bridges, in Jackson, Miss. But the final outcome depends on too many factors to venture a prediction.

It is safe to speculate, however, on what will be history's verdict in the Bilbo case. It will be that a man with some ability and native shrewdness, but without a conscience, shamelessly exploited the backward prejudices of the rural poor and the greed of the rich to the benefit of himself and the detriment of the nation.

•

THEODORE BILBO himself sprang from poor whites of South Mississippi. I remember stories told me by my mother, a country school teacher in what was then backwoods Pearl River county. The family lived in a small rundown shanty, she said, and the Bilbo children were poorly clothed. But runty, undersized Theodore showed even then a sharp intelligence.

As Bilbo reached manhood, James K. Vardaman was the dominating political figure in Mississippi. A flaming populist, calling down damnation on the greedy corporations and railroads, Vardaman captured the imagination of the states's small farmers. During World War I, Vardaman opposed U.S. entry into what he termed a bankers' war. The other side of Vardaman, like so many of the Southern populists, was a burning hatred of Negroes.

From Vardaman Bilbo learned the road to political success was through expressing the grievances of the people against the corporations. In his early days he combined this with his own brand of Negro-baiting. Today his attacks on Negroes, Jews, foreigners and Communists have become his main platform. Opposition to corporate rule has degenerated in his hands to nothing more than slanders against "New Yorkers." With the rich today he has no quarrel. 12-23-46

The pity is that more of the common people of Mississippi have not yet realized this.

GOP Chiefs Divided on Best Strategy

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 1-4-47

Fear Airing of 'Supremacy' Issue; Senator Ferguson Would Bar Him

WASHINGTON

The stench of the "Bilbo Mess" has become so embarrassing to the Democratic Party, its GOP allies in Congress, and the nation's honor, that a majority of the Senate Campaign Investigation Committee has decided to exonerate "The Man" and let the Senate itself purge him as an undesirable.

This was learned Saturday when Sen. Homer Ferguson (Rep., Mich.) announced that the majority—Sens. Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina, and Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma, all Democrats—has approved a "very tough" report criticizing Bilbo for his dealings with war contractors.

As was expected after the Senate War Investigating, and Campaign Committees concluded hearings in Jackson (Miss.) and Washington on Bilbo's conduct in the Mississippi primary, and his relations with war contractors, the plan now is, to "forgive" him for the latter and "exonerate" him on the former.

Republicans Divided

Republicans intent on ousting Bilbo from the Senate are divided on the best method to achieve this goal. The party's steering committee failed to agree on any tactical procedure when it met Friday.

Influential members warned against any attempt to bar Bilbo at the door by simply refusing him a seat.

Many Republicans are anxious to avoid a discussion of Bilbo's "white supremacy" theory if he is challenged, which, in itself, they say, would solidify Southern senators beyond all other considerations.

Thomas Fears Bilbo

Senator Thomas emphasized that he has no intention to "cross swords" with Bilbo, who, he said, should not be denounced for helping contractors in his State, since all senators do that.

The Oklahoman said he had positive information that Bilbo has "a bunch of people" rounding up information which he can use to "embarrass" any senators who rise to oppose him. Sat. 1-4-47

Says Miss. Case Weak

Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper, who with Senator Ferguson is the other Republican on the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee, told the steering committee Friday that at best, only "a weak case" could be made that Bilbo's intimidation speeches against colored voters influenced his election.

Senator Ferguson, chief examiner in the Bilbo inquiry, said:

"My idea is that this is not a political matter, and the Senate should not let anyone take the oath of office if it has knowledge of facts that should prevent him from serving.

Ferguson Would Act

"The two-thirds question will not be involved because on Jan. 3 Bilbo will not be a Senator.

"Bilbo should be instructed to step aside next Friday when 34 senators take their seats."

Ellender Plays Tag

Senator Ellender has called a meeting of his committee for 2:30 p.m., Monday to prepare its report.

That is the exact hour that Senate Republicans will hold a conference to appoint a steering committee for the new Congress.

U. S. Agents Probe Bilbo

As GOP Leads Its Guns

The Courier
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 1-7-47

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31—(AP)—The Justice Department disclosed Tuesday night it is inquiring into the affairs of Sen. Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, and the Senate Republican Steering Committee signaled a finish fight to oust him. Wed. 1-7-47

A Justice Department official who is fully acquainted with the inquiry told a reporter that "it has been in progress in Mississippi and Washington for some time."

The inquiry, he said, "is independent of that made by congressional committees. It covers every aspect of the Bilbo case."

The official said Justice Department agents have been in Mississippi "for some time studying the affairs of Sen. Bilbo."

When asked if this inquiry included reports of intimidation of Negroes in the primary in which Bilbo was renominated, he said: "Certainly."

The Republican Steering Committee voted unanimously to try to press its ouster fight.

Sen. Taft, of Ohio, Chairman of the GOP Policy Group, announced this decision with the terse statement that Bilbo "will be attacked."

"When, where and how will be decided later," Taft told a news conference after a four-hour session of the Steering Committee.

The Ohio Senator pointed out that the Committee's recommendations are subject to approval by the full Republican membership. The Courier Wed. 1-7-47

Chairman Ellender, Democrat, Louisiana, of a Special Campaign Investigating Committee, strongly indicated that the Committee majority's report would find no ground for barring Bilbo on charges that he intimidated Negroes into staying away from the polls in Mississippi. Wed. 1-7-47

Ellender told reporters he "unquestionably" favors seating Bilbo. He added he and his two Democratic colleagues on the Committee, Sens. Maybank, of

and Thomas, of Okla. to the report, signed by Demo ill file a majority report, crats as well as Republicans, we probably when Congress convenes, don't want to say to them 'this is Friday. just a party question and we're

Republican members of the going to decide it.'"

Committee, Sens. Bridges, of New The report is to be released Hampshire, and Hickenlooper, of Thursday. A member of the Com- Iowa, said they are preparing a mittee said in advance that it is minority report. critical of Bilbo's dealings with

Bridges' only comment was that war contractors. Atlanta, Ga.

"we are not going to be in agree- In addition to the two Demo ment" with the Democratic Senators, the report has been ap tors. proved by four Republicans—

Meanwhile, the new Senate Re Sens. Brewster, of Maine; Fergu publican Steering Committee also on, of Michigan; Knowland, of pondered the Bilbo case and California, and Ball, of Minnesota Chairman Taft made a bid for Bilbo testified at Committee Democratic support in ousting the hearings that he helped obtain Mississippian. war contracts, but he vigorously

"We may not come to any part denied that he received any pay decision finally," Taft told reporters. He said Christmas ers. I doubt if we take a vote. W gifts and other favors he received may not want to make it a part from contractors were the custom matter." The Courier Wed. 1-7-47

Noting that two Democrats—Sens. Mead, of New York, and Kilgore, of West Virginia—had signed a forthcoming report of the Senate War Investigating Committee on Bilbo's relations with war contractors, Taft said:

"If the Democrats are amenable

Testimony Against Bilbo Taken in This Miss. Background

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 12-14-46

45a Bilbo (Miss-Sel)

View of the Federal Courtroom in Jackson, Miss., where testimony of veterans, ministers and citizens was taken last week supporting contention that Sen. Theodore Bilbo intimidated prospective colored voters in the recent Democratic primaries and is thus ineligibile for a seat in the forthcoming 80th Congress. Court bailiffs are standing in aisles to keep order. Bilbo is seated at table, foreground center, with back to camera. Colored witnesses occupied four back rows of seats not shown in above photo. Mural above heads of members of the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee which conducted hearing, shows colored people playing guitar and weighing cotton, a strictly Mississippi touch, since few Federal courtrooms have such decorations.

Bilbo Ex-Aide Told He'd Die If He Talked, Senators Hear

The Times New York, N.Y.

Fri. 12-13-46

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12—Edward P. Terry, former secretary of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, is dodging a summons from the Senate War Investigating Committee under an alleged threat of death to himself, his wife and his daughter if he should testify, the committee was told today. A subcommittee began hearings this morning on charges that Mr. Bilbo received gratuities from war contractors who profited from his intervention on their behalf.

The melodramatic disclosure came at the end of the afternoon when Mr. Terry was called to the witness stand. He did not respond to his name, and Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, asked whether he had been served with a committee subpoena to appear.

George Meader, committee counsel, read into the record a letter from Mr. Terry to Senator James M. Mead, Democrat, of New York, subcommittee chairman, dated Dec. 2, in which Mr. Terry requested not to be called by the committee. It was written on the letterhead of the Hood Lumber Sales Company, 201 Citizens Bank Building, Meridian, Miss.

Resignation from Posts Cited

The letter set forth that Mr. Terry had resigned last Jan. 1 as secretary to Senator Bilbo and to the Senate District of Columbia Committee, of which Mr. Bilbo is chairman, and had been relieved of his duties on Jan. 21. Soon after his return to Mississippi, he said, he was threatened with death, "in the presence of witnesses," whom he did not name.

About midnight on Oct. 31, he wrote, he received an anonymous telephone call at the Lamar Hotel in Meridian, during which the caller told him that he (Terry) would be killed if he had anything to do with the investigation of Senator Bilbo. Another anonymous telephone call at the same hotel on Nov. 26, he continued, came five days after he had testified before the Senate committee in executive session and resulted in a threat that his wife and daughter would be killed if he took part in the investigation.

"In view of the above facts," the letter said, "and especially the fact that the lives of my wife and daughter have been threatened, I respectfully request that I not be called by your committee in connection with the investigation of Senator Bilbo. I do not feel that either you or any member of your committee would request me to do something that would endanger the lives of my wife and daughter."

Promise by Phone Reported

Francis Flanagan, assistant committee counsel, said investigators had talked to Mr. Terry by telephone last Saturday when he was in Lakeland, Fla. At that time he agreed to accept service of the subpoena in Meridian on Monday.

He did not appear and, on Tuesday, inquiries were made of his daughter, who said he had gone to Washington and then to New York. Yesterday, according to Mr. Flanagan, the daughter told investigators that Mr. Terry was enroute from New York to Meridian, traveling by automobile.

At this point Forrest Jackson, Mr. Bilbo's counsel, told the committee that J. Marvin Quinn, a banker in Jackson, Miss., had informed him ten days ago that he (the banker) had seen Mr. Terry and that the former secretary had told him (Mr. Quinn) he would not testify before the Mead subcommittee for fear of incriminating himself. Mr. Terry stated, Mr. Quinn told Mr. Jackson, according to the lawyer, that he (Terry) would use the alleged threats as an excuse for his non-appearance.

On behalf of Senator Bilbo, Mr. Jackson requested that Mr. Quinn be summoned before the subcommittee and instructed to bring records of two accounts which the lawyer said Mr. Terry kept at the bank. Mr. Jackson also urged that Mr. Terry be found and forced to testify.

The Times

Mr. Mead said the subcommittee would take the request under consideration, and added that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had already been asked to help in getting Mr. Terry to appear.

In opening the hearings, Mr. Mead said that the inquiry concerned war contracts and did not involve any other controversies "in which Senator Bilbo has been involved." Mr. Mead added that Mr Bilbo's "political or ideological philosophies are not in question here."

New York, N.Y.

"The subcommittee approaches this task with an open mind and without any preconceived conclusions," the chairman continued. "It does not prejudge the case even though the full committee has decided that a prima facie case exists which compels the committee under its mandate from the Senate to proceed with a full and thorough investigation."

The actual testimony heard today came from a group of Army engineers, two of them now retired, who were stated to have had knowledge of Senator Bilbo's activities in 1941 on behalf of several contractors who built war installations in Mississippi and who received payments totaling $25,932,361.55. The principal camps were the Jackson Army Air Base, Key Field at Meridian and Keesler Field at Biloxi.

Fri. 12-13-46

The witnesses were Maj. Gen. Thomas M. Robins (retired), former assistant chief of engineers; Maj. Gen. William F. Tompkins (retired), former executive assistant to the chief of engineers; Douglas I. McKay, civilian assistant to the chief of engineers; Brig. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis Jr., former district engineer at Vicksburg; Brig. Gen. Ludson D. Worshaw, former district engineer at Mobile, Ala.; Col. R. E. York, former area engineer supervising construction at Keesler Field, and Col. John R. Hardin, former chief of the construction section, Corps of Engineers.

The burden of their testimony was that Senator Bilbo had been highly active in recommending Mississippi contractors for cantonments to be built in that State but that he had not appeared to push one more than another and that he had done no more than was performed by practically every member of Congress in forwarding constituents' interests.

They drew a picture of the sudden, immediate need of the Air Corps in the spring of 1941 for additional bases. Speed was of the essence. Air Corps construction had been taken away from the Quartermaster General in November and given to the Corps of Engineers.

Christian, M. T. Reed of Beloni and Mizke T. Morrissey of Vicksburg. None of these was considered by the District Engineers capable of performing any of the major contracts by himself and recommended several "outside" contractors to do the actual work.

Where the Air Corps demanded of a project, the success as was the case at the three Mississippi fields, the engineers had no time to advertise for competitive bids but took advantage of Contractors recommended by Mr. Bilbo included campaign manager, Alfred F. T. Newton of Hattiesburg, Frank B. L. Knost of Pass-

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 12-14-46

T. B. Wilson, left, president of the Mississippi Progressive Voters' League and one of the first witnesses to testify before the Senate Committee which conducted public hearings on Senator Bilbo in Jackson, Miss., last week. Mr. Wilson testified that because of Bilbo's threats, colored people have been afraid to register. Bilbo, shown seated at table, continually referred to colored people as "n-----s."

Taft and 'The Mouth'

PM New York, N.Y. Mon. 11-18-46

UP TO NOW the fight against The Mouth, or as he is known to the country, Sen. Bilbo of Mississippi, has been waged by progressives and Communists.

But a new and weird twist has just been given to the people's anti-Bilbo fight. This is the announcement that Sen. Taft has appointed a GOP committee to keep Bilbo from taking his Senate seat.

Bilbo must go. That's plain. He's a menace. But Bilbo is only one of the many Negro haters in Washington. Actually, Bilbo is a "front" for the southern cotton growers and the northern bankers who lend them the money and keep them in hock.

But we think the Negro people as well as the rest of American public opinion will not be taken in by the slick little game played by the GOP vote grabbers.

One doesn't have to be a smarty to figure out that the GOP big brains figure they'll need the Negro people's vote in 1948. In making a big noise about Bilbo, they can appear as the "party of Lincoln" and all the rest of the tripe they've been handing out for years.

The GOP promised to pass the FEPC. It never did.

The GOP is backed by the worst Negro-hating crowd in the country, including Gerald L. K. Smith and the "shirt groups" which rooted for a Dewey victory in New York.

The movement to "oust Bilbo" also goes on to say, "Pass the FEPC!" and make all Jimcrow a crime. "The oust Bilbo" demand of the people also says, "Pass a federal anti-lynch law!"

Taft wants to attract votes by posing as an anti-Bilbo character. The anti-Bilbo forces will step up their fight. They will expose all vote-getting insincerity by suggesting that the best way to fight Bilboism is to stand up and fight for a permanent FEPC to compel the big corporations which back the GOP to employ Negroes as mechanics, office workers, doctors, lawyers and engineers, as well as porters.

Little Folk Defy Bilbo

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Whatever the outcome of last week's Senate committee hearings in Mississippi on the pre-primary activities of Senator Theodore G. (Ku Klux) Bilbo, two important facts have been established.

First of all, as has been indicated here before, the hearings confirmed the downright cussedness and callousness of election and law enforcement officials in some of the Deep South States in open defiance of the U.S. Constitution, and the dogged determination of Senator Allen J. Ellender (D., La.), chairman of the committee, to give Bilbo a clean bill of health regardless of evidence to the contrary.

Secondly, the hearings demonstrated conclusively the courage of the "little people" of Mississippi, who turned out in large numbers to testify against their grinning Ku Klux Senator.

Sat. 12-14-46

Ollie Stewart, staff correspondent, who covered the hearings for this newspaper, summed it up when he wrote:

> Whether Bilbo is seated or not is not nearly so important as the fact that more than 300 men and women voluntarily came forward and pointed a finger at a festering sore. Only 50-odd witnesses were called upon to testify, but the others were there and willing to speak.
>
> They were not the lawyers and doctors and professional people of Mississippi. They were so little before the hearing that many thought that they would be afraid to show up unless forced.
>
> They came from small towns, from red clay farms and crossroads. Some of them couldn't always make their nouns and verbs agree—but what they had to say will be heard around the world.

It also took courage for a Catholic priest and a Jewish rabbi to stand up and support the tales of intimidation and bloodshed told by their fellow citizens.

Throughout the entire sickening affair, it was not only Bilbo who was on trial but the whole rotten political and economic system of the South which for years has permitted persecution and coercion of varying degrees and the open espousal of the doctrine of hate.

It is an inescapable fact that Bilbo and the demagogues he represents are guilty as charged, and no amount of whitewash can cover up the corruption and filth which is of their making. Out of the Jackson hearings has come proof of a political awakening in Dixie.

Our hat is off to the little people of Mississippi for their part in this American tragedy. They have wrought far greater than they yet realize.

$15,000 to Beat Bilbo

The Afro-American

The Senate investigation of Bilbo's crookedness in Mississippi last week brought forth the testimony that Irving Liberman, said to be a native-born Russian, put up $15,000 this year to prevent the election of Theodore (The Runt) Bilbo to the U.S. Senate from Mississippi.

Since all the colored people and the majority of the white people are barred from voting by poll tax, Mr. Uberman estimated that $15,000, or at most, $25,000, would be enough to swing the election. Baltimore, Md.

Bloodshed Feared If Bilbo Probe Is Held In South

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Mon. 11-18-46

Washington, Nov. 17 (AP)—Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council, urged today that the Senate investigation of Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.) be held here instead of Mississippi.

Brown wrote Senator Taft (R., Ohio), chairman of the G.O.P. Steering Committee, that "Negro witnesses who told the truth in Hattiesburg or Grenada, Miss., would not live to return home from the Courthouse."

The Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee yesterday voted to hold public hearings in Mississippi to look into complaints that Bilbo prevented Negroes from voting.

Spotlight on Mississippi

The Afro-American

THE HIGHWAY:

By CHARLES H. HOUSTON

Baltimore, Md. Sat. 12-14-46

In the Senate Committee hearings in Jackson, Miss., against Sen. Theodore Bilbo on charges of inciting intimidation in the last primary campaign, the colored man in Mississippi came of age. The Senate Committee ruled before the hearings opened on Dec. 2 that it would not subpoena witnesses to support the charges against Senator Bilbo, but would rely only on volunteer testimony. Many people were apprehensive lest the Mississippi victims might be afraid to testify. But on the mornings the hearings opened, nearly 200 veterans packed the courtrooms of the State.

INDIFFERENT TO POSSIBLE REPRISALS

Older men, too, were there to testify, regardless of possible reprisals against their property, businesses and families. Mississippi met the test. On the witness stand the witnesses were quiet, firm and resolute. Sen. Allen J. Ellender, chairman of the committee, did his best to try to shake them, but got nowhere.

In many instances, the witnesses called names of officers and citizens who had assaulted and intimidated them. When one realizes that many of these persons were officials of cities and towns to which the witnesses must return, their courage is clear.

EXPOSED TO NATION

Here for the first time in over 50 years, the stinking record of terror and intimidation was exposed in a public Statewide hearing.

For the first time during this century citizens of the State dared publicly to urge and insist on their right to have a voice in the government of Mississippi. This time Mississippians always have had courage; it takes courage to live in Mississippi. This time, however, the eyes of the nation were on Mississippi and the Mississippian could feel that he was not standing alone.

There are two lessons to be drawn from the Bilbo hearings:

1. That the story of trickery, bribery, fraud and corruption in Mississippi politics is only what you could expect from a man who is as stupid, bigoted and intolerant as Bilbo.

2. Runt Bilbo and many another Confederate would be the first to refer to the politicians of the early post-Civil War days as "carpet baggers" and "corruptionists." But the colored people who ran Mississippi during the Reconstruction Period were saints of God and angels of heaven compared with Bilbo and his crowd.

From where we sit it looks as though Bilbo took advantage of the war emergency and of a church campaign to put money in his own pocket. There may be some AFRO readers who believe that we should put Bilbo out of the Senate for intimidating colored voters, so that it will be a lesson to all the rest of the Southerners doing the same thing.

That is an admirable suggestion, but the main thing is to put Bilbo out.

Little People On Hand to Testify Against Bilbo

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Some of the 300 witnesses who volunteered to testify at the hearing in Jackson, Miss., last week against Senator Bilbo. Only 50, however, were called. Ollie Stewart, AFRO writer, who was on the scene, reports this week that these witnesses were the little people of the community, not the lawyers, doctors and professional people, and that they were not afraid to speak out and insist that what the black man in Mississippi wants is first-class citizenship. 12-14-46

He Told of Election Beating

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Richard E. Daniel, Gulfport, Miss. veteran, exhibits blood-stained clothing to Senate Committee during Jackson, Miss. investigation of Senator Bilbo's primary election tactics. He said clothing is evidence of beating he took when he attempted to vote in primary last July after Bilbo helped intimidate prospective colored voters. Sat. 11-16-46

He Was Cursed

WILLIAM BENDER who testified that he was prevented from voting in the Mississippi Democratic primaries by a deputy sheriff who cursed him. He made the statement in testimony before the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee, which is investigating the re-election of Senator Bilbo.

BULLETIN

WASHINGTON

"There is no assurance of a unanimous committee vote to clear Senator Bilbo," Senator Bourke Hickenlooper (R., Ia.), committeeman, said here Monday.

BILBO CONDEMNED IN COMMITTEE POLL

The Times

Ferguson Says Majority Backs Report on Senator's Dealings With War Contractors

New York, N. Y.

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 28 — Approval by a majority of the Senate War Investigating Committee of what has been described as a "very tough" report on Senator Theodore G. Bilbo's dealings with war contractors was reported today.

Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, leader of subcommittee's investigation and author of the report, said five of the committee's nine members had voted in the affirmative when he polled them. A sixth also had voted for the report but later changed his ballot in a telegram to Mr. Ferguson. Sun. 12-29-46

The others have not been heard from, and the report possibly will be changed if they so desire, he said. It will be filed with the Senate secretary Thursday, he added.

The report makes no recommendations, it is said, but Republicans seeking to deprive the Mississippi Democrat of his seat asserted that it could be done on "very broad" grounds. Such grounds might include "actions contrary to sound public policy, harmful to the dignity and honor of the Senate, or dangerous to the perpetuity of free government."

Republicans still appear to be undecided as to what tactics to pursue, but most of them seem to favor letting Senator Bilbo take his seat and then trying to oust him after they have reorganized the new Congress.

Precedents disagree on whether he could be barred from taking his seat by a simple majority on the general charges. A simple majority could accomplish the purpose either before or after he had taken his seat if the basis for action was directly connected with the recent election itself. But this is not the case with respect to Mr. Bilbo's 1942 connections with war contractors.

Members of the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee, which looked into charges that Mr. Bilbo incited intimidation of Negroes in last summer's Democratic primary, are doubtful whether that case can be sustained.

Senator Ferguson is apparently among the few who still favor an effort to prevent Mr. Bilbo's being sworn in. He will put the question to the Republican conference of the Senate, comprising all fifty-one holdovers and Senators-elect, which meets Monday.

Since Chairman James M. Mead and three other members will not be in the new Congress, Mr. Ferguson explained, it would be impossible for the committee to hold additional hearings as planned. He had sought additional testimony on a complaint that Senator Bilbo received $1,500 from a narcotics addict after intervening with Federal officials to obtain a narcotics ration for him.

Intolerant of Bilbo

The News and Courier

To The News and Courier:

A writer complains: "I think you are a little critical of Senator Bilbo." Is it a crime to be critical of a man who defiantly, outrageously and persistently violates the very spirit of our contended democracy? Is it a crime to be critical of a man who heaps abuse and unfounded, unwarranted derogatory remarks upon a fellow human being? Charleston, S. C.

"The South needs more Bilbos and Rankins", continues the letter. The South needs a thorough education in tolerance. What a paradox! We fight for tolerance in other countries and smugly continue to uphold it in our own country!

STANLEY SIMBONI,
F. M. 1st C., U. S. M. C.
Charleston

Sun. 11-17-46

Bilbo Stands on His Views

The Times, New York, N. Y.

HATTIESBURG, Miss., Nov. 16 (U.P.)—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo said today that he would live long enough to serve as a pallbearer for everyone fighting him, including those who thought he was too sick to take his seat in the Senate in January. Sun. 11-17-46

"And I'll stand by everything I've said in the past," he said. "I have done no wrong. I am a law-abiding citizen. But I said during the campaign I didn't think Negroes have a right to vote in Mississippi, and I still don't think so."

Bilbo Probe Underway In Jackson, Miss.

The World Memphis, Tenn.

Percy Greene, T. B. Wilson, Student Testify

Fri. 12-6-46

JACKSON, Miss. — (SNS) — A senate committee hearing charges against Senator-elect Theodore Bilbo, Democrat of Mississippi, Monday was told by Eloy Fletcher, a young war veteran, that he was beaten by a group of white men for attempting to register to vote in the Mississippi primary last summer.

A five-man committee holding the the hearings heard Fletcher relate the incident among several charges that Bilbo incited violence and intimidation to prevent Negro registration but said they could produce witnesses who could testify that Bilbo's campaign speeches were "afraid." Fletcher, a student at Jackson College, testified he was beaten in June in a woods near Brandon, Mississippi (Rankin county) after making an unsuccessful effort to register at the county courthouse.

Percy Greene, publisher of the Jackson Advocate, and T. B. Wilson, realtor, testified that will protect him or any other witness who wants to testify because the aggravated speeches in Mis- we want to get the facts," Committee Chairman Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, told Greene only reason white men gave him for the beating was that he tried to get the registration and contributed to the low white supremacy feelings in Mississippi and contributed to the Democrat of Louisiana, told Greene told the committee he The World said the The Jackson publisher said he

o register and vote. He said the only reason he tried to register was that he thought he was eligible to vote. He was not certain whether six or seven men participated in the attack. Memphis, Tenn.

Bilbo was renominated in the July 2 Democratic primary, tantamount to election. Present at the hearing Monday, he looked healthy despite an recent illness and an operation on his mouth. Fri. 12-6-46

Report On Sen. Bilbo Described As Tough, Gets Majority Backing

The News-Age-Herald Birmingham, Ala.

Document Criticizes His Dealings With War Contractors, And 'Favors'

Sun. 12-29-46

WASHINGTON, Dec. 28 — (AP) — Sen. Ferguson (R., Mich.) announced Saturday that a majority of the Senate war investigating committee has approved a report—reportedly "very tough"—criticizing Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) for his dealings with war contractors.

Ferguson, chief quizzer in the Bilbo inquiry and a leader in the Republican move to oust the thrice-elected Mississippian, told a reporter:

"The report is being printed now and it will be filed with the secretary of the Senate next week, probably on Thursday."

He withheld all comment on its contents and all information on which five of the nine-man group had okehed the official criticism.

Earlier this week a member had called it "a very tough one," reciting evidence of favors done Bilbo by men seeking government contracts and bearing down on contentions that they were solicited for donations.

THE REPORT IS SAID TO INCLUDE no recommendations, leaving up to the Senate what to do about Bilbo, who has denied any wrong-doing.

It was obvious that at least one Democratic senator had voted against Bilbo because there are only four Republicans on the group. In addition to Ferguson they are Sens. Brewster (Me.), Ball (Minn.) and Knowland (Calif.).

At first Ferguson said he had obtained six votes for the critical report, but it was learned that one senator telegraphed instructions to remove his name after first giving approval.

Sen. Mitchell (D., Wash.) resigned this week, reducing the committee to nine so that five senators form a majority.

Three Democratic members, Mead (N. Y.), Tunnell (Del.) and Briggs (Mo.), will not be members of the next Congress, while two, Kilgore (W. Va.) and Connally (Tex.), will continue their service.

Meanwhile, a difference of opinion developed among the anti-Bilbo forces as to the exact strategy to be followed in trying to oust him.

"MY IDEA IS THAT THIS IS NOT A POLITICAL MATTER," Ferguson said, "and the Senate should not let anyone take the oath of office if it has knowledge of facts that should prevent him from serving."

The Michigan senator said that Bilbo "should be instructed to stand aside" next Friday when 34 senators take their oath.

Other Bilbo opponents have suggested that Bilbo be allowed to take his oath so that the Senate will not become involved in a controversy before it is fully organized. The News-Age-Herald

Involved in this strategy is a parliamentary question as to whether a simple majority of votes is sufficient to keep Bilbo out or a two-thirds majority will be required to oust him if he is allowed to take his oath. Birmingham, Ala.

Ferguson said "the two-thirds question will not be involved because on Jan. 3 Bilbo will not be a senator." Sun. 12-29-46

* * *

FERGUSON HAD WANTED DIRECT TESTIMONY by two physicians and a man previous witnesses had identified as a narcotics addict. They testified that Bilbo received $1,000 or $1,500 from the man after interceding with federal authorities to obtain a daily ration of narcotics. Bilbo denied the authorization for narcotics was connected with funds he said one of the physicians gave him to help build a church parsonage.

Sen. Hickenlooper (R., Iowa) asked Chairman Ellender (D., La.) to change the time of a meeting of the special Senate campaign investigating committee set for Monday afternoon. This group conducted hearings in Mississippi on complaints that Bilbo intimidated Negroes from voting. The committee was to have completed its report at the Monday session but Hickenlooper said he and Sen. Bridges (R., N. H.) must attend a Republican conference at that time. The anti-Bilbo strategy may be settled at this conference.

Dustin' off the NEWS

Defender

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

BILBO POLLUTES THE "GREATEST GENTLEMAN'S CLUB."

Chicago, Ill.

THE "Greatest Gentleman's Club in the World," the United States Senate, has discovered that for the past six years it has housed a political hoodlum, Sen. Theodore "The Mouth" Bilbo. The more the senate investigating committee probes into the murky affairs of this Mississippi bribe-taker, the less respect we will have for this great "Gentleman's Club" if it accepts him back into its

Lucius Harper

membership. People are usually judged by the company they keep, and certainly no honorable senator can retain respect of the public by associating with Bilbo. He lowers everything he touches. It has been his record, public and private, ever since he left college. Sat. 12-28-46

It is amusing to follow the testimony of Bilbo's henchmen—a line of Mississippi liars—endeavoring to shield and protect the senator from any bribe connections with war contractors. Bilbo has long established himself as a bribe-taker. Years ago in a political campaign in his home state he confessed that he had accepted $645 in bribe money to vote for Senator Leroy Percy. He produced the marked bills before a Grand Jury, and told the jurors that "he had sacrificed his Honor for God and Country, and that he had allowed himself to be bribed as part of his strategy in abandoning the ministry to come to closer grips with the devil."

On this occasion Bilbo actually proved that he came in closer grips with the devil, because when newspapermen went in search of him they found that the "honorable Mr. Bilbo" had played hide-and-seek with them all night by staying in one of the fanciest bordellos in Jackson, Miss., presided over by an octoroon madam. If you ever go to Jackson, citizens will point out this house where Bilbo came in "grips with the devil."

* * *

IT has never been fully explained just how Bilbo came into possession of this $645 bribe. Who passed the money was kept a secret, because a U. S. Treasury official testified at the time that the marked bills came from an issue that had not been released to the banks on the day Bilbo claimed to have received them. Did a banker, in haste to get Bilbo's one vote to elect Senator Percy, rob his own institution? For being involved in this scandal, Bilbo was brought to trial by his fellow senators in the Mississippi legislature. He missed expulsion by ONE VOTE. But the Mississippi Senate gave vent to its feelings with this resolution against "The Mouth":

"Resolved, in view of the unexplained inconsistencies and inherent improbabilities in the testimony of Senator Bilbo, his established bad character and lack of credibility, that the Senate of Mississippi does hereby condemn his entire bribery charge, and the statement of the role he played as detective and decoy, as a trumped-up falsehood, utterly unworthy of belief; resolved further, that as a result of the conduct of Theodore G. Bilbo in this matter, and the testimony produced in this investigation, the Senate pronounces Bilbo as UNFIT to sit with honest, upright men in a respectable legislative body, and he is hereby asked to resign." Defender

Bilbo seems to thrive on scandal; especially where women are involved. Even in this present case it has been brought out that he possessed an over zealous affection for a Baptist pastor's wife, whom the congregation sent away, evidently believing that a scandal would develop and injure the church. When Bilbo was out of a job and asked the late Sen. Pat Harrison to get him one in Washington in 1934, Harrison wrote this about Bilbo in recommending him for a job with the Agricultural Adjustment administration: ". . . Of course, I don't think it would be wise to place Bilbo in a position of financial responsibility. He's as honest as the day is long, you understand, but it wouldn't be fair to put him under any temptation." And on the moral issue, Senator Patterson added this: "Furthermore, Bilbo is an extremely energetic man. At the same time, it might be wisest not to subject him to contact with distracting feminine influences." Chicago, Ill.

IN THE minds of the public, Theodore Bilbo is guilty in his deal with war contractors. From his past record, and the words of his bosom friends, we are led to believe that Bilbo will take anything that isn't nailed down. If he took $645 where probably only a $1,000 was involved at most, what would he do where millions were at stake? He has lowered the toga of the U. S. Senate by accepting "gifts" from contractors for whom he helped secure juicy jobs. In 1930 Bilbo, as governor of Mississippi, engaged in a tug-of-war with the legislature over expenditures for a public institution, then half-built. Bilbo refused to let the work proceed unless his personal friend was appointed an associate architect at $10,000 a year. It was discovered later that this architect was actually drafting plans for Bilbo's "Dream House" at Poplarville, and did little work for the state. Sat.

There has never been anything to infest the United States Senate like Theodore G. Bilbo. He represents just what he is: confessed bribe-taker, scandal-monger, political hoodlum, and all of the other names that denote a rascal. Any decent state would have retired him to private life long ago. When a man becomes so depraved that the Mississippi Senate will condemn him as "UNFIT to sit with honest, upright men," he has about reached the point where persons outside of Mississippi wouldn't want to touch him with a 10-foot pole, less they be contaminated. 12-28-46

Finger Pointed by 'Little Folk'

The Afro-American

Volunteer Witnesses Not Afraid to Talk

Baltimore, Md.

BILBO DEFIANT

Sat. 12-14-46

Testimony Punctuated Often by Epithets

By OLLIE STEWART
(AFRO Staff Correspondent)

JACKSON, Miss. — "If it was left up to me, not a single one of them would vote. I would use any means to keep N---rs from voting in the Democratic white primary—legal means, this is."

Thus spoke Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, in cross examination here Thursday by a Senate Investigating Committee, probing for four days into charges that the senior Mississippi senotor had made an inflammatory appeal to white people and had waged a ruthless campaign for re-election last summer.

Denied All Charges

Earlier, in his written statement the reading of which occupied most of the two hours Bilbo was on the stand, the Mississippi senator-elect had categorically denied, individually and colectively, all the charges in the indictment which caused the Senate committee to hold open hearing here in the Federal courtroom.

But on cross examination, The Man not only admitted most of the charges made against him by newspapers, magazines and witnesses here in the courtroom, but played to the sympathetic gallery of white persons in the room by adding some new offenses to the list.

Uses Epithet

Repeatedly, he used the word N--r to describe the people he didn't want to vote. He began by saying "Nigra" but quickly slipped into the more offensive term.

"If I am to be denied a seat in the Senate because of my views, then every public official from the state of Mississippi for the last 56 years should never have been seated."

Frequently he was applauded. Frequently he blasted Clare Boothe Luce and Mrs. Roosevelt as "N---r lovers." He reviled the CIO, the NAACP, PAC, Sidney Hillman and "that N---r president at Howard University."

He pulled out all the stops in insisting that Mississippi is for whites and should be controlled by whites. "I know N----rs," he said time and time again, "but they are fickle and you can't depend upon them. They are only a hundred years from Africa where they were eating one another."

Poses as "Friend"

Then The Man wound up his tirade by stating in a honeyed voice: "N--rs never had a better friend than I."

Dressed in grayish plaid suit, white shirt, red plaid tie, wearing glasses and speaking as though he had marbles in his mouth, so that half the time his words were undistinguishable, Bilbo said the charges against him were made in a statement signed by 48 colored and two whites. He also said that this was the first time in 56 years that colored had tried to vote. The Afro-American

He admitted he had been a member of the Klan, but said the group he joined had been out of business for 25 years. Sat.

But Bilbo, for all the crowd that blocked the doorway, aisles and corridors, for all the flash bulbs that popped and movie cameras that ground—for all these things, Bilbo was not the headliner at this hearing. 12-14-46

Little People Speak

The most significant thing about the hearing was the fact that the little people of Mississippi spoke. Whether Bilbo is seated or not is not nearly so important as the fact that more than 300 colored people held here in Jackson, in a clean, airy room, where most of the spectators were clean and well-dressed and orderly for the most part, was significant in itself. Colored persons were assigned the back four rows of seats in one section, but mixed up on the elevators.

They were not the lawyers and doctors and professional people of Mississippi. They were so lit-tle before the hearing that many of them were there and willing to speak. A number of them were called upon to testify, but the others were shown building a house and holding a law book.

They came from small towns, farms and cross-roads. Some of them couldn't all-ways make their nouns and verbs agree—but what they had to say was significant in itself. Colored persons were assigned the back four rows of seats in one section, but mixed up on the elevators.

A huge mural behind the judge's bench depicted white and colored getting along fine. A black man sat on the ground strumming a guitar, while another was weighing a sack of cotton. The whites were shown building a house and holding a law book.

Mix on Elevators

The fact that the hearing was held here in Jackson, in a clean, airy room, where most of the spectators were clean and well-dressed and orderly for the most part, was significant in itself. Colored persons were assigned the back four rows of seats in one section, but mixed up on the elevators.

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Jennings Perry
HT New York,

A Citizen Swings

If the frost had not finally finished my rose garden, I would today be forwarding a nosegay to the Republican Steering Committee just for discussing ways and means of rescuing the dignity of the U. S. Senate for six more years of the blighting presence of Theodore G. Bilbo. The favor would go tentatively, with stout strings attached. It remains to be seen whether the Republican side really will attempt to give consequence to its new-found piety, and I am compelled to suspect that there is something more of practical politics than of honest outrage in its sudden holier-than-thous toward the Man Bilbo. Votes are involved that have not been in the GOP fold since FDR led them out in 1932, and every Republican calendar is opened ahead now to 1948.

New York, N.Y.

Perry

Herald 11-17-46

In recent years, when it was a fight to preserve the sufferage of the Senate itself against Bilbonic filibusters aimed at keeping the people of Mississippi from the polls, I have seen these same Republican brethren ignominiously duck out. But the stresses of practical politics have produced reforms before, and I do not want to prejudice the motivation of a project whose success would be democracy's gain. So the nosegay would go with strings.

All the rest of my garden, if it were blossoming now, would be in express transit to Dr. Harlow Shapley of Harvard for getting up on his firm American heels and reprimanding the unmannerly arrogance of Mississippi's unworthy Exhibit No. 2 in Washington, Rep. John Rankin, the one-man House Committee on Un-American Activities. To this tribute there would be no reservations. Previously, I have known nothing of Dr. Shapley save that he is a noted astronomer. Astronomers are supposed to have their heads in the stars, but it is perfectly obvious that Dr. Shapley also had had his nose deep in the rights of man—or anyway in the too-much-neglected-nowadays poems of Robert Burns. Though there was no talkative third party to what passed between the white-haired Mississippi black- and red-baiter and Citizen Shapley behind the closed doors of the committee room, it is enough that the grand inquisitor emerged in ruddy expostulation: He had "never seen a witness treat a committee with more contempt."

The word I like here is Mr. Rankin's own—*contempt*. It described an emotion never restricted by nature not intended by our Constitution to the sole use of men clothed by their fellow men with a little brief authority. It is an emotion that implies a judgment. I am willing to take Mr. Rankin's word for it that Dr. Shapley showed contempt for him, and I am willing to take Dr. Shapley's judgment as that of an estimable and forthright citizen who does have to take his telescope to preceive that disrespect for a notorious bullywagger is not reason, no matter what pompous title the man may hide his littleness behind.

Such contempt is healthy in a democracy, which is a form of government neither Sen. Bilbo nor his fellow Mississippian of the House Un-American Activities Committee knows much or cares much about. The Senator and the Congressman fall naturally together because both are blatant mongers of racial hatreds and both are the natural product of a thimble-rigged electoral system that ends to lift to representative office those individuals more willing than others to capitalize the prejudices amid which they live—or perhaps simply more adept at it. Of the two, Rankin has far more of the qualities with which a talented man could gain a solid esteem. He has been a great champion of the TVA and has worked doggedly for a Tennessee Tombigbee Canal, which ought to be built.

On the other hand, he is, all would agree, the ideal successor of Martin Dies as the moving spirit of the House Un-American Activities Committee if, in the wisdom and trepidation of the Nation's lawmakers, that witch-hunting body is to be continued indefinitely on the pay roll. He will not be bothered by the slightest compunction: it will not even occur to him that he is supposed to be the servant of honorable citizens—like Dr. Shapley—commanded, on no charge, to his private torture room. Undoubtedly it is a real shock to him that Shapley chose and dared to remember that he too is an American.

CHARGE BILBO GOT DRUG ADDICT'S FEE PROLONGS HEARING

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Terry Story That Senator Took $1,500 for Getting Permit Leads to Stormy Session

Tri. 12-20-46

DEFENDANT DENIES THIS

Doctor Asserts $1,000 Went to Church—Bilbo Calls Entire Case Against Him False

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19 — A charge that Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi took a 66-year-old drug addict's life savings in return for securing for him an ordinary narcotics permit, at no expense, unexpectedly prolonged today the series of hearings on his case before the War Investigating Subcommittee. It had been expected they would close today.

Bitter epithets, directly contradictory statements under oath, and the near-collapse of one of the witnesses characterized the day's proceedings.

In general, the testimony was a duel between the veracity of Mr. Bilbo and that of his former secretary, Edward P. Terry, who was held in contempt yesterday by the subcommittee. Mr. Terry faced possible perjury charges for his testimony at that time, the subcommittee's chairman, Senator James M. Mead of New York, said yesterday.

Mr. Terry, who is suffering from a thrombosis, according to testimony by his attorney, Paul Dillon of St. Louis, appeared only briefly on the stand today, but remained to hear additional testimony.

Terry Staggers to Seat

By the end of the afternoon Mr Terry looked very ill and staggered to a seat near the window of the caucus room, as if he needed fresh air. The hearing was interrupted while the subcommittee instructed attendants to take him to a room where he could lie down.

Two witnesses divulged that it was Mr. Terry who informed the Bureau of Internal Revenue, as well as the War Investigating Committee, of the alleged narcotics transaction which has complicated the record. Mr. Terry had testified to the same matter yesterday, but the committee appeared at that time to attach little importance to it. The added evidence was produced at today's session.

The testimony of five witnesses, including Senator Bilbo, agreed up to a point. The story thus far was that Dr. A. L. Podesta, a Vicksburg physician who numbers Mr. Bilbo among his patients, asked the Senator in the summer of 1945 to obtain permission for him and for Dr. James G. Logan of Natchez to prescribe morphine for John R. Carr, described as a drug addict of thirty-five years' standing.

Bilbo Denies $1,500 Fee

According to the agreed version, Mr. Bilbo came to Washington shortly after that and discussed the case with Dr. Harry J. Anslinger, Federal Commissioner of Narcotics. He gave Dr. Anslinger letters from Dr. Podesta and Dr. Logan setting forth Mr. Carr's physical condition, and Dr. Anslinger wrote a letter to Dr. Logan stating there would be no objection to prescribing two grains of morphine a day for the patient.

Mr. Terry asserted that a fee of $1,500 was paid to Mr. Bilbo for this service, which the Senator denied. Harold B. Holt, special agent of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and W. Harold Lane, committee investigator, read a statement they had obtained from Dr. Podesta saying that Mr. Carr had contributed $1,000 to the Juniper Grove Baptist Church after the permission was received, in order to show his gratitude to Senator Bilbo.

The Times

Mr. Holt read, in addition, a statement he obtained from Mr. Carr in which he claimed to have sent Senator Bilbo, by Dr. Podesta, the sum of $1,000 as a fee for the Senator's services in the matter. According to his statement to the special agent, Mr. Carr said that there might have been some mention of a church on Dr. Podesta's part, but that as far as he was concerned, it was an outright payment for services rendered.

Mr. Terry's account had it that Dr. Podesta took the $1,500, as he said he recalled the amount, to Jackson in currency to give to Mr. Bilbo. He testified that the doctor himself had told him the whole story while Mr. Terry was a patient under his care in Vicksburg. He added the detail that Dr. Podesta tried to hold out $750 of the money, but that Senator Bilbo made him hand over the entire amount.

Accepts Anslinger Account

Dr. Podesta's statement had it that he turned over the $1,000 in the form of ten bills of $100 each to Senator Bilbo at the Walthall Hotel in Jackson sometime during the summer. Mr. Bilbo could not remember anything resembling any such meeting or any such transaction.

New York, N.Y.

Dr. Anslinger's testimony tended to corroborate the account given by Senator Bilbo, who said later he was prepared to accept every word of it as the truth.

Dr. Anslinger told the committee he had heard there had been some question of money changing hands in Mississippi, but that he, of course, could have no knowledge of it. He maintained that there was nothing irregular in Mr. Bilbo's conduct in bringing the matter to him or in his own issuance of the letter of authorization, adding that a later investigation by a narcotics agent fully confirmed the Mississippi doctor's diagnoses.

In the face of the manifold conflicts on the record, Senator Mead adjuorned the hearings tonight, to be reconvened at his call. The committee will decided whether to summon Dr. Podesta, Dr. Logan and Mr. Carr to come up from Mississippi to testify under oath.

Likewise, the Subcommittee wanted time to dig through a mass of files it asked Senator Bilbo to produce today. The request seemed to hinge on efforts made by Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, to inquire into the handling by Senator Bilbo of funds donated to him for the construction of the Juniper Grove Baptist Church, and its parsonage.

Mr. Terry testified yesterday that M. T. Reed, Belzoni Contractor who built the Jackson Army air base, had complained to him after contributing $3,500 to the church fund. Mr. Reed, according to Mr. Terry, was indignant because, although Senator Bilbo had told him he could deduct the amount from his gross income, for tax purposes, as a charitable donation "by God, they wouldn't let me deduct it—they said it was a racket."

Tri. 12-20-46

Since then, Senator Ferguson has redoubled his efforts to get Mr. Bilbo to account for the funds 3,300 acres with twenty tenant houses on them.

Even so, he said his finances were in good shape until his divorce proceedings in 1938 forced him to make a cash settlement of $21,750 on his former wife. He said he appealed to seven friends to help him raise the money, and that all but one responded with assistance.

"I raised $22,000 in one week," he told the subcommittee, "and I consider that the finest compliment of my life."

He added that he had never taken advantage of the bankruptcy law, even when most heavily involved. When Mr. Ferguson asked Senator Bilbo aroused objections from both Mr. Mead and Mr. Ferguson over repeated statements tending to lay the blame for the present investigation and all of Mr. Bilbo's current political troubles on Communists and Negroes.

Senator Mead finally overruled his request to put into the record letters soliciting funds by the Na-

humor, turning aside pointed questions with humorous replies, until Mr. Ferguson suddenly called his attention to Section 61 M-1, Title 18, U. S. Code. Before asking Mr. Questions today brought the information that the special fund set up by Senator Bilbo in the Bank of Commerce at Poplarville for the Jackson Army Air Base, Jackson, Mississippi; Keyfield, Meridian, Mississippi, and Keesler Field, Biloxi, Mississippi. Benedict had tried to advance the law was passed on July 19, 1940, and that Mr. Bilbo voted against it.

The purport of the law was to prohibit Government contractors from making contributions to any political party or candidate, or to any person for political purposes, or for a candidate to solicit such

"2. That I received $26,200 from F. T. Newton, of the Newton-Glenn Mr. Ferguson suddenly called his attention to Section 61 M-1, Title 18, U. S. Code. Before asking Mr. Ferguson said he had tried to advance the law was passed on July 19, 1940, and that Mr. Bilbo voted against it.

"1. That I assisted various contractors in obtaining cost-plus fixed-fee contracts for the construction of Jackson Army Air Base, Jackson, Mississippi; Keyfield, Meridian, Mississippi, and Keesler Field, Biloxi, Mississippi." Mr. Terry, whom he compared with "Judas Iscariot," "Benedict Arnold," "Brutus," described as the interests of all Mississippi contractors just as other members of Congress had done for their con-day. He maintained his usual good

contributions from a Government contractor, at a time when the contractor was negotiating for a contract or engaged in performing one.

Mr. Bilbo's composure was shaken, and he admitted he had forgotten about that particular law. Mr. Ferguson asked him whether he thought it applied to the various contractors who had contributed to the Wall Doxey campaign in 1942, and whether it applied to Senator Bilbo.

Forest B. Jackson, Mr. Bilbo's attorney, was sitting beside him at the witness table, and read over the statute with his client. After some consideration, they both declared their belief that the law had no application to the facts developed in the present hearing. The penalty named by the statute was a $5,000 fine or five years imprisonment.

Says He Is a Poor Man

In the introductory part of his 13,000 word prepared statement, Senator Bilbo said that the subcommittee had been able to establish thus far only that he is "a very poor man and heavily involved in debt." To explain his debts, which he later estimated at less than $45,000, he said he had been taught in his early youth to buy land as the best way of providing for his old age.

Following this advice, he had bought land through the years, even when he had to go into debt to do it. As he got any money, he would buy more land instead of paying off the mortgages and notes he already owed, until he now owns Construction Company." He described $25,000 of this amount as a bona fide contribution to the campaign of Wall Doxey, now doorkeeper of the Senate, for the Senatorial nomination in 1942. The other $1,200 was described as a personal loan, now fully repaid.

"3. That I received $6,200 from B. L. Knost of the Morrissey-Knost Construction Company." Of this amount, the Senator said $5,000 was a joint contribution to the Doxey campaign fund by Mr. Knost and his partner, Michael T. ocrat, of Delaware, observed that Mr. Morrissey had not left the farm in very good shape for breeding livestock. Mr. Bilbo replied that "he didn't match them up—I had to start from scratch."

"5. That furniture purchased for Dream House No. 2 was paid for by war contractors." He said he had bought all of the furniture for the house himself, with the exception of one Christmas gift of one sofa, three chairs, three floor lamps and two table lamps, presented by a group of friends, among whom were three war contractors.

Denies Contractors Paid Note

"6. That a note for $3,000 which I owed to A. L. Shushan was paid by individuals who later were reimbursed by war contractors." He described the Shushan money as part of the fund he raised for the settlement on his wife, adding it had been repaid by Messrs. Jackson, Terry, Grant Stewart and Robert Newton, none of them war contractors.

"7. That certain of my personal expenses incurred in my office at Washington, D. C., were eventually defrayed by war contractors." Mr. Bilbo said this was a fabrication by Mr. Terry.

"8. That a swimming pool was constructed on my premises without charge to me by the St. Catherine Gravel Company, Inc." He said he had asked for a bill from the company, the proprietors of which were old friends, and he had not yet paid it but intended to do so. The swimming pool is not yet finished, and the company only poured the cement for the bottom and sides.

Bilbo Faces New Quiz—About 1942

The Courier Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Thurs. 11-19-46

Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal.

Washington, Nov. 18.—A second Senate investigation into campaign activities and conduct of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi was ordered today.

Within 48 hours after the Senate's special Campaign Expenditures Committee has voted to inquire into the senator's 1946 primary campaign, its War Investigating (Kilgore) Committee directed a subcommittee to start hearings Wednesday morning concerning Bilbo's relations with war contractors in 1942.

The subcommittee is headed by Senator James M. Mead of New York. Serving with him will be Senators James M. Tunnell, (D., Del.) and Homer Ferguson, (D., Mich.).

Allows Little Time.

Whereas the campaign expenditures group scheduled hearings to begin at Jackson, Miss., not later than December 2, the war-investigating body set the initial hearing on the 1942 charges with scarcely more than a single day allowed for preparation.

It was indicated that the first witnesses, in closed session, would be committee investigators who worked in Mississippi during much of the summer and submitted detailed reports recently. It was indicated, too, that the committee pretty well knows what witnesses will be called for public hearings later, but was withholding their identities for the time being.

Will Touch Only Contracts.

"This investigation," said Senator Harley M. Kilgore of West Virginia, committee chairman, "will have to do with war contracts only. It will have nothing to do with the 1942 campaign as such."

"The jurisdiction of the Campaign Expeditures Committee," interposed Senator Owen Brewster (R., Me.) "covers only the 1946 primaries and general elections. Our hearings will go behind 1946."

The 1942 charges, which the Kilgore committee will investigate, focus largely on "campaign contributions" totaling $33,750 which Bilbo was alleged to have received from war contracts he had aided in getting contracts.

Says Others Got Money.

Bilbo has said these "contributions" went to the aid of other candidates.

Another charge to be aired concerns "dream house No. 2," a dwelling erected on an island in an eight-acre artificial lake on Bilbo's estate at Poplarville, Miss. Two war contractors involved in the committee investigation are alleged to have built the house and a third to have created the lake.

O'Dwyer Supports Drive on Bilboism

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK — In a message to guests at a Civil Rights Congress dinner in Hotel Pennsylvania on Thursday evening. Mayor O'Dwyer endorsed the nation-wide drive on Bilboism and urged the people to rally to its support.

Mayor O'Dwyer said, "I share with you the firm conviction that Bilboism, as a way of life, is inimical and offensive, not only to our history and traditions, but to the good sense and democratic disposition of our people.

"It is important that support be rallied for your nation-wide drive on Bilboism." Percy Greene, publisher and editor of The Jackson (Miss.) Advocate, and Paul Robeson, actor were among speakers on the program.

10-26-46

Bilboism Fraught With Disaster

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Mayor Warns Nation at Civil Rights Dinner

Sat. 10-26-46

NEW YORK—That the people must be aroused again t the dangers which lurk in the wake of Bilboism and fight to save America from reactionary forces, was the warning sounded by Mayor William O'Dwyer at the recent "Unseat Bilbo" dinner of the Civil Rights Congress.

"I share with you the firm conviction that Bilboism is inimical and offensive, not only to our history and tradtions, but to the good sense and democratic disposition of our people," he pointed out to the 800 guests assembled.

The object of the current drive by the Civil Rights Congress is the securing of 1,000,000 petitions to throw Bilbo out of the Senate, on the basis of his intimidating voters and preventing their voting in the Mississippi primaries last July 2.

Baltimore, Md.

New Day Coming

Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas of California, a member of the American delegation to the United Nations Assembly, predicted that, "There is a new day coming . . . and it may not be far away, . . . when the North will refuse to be swung by the tail of the South."

"The right of free speech does not include the right to incite violence," she declared. "Such incidents are in volation of the laws of this land, and of Congressional dignity, integrity and demeanor. They constitute, in my opinion, moral turpitude."

Percy Greene, publisher and editor of the Jackson, Miss., Advocate, said that for the past 30 years he has known Mississippi political campaigns with the colored questions almost the sole issue.

The Afro-American

Campaign Held Illegal

"The 1946 campaign was the most un-American and illegal in the history of the State," charged Greene. "A campaign in which every emotion born of ignorance and prejudice was called upon to keep the colored citizens from exercising the right to vote."

He aded that, "our grievance is not against an individual as such, but calls for the uprooting of a political action and social conduct which threatens the progress of all the South and the entire nation."

Sat. 10-26-46

Mr. Greene has sent affidavits signed by 50 colored and white Mississippians to the Senate at testing that qualified colored voters were threatened with lynching, beaten, arrested, thrown off their jobs, and in other ways deprived of the right to vote.

Recalls Bilbo Statements

He recalled statements which Bilbo made, calling on citizens of Mississippi to "resort to any means" to keep colored from the polls, going on to say: "And if you don't know what the means, you are just not up on persuasive measures."

Bilbo also declared: "We are faced with the issue and it must be met now. If you let a handful go to the polls on July 2, there will be two handfuls in 1947, and from then on it will grow into a mighty surge."

Messages in support of the unseat-Bilbo campaign were received at the dinner from Americans prominent in many walks of life, including Harold L. Ickes, Bartley C. Crum, Homer P. Rainey, Lee Pressman, Frank Sinatra, Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Harry F. Ward.

Robeson Speaks

Paul Robeson pointed out that, in its disregrad for American democratic methods, and in its appeal to the basest forms of racial prejudices and hatred, Bilboism is a menace to the very foundations of American life.

"The inconsistency between the professed policy of the American State Department in certain European countries, and the failure of American government to protect American citizens at home is clear for all to see and interpret for themselves," the singer said.

Rabbi William F. Rosenblum declared that Bilbo is a throwback to Heflinism, Huey-Longism and all the cheap demagoguery which was characteristic of the South a decade and more ago.

Lacks Courage

"He wants white supremacy because he hasn't the courage to meet his fellow citizens on a simple man-to-man basis.

"He wants the mint-julep age back again in Dixie because he knows that the moment the citizens of Mississippi get abreast of the times, they will throw him out.

"He boasts of belonging to the KKK because he knows that his white neighbors down South are afraid of the new colored man and hope that the very mention of these three dread letters will keep colored citizens from asserting themselves.

Should Have Seen Hangings

"It might have been a good thing to let Bilbo be one of the official witnesses at the Nuremberg executions, to let him see what happens to bigots," Rabbi Rosenblum added. "On the other hand, he may have a skin as thick as his intellect."

Dashiel Hammett, author and president of the Civil Rights Congress of New York, also spoke.

Presented Drama

An abbreviated version of the WMCA radio program, "The Gentleman from Mississippi," a dramatic presentation by Ira Maing, based on Bilbo's career, was presented by the original radio cast.

Rosalind Drake sang "The Star Spangled Banner" and Thelma Carpenter of Cafe Zanzibar sang several blues numbers.

Bilbo's Dealings In Narcotic Case Are Under Fire

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Tue. 12-20-46

$1,500 Paid Senator For Getting Permit For Friend, Is Charge

BY EDWIN B. HAAKINSON

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20—(AP)—Clashing testimony about payment of $1,500 in a narcotics case held the Bilbo investigation wide open today as the stormy public hearings recessed for the Christmas holiday.

"I have nothing to hide," Sen. Theodore S. Bilbo (D., Miss.) told the Senate war investigating committee yesterday as he denied repeatedly any knowledge of payments reported to have been made to him by a doctor for helping get a narcotics permit for a Natchez (Miss.) man.

Bilbo also offered to open his private files to investigators seeking information on the narcotics allegation, or "anything else that has come up in these hearings."

Chairman Mead (D., N. Y.) announced after Bilbo's testimony that the hearings were "recessed subject to call of the chair." Sen. Ferguson (R., Mich.) told a reporter later that additional testimony will be necessary.

"IT LOOKS LIKE THE FIRST MONDAY after Christmas (Dec. 30)," Ferguson said, adding that the final decision is up to Mead.

Bilbo, after nearly a day of testimony spiced with bitter denunciations, denials and counter-charges, finally acknowledged to the senators investigating his financial dealings with Mississippi war contractors, that he had received respond with this donation.

THE NARCOTICS ISSUE WAS thrust into the hearings — which Bilbo's opponents hope will lead to interrupted by the senators who the unseating of the 69-year-old called Dr. H. J. Anslinger, commis- a 66-year-old Natchez (Miss.) resi- sioner of narcotics, to the stand. dent.

Instead, Bilbo said, any money he received—he could not remember.

Ferguson said, he could not remember being former secretary.

During his testimony on Bilbo's activities, Terry told the committee that Dr. Podesta, a he had learned that Dr. Podesta, a Vicksburg hospital superintendent, could find any record in the special parsonage bank account to cover a narcotics permit for Harry Carr, a 66-year-old Natchez (Miss.) resident.

Bilbo was replying to other phases of Terry's testimony, he was nervous and all-

12-19-46

GOP Senators Stall on Ousting Bilbo

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Sat. 12-28-46

By ROB F. HALL

WASHINGTON, Dec. 27.—The Senate Republican Steering Committee failed to agree on a plan to unseat Sen. Bilbo after a three hour session today, it was learned here, and there is an increasing number of observers giving odds the shame of Mississippi will retain his post.

At the conclusion of the steering committee meeting, Chairman Robert A. Taft (R-O) brushed aside reporters' questions with the statement that "this is the old steering committee and cannot make decisions." What is to be done about Bilbo, he said, must be decided by the new committee named by the new GOP caucus to be held on the eve of Congress' opening.

Highly significant, however, was the announcement of Sen. Ferguson (R-Mich) member of both the Steering Committee and the Senate War Investigating Committee, that he will ask the latter group to hold additional hearings on the Bilbo case.

He said he will request Sen. Mead (D-NY) committee chairman, to summon Dr. A. J. Podesta, John Carr, and Dr. James M. Logan, all mentioned in previous hearings in connection with charges that Bilbo obtained money for helping a dope addict receive supplies of narcotics.

CAN'T CONVINCE

The announcement of Ferguson, who is known to favor ousting Bilbo, was interpreted here as a sign of the steering committee's unwillingness to proceed against the Mississippian on the basis of present evidence. Therefore, it is said, Ferguson wants more evidence on the dope charge in the hope that he can convince his fellow GOP leaders that there is ground for action.

Sen. Milliken (R-Colo.), chief constitutional brain truster to the top GOP leadership, has played the game cautiously. An open and bitter opponent of FEPC and anti-poll tax legislation, he has refused to take a public position on the Bilbo affair. However, he made a full report to the GOP steering committee today, and while he contends he only informed them of the law and procedure, it is felt that he indirectly argued against ouster action.

Negro leaders contacted by the Daily Worker today expressed the opinion that no reliance can be placed in the GOP leadership on this issue. While some Republican senators, such as Ferguson and Bridges favor ousting Bilbo, others are opposed to action. In this group they listed the following: Moore of Okla., Robertson of Wyo., Bushfield and Gurney of South Dakota. The new majority leader, Wallace White of Maine, has consistently opposed legislation demanded by Negroes, they said.

On the other hand, they pointed out, some Democrats, notably Wagner of New York and Taylor of Idaho, will go down the line to oust Bilbo.

GOP indecision on the Bilbo issue is only a sample of what may be expected from the Republicans on other issues in which the Negro people are vitally interested, one Negro leader said.

He discounted Republican campaign pledges to support FEPC and anti-lynching and anti-polltax legislation. 12-28-46

The GOP leadership may half-heartedly challenge Bilbo's seat and may officially press for anti-lynching legislation. But it will not invoke party discipline behind these measures and almost certainly will not push for FEPC and anti-polltax bills unless strong pressure is exerted from back home, he said.

EDUCATION BY BILBO

The Times New York, N.Y.

Senator Ellender of Louisiana, who heads the Senate committee investigating the election of Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, predicts that his committee will unanimously clear The Man of intimidating Negro voters. It may be so. Perhaps the Senate itself will hesitate to exercise its right to deny a seat to any kind of representative any State chooses to send it. It may resign itself to the slow process of education, which alone can cure the nation of its own political ailments. But the committee's hearings in Jackson certainly gave the rest of the country a liberal education in what white supremacy and one-party rule really mean. Tues. 12-10-46

The hearings, held in a genial atmosphere of considerable hilarity, revealed case after case of what any ordinary police court would recognize as intimidation, both by threat and violence. A Negro professor was denied his right to vote at the point of a Deputy Sheriff's pistol. Two Negroes who tried to vote were badly beaten. Some found the ballot boxes covered with newspapers. Others were warned not to register or were refused registration. By stipulation Senator Bilbo agreed that he told white voters: "The best way to keep the Negro from voting is to see him the night before election."

But it would be a mistake, according to the advocates of white supremacy, to view any of this as intimidation. Senator Bilbo smoothly explained that he had never urged violence beyond the law or any illegal lawlessness whatever. To this Senator Ellender supplied the most bewildering corollary of all. No actual color line was drawn. Some Negroes were allowed to vote in Jackson, all could vote in Negro primaries or in the empty general election. But it is against the law for Republicans to vote in Democratic primaries. Therefore, all Negroes being potential Republicans, they should refrain from exercising their franchise among Democrats. "You know, I am sure," he told one colored witness, "that only white folks should go to vote in Democratic primaries." As the Democratic primary is the only election that counts almost everywhere in the South, this seems a neat way to dispose of the whole troublesome matter.

The Senate cannot make Mississippi over by fiat or by a vote against Bilbo. There are a lot of white voters in the South who disapprove Bilbo's rabble-rousing methods. But the mass of them back him on the basic idea of white supremacy. It gives them a form of government they are determined for the present to maintain. It is not democracy. But in time its Bilbos will educate every section of this country in that direction.

Will Bilbo Survive?

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

The special Senate Committee investigating the War Program is said to be planning to continue its investigation into charges that Mississippi Senator Theodore (The Man) Bilbo accepted about $30,000 "campaign contributions" and other material favors from war contractors in 1942.

The Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee headed by Louisiana Senator Allen J. Ellender, is continuing to "study" the report of its investigators on Bilbo's recent primary campaign in which he waved the bloody shirt of racial strife to intimidate prospective Negro voters, but the Louisiana Senator says that he has "not found a scintilla of evidence that the charges have been sustained," which indicates that he must be going blind. Sat. 11-23-46

Last week the Senate Republican Steering Committee decided at its first post-election meeting to oppose the seating of Senator Bilbo when he appears to be sworn in for his new term on Jan. 3, which action, if agreed to by a majority of the Senators, would refer the matter to the new Senate Rules Committee which would then call Bilbo before it for questioning.

With all of this apparent determination to delve into Bilbo's tortuous past and exclude him from the Senate it would seem on the surface that he will have a difficult time surviving, especially in view of the fact that the GOP, which controls Congress, has its eyes on the 1948 election and hopes to win with the aid of liberals of both races.

But things are not always as they seem on the surface and there is often many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip.

It is very rarely that an elected senator is not seated, because the Senate is usually a stickler for tradition; and moreover there is no precedent for a senator being excluded of raising the racial issue in a campaign.

The war graft charge, however, is something else again, and if that charge can be proved, Senator Bilbo cannot survive because none will dare defend him, not even the Southern Democrats.

'Gifts' for Bilbo

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

THE little comedy of Bilbo's financial pickings as Senator goes on.

It seems that behind the terrorism of "white supremacy," Bilbo was handed peculiar kinds of gifts by certain gents who wanted war contracts. The gifts were contributions to a church and a parsonage. But somehow between the receiving of the contributions and the completing of the parsonage, for example, there still remains a mysterious gap.

Thurs. 12-19-46

Bilbo collected $27,000 for a church fund. But somehow only he had access to the funds which have markedly declined in size.

Bilbo's unfitness for his Senate seat arises from the fact that he was never really elected. His "white supremacy" platform was not "picked" by the adult population of Mississippi; his "white supremacy" platform was a weapon of violence and terrorism against the Negro voters, on the one hand, and let us not forget, against the millions of poverty-stricken whites also.

He should not only be kicked out of the Senate, but, it seems to us, that Federal law-enforcing agencies should look into the question of prosecution in the affairs of this "white supremacy" bully.

JAY G. HAYDEN *The Constitution*

Southerners Must Oust Bilbo

WASHINGTON—The Senators most perturbed over the certainly impending ouster proceedings against Theodore G. Bilbo, of Mississippi, are his 21 colleagues from the solidly Democratic South.

And the way these Southerners line up is bound to influence greatly both the form of attack upon Bilbo and the final result. The crucial question is whether the case is to be based on the exclusion of Negroes from the Democratic Primary in which Bilbo was nominated, or upon his shady dealings with Government contractors and others just now coming to light. *Atlanta, Ga.*

If the complaint is pitched on the race issue, it is a foregone conclusion that every Senator from the South, excepting Pepper, of Florida, will support Bilbo. Ever since Reconstruction Days, after the War Between the States, when they were grossly misruled by Northern carpetbaggers, resistance to outside interference in their elections has been the most cherished political principle in all the former Confederate States. *Thurs. 12-26-46*

Defend Bilbo On that point, Southern Senators will battle to the bitter end in defense of Bilbo, just as they have against Federal attempts to outlaw the poll tax.

On the other hand, a majority of the Southern Senators have no use for Bilbo, and this goes even for the other Senator from Mississippi, James O. Eastland.

If the charges against Bilbo are confined to his financial relations with persons seeking benefits from the Federal Government—voluminously disclosed before the Senate's War Investigating Committee—there is a strong possibility that half or more of the Southern Senators will vote to oust him.

It remains to be seen whether Northern Senators, Republicans and Democrats, who are shouting against Bilbo mainly to curry favor with Negro voters in their States, will permit the race issue to be subordinated.

The nature of the charges to be pressed may be decided the first day of the new Congress, by vote on a motion to bar Bilbo from taking the oath.

The Rule The accepted rule is that if the question goes to validity of the Senator's election he can be required to step aside temporarily or excluded permanently—either or both—by majority vote. The same holds if he is under the prescribed age of 30 years or otherwise falls short of constitutional requirements.

But if it is conceded that the Senator is constitutionally qualified and elected, and for some other reason he is claimed to be unfit, the practice has been to permit him to take the oath, after which a two-thirds vote is required to expel him.

Since Bilbo won nomination by a wide margin and only a handful of Negroes actually applied for ballots and were excluded, the charge that disenfranchisement of Negroes determined the result is far fetched. Even the most ardent anti-Bilboites on the Senate Committee that went to Mississippi to investigate couldn't make much out of that centention.

Contrast In contrast, Sen. Ferguson, who is leading the inquiry into Bilbo's relationship with war contractors and other Government beneficiaries, has turned up a lot of very smelly circumstances. Bilbo himself admits that $40,000 or more of tainted money passed into his hands, and many of his explanations as to what became of the cash thereafter sounded phony.

Especially damaging was the testimony that Bilbo interceded, for a cash consideration, on behalf of a dope addict, seeking a Government permit to buy narcotics. And Sen. Ferguson says Bilbo clearly violated the 1942 law, specifically forbidding acceptance by Government officials of gifts from persons holding or seeking war contracts. *12-26-46*

Even so, it is improbable that the two-thirds vote required to unseat Bilbo can be mustered without help of quite a few Senators from south of the Mason-Dixon Line.

BILBO STRIKES BACK

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sun. 12-29-46

The way things now look, about the only good in the Bilbo investigation will be that the unsophisticated in such matters are given a clear demonstration of the internal rottenness of the great American racket called politics.

Bad as he undoubtedly is, Senator Bilbo has plenty of company in his undercover business of taking bribes in return for exerting political influence at the behest of crooked concession seekers. Quite evidently he isn't bluffing in his threat to expose the under-table dealing of those who have been most active in their efforts to unseat him.

While the Senate is about its investigation, perhaps it would do well to look into Bilbo's counter-charges, and, if they are in any degree genuine, to purge itself not only of the "gentleman from Mississippi" but of all other senators guilty of the same sharp practices. The United States Senate has too much big business on hand for corrupt politicians to tarnish its good name at home and lessen its high prestige abroad.

The American people have the right to expect honesty commensurate with great ability from men who have the sole power of impeaching high public officials and of concluding far-reaching treaties with other nations. Like Caesar's wife, a senator should be above all reproach.

It is doubtless the fault of the voter when men like Bilbo can be elected to the highest legislative body in our land. An informed electorate is the best defense against the choice of grafters and cheap chiselers for public office. The Senate does, however, have the power of ridding itself of its own rotten branches, and in Bilbo's case its duty is very plain. As for the South, we would do well to use more care about selecting our chief spokesmen in the national Senate and House of Representatives.

Maybank for State Sovereignty

The News and Courier

"The issue is greater than Senator Bilbo himself. Not to seat him would be an insult to the voters of the sovereign state of Mississippi, who have their own rules governing the Democratic primary election; there was no issue in the general election. The Democrats in Mississippi certainly voted overwhelmingly for Bilbo. I am going to uphold the sovereignty of the state of Mississippi, as one believing in state's rights." *12-27-46*

Senator Maybank in the foregoing saying, and he has not waited or hesitated to say it, truly and well represents the state of South Carolina. "The issue is greater than Senator Bilbo himself." The sovereignty of the state of Mississippi is on trial. The condemnation of Mississippi's sovereignty would be declaration of hostility to the sovereignity of South Carolina and of all the other states. *Charleston, S.C. Fri.*

Turning Over a Boulder

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Down in Washington last week the Senate Investigating Committee turned over a boulder and from underneath squirmed a motley crew of human bugs, slugs, worms and centipedes attesting to the character of political life in the State of Mississippi.

The boulder was Senator Theodore (The Man) Bilbo whom the committee was turning over in order to get the facts about his dealings with war contractors who allegedly gave him money for some reason which we hope the investigation will soon establish.

But the initial effort of the committee revealed more than some doubtful data about Senator Bilbo.

Like the tar baby in the Uncle Remus stories, it seems that everybody who had ever touched Bilbo was smeared.

There was Bilbo's former secretary declaring he would be killed if he talked; a banker who delivered bales of bills to Bilbo; former Congressman Ross D. Collins who became so infuriated over the revelations of Bilbo's political lieutenant, Robert Gandy, that he knocked him down in the meeting room, and war contractors who admitted how nice they had been to Bilbo as a result of the kind of deeds he had done for them by way of swinging war contracts their way. *Sat. 12-21-46*

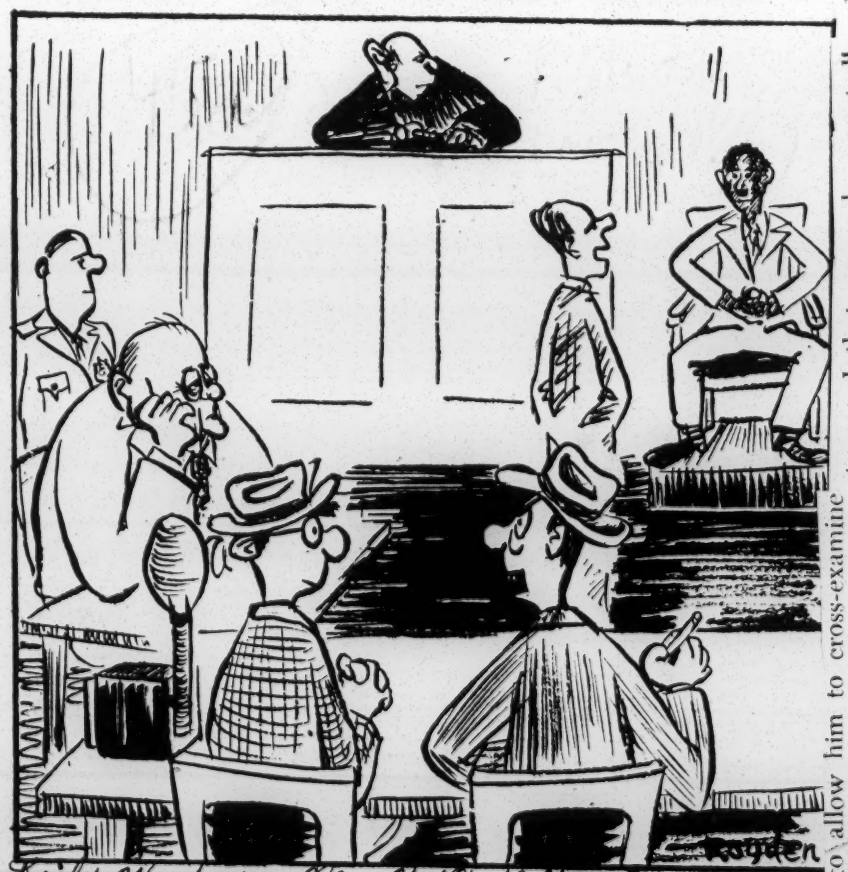
All in all, it was a wonderfully revealing experience when the boulder was turned over and the varmints were exposed in all their naked venality.

This was a picture of politics in Mississippi which a lot of people there are afraid would be corrupted if Negroes voted.

How the picture could possibly be worse is a mystery.

With such a sordid setting, the public should now be prepared for any revelations of the worst character, and it is rather certain that they will not be disappointed, because Biybo has lived a full life.

PESTBROOK WIGLER, ROVING REPORTER



Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Tues. 12-31-46

"This Bilbo hearing is strictly a frameup—just like the Nuernberg trial." —Reprinted by request.

Voice of the Peepul

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

One thing to be said about the Mead committee's investigation of Senator Bilbo is that the voters in Mississippi elected Bilbo and the New York voters rejected Mead. The News and Courier, no worshipper of majorities, is not especially impressed with the foregoing combination of facts, but it ought to cause some of the democrats who prate about the "voice of the peepul" to stop and think about their own inconsistency. *Tues. 11-26*

Inside Washington:

pm

From all outward appearances the man least concerned in the crowded room of the Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program these days is the prime defendant—Sen. Theodore ("The Man") Bilbo, the diminuitive, demagogic Mississippi Democrat. *New York, N.Y.*

Although the Committee treated Bilbo as it has all others by refusing to allow him to cross-examine witnesses, Bilbo takes out his love for his own voice on the press corps.

When it was charged that his campaign manager, Alfred B. Friend, was "promoter and front man" for a group of war contractors and that, as such, reportedly got a $5000 cut, Bilbo leaned over to newsmen. *Wed. 12-18-46*

"It's wrong to help your friends," he cracked. "I know, because that would disqualify three-quarters of the Senate and all of the House."

CP Demands Prosecution Of Bilbo

Daily Worker New York, N. Y. Mon. 12-30-46

12-30-46

CRIMINAL PROSECUTION of Theodore Bilbo was demanded yesterday by the National Board of the Communist Party. Communist leaders William Z. Foster, national chairman, and Eugene Dennis, general secretary, urged that Bilbo not be seated in the Senate.

The full statement follows:

When the 80th Congress meets Friday, Jan. 3, the Senate will face its first problem in the seating or the refusal to seat Theodore G. Bilbo.

Outwardly, the Senate will be judging Bilbo. In reality the Senate, by its action on Bilbo, will place itself on judgment before the people of the United States.

Bilbo presents himself at the rostrum of the Senate as one who shamelessly used his position for private advantage in time of war, and—worst of all—an open inciter of violence and gangster "race" murders as a means of controlling and thwarting the process of elections.

Bilbo asks to be seated in the Senate as a trickster who had dealings with war contractors while the nation's conscripted sons were fighting for democracy abroad, and then robbed those sons of their democratic right to vote upon their return. As was said of Bilbo and the house given him by war contractors: "Twelve fireplaces may keep him warm, but can six bathrooms keep him clean?"

Supporters of Bilbo cannot ask the Senate to seat him except in asking the Senate to brand itself.

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THEY CAN offer no excuse for seating Bilbo except the Nazi theory which seeks to justify "race" persecutions, disenfranchisement, denial of democracy and systematic political terror and lynch murder.

Supporters of Bilbo offer the dishonest plea that "Mississippi has elected him" and that the Senate must accept whomsover the people of a State may choose. This is a lie. Bilbo was not nominated by members of a political party freely voting, nor elected by the people of Missippi. Bilbo can present himself before the Senate only because the people of Mississippi were deprived of the right to vote against him. The whole world knows that he stole the nomination and the election.

The dishonorable act of seating Bilbo would deny representation in the Senate not only to the people of Mississippi, but also to the people of other States; the honest election of a Senator by another State is, in effect, cancelled out by the corrupt voting of a Bilbo. Members of the United States Senate make laws, not for one State alone, but for the nation. The nation as a whole is concerned. 12-30-46

The rise of imperialist reaction and its achievement of a stranglehold on the life of our country, freeing the hands of would-be war makers of popular control, is reflected in the corrupt alliance of Republican spokesmen for the great financial and industrial monopolies with the so-called "white supremacy" Democrats who violate all Constitutional rights of the South.

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THE REACTIONARY, anti-labor, anti-Negro forces, flushed with a substantial victory in the recent election, gather in the 80th Congress eager to bury the Roosevelt tradition. Together with scuttling the Roosevelt policy of peace through collaboration of all democratic nations, they seek to destroy the achievements that the American workers, farmers, Negroes, and the people of the South as a whole have won by stubborn struggle in these years of economic crisis and war. They strive to repeal the Wagner Law and all of labor's other legislative gains. The rights and future of the American trade unions of the AFL, CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods, now 14,000,000 strong, the nation's greatest bulwark of democracy, is threatened with outlawry by the mad reaction represented by Dewey, Taft, Vandenberg and such men as Bilbo. Daily Worker

From the swamp of Bilboism comes even the Nazi-like proposal (by Rankin of Mississippi, prompted by Dewey of New York) to set aside the election of the American Labor Party candidate, Vito Marcantonio, to the House of Representatives by an overwhelming popular majority of free New York voters, while disfranchised citizens of Mississippi are chained to a Bilbo in the Senate.

The GOP reactionaries, with an eye to Negro voting strength, are using slick demagogy to give the impression that they are the anti-Bilbo champions. In actuality, as indications well show, they do not intend to go through with effective action for the unseating and criminal prosecution of Bilbo.

But the overwhelming majority of the people of all Southern States supported the Roosevelt reforms consistently through four administrations. Mon.

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THE INTERESTS of the South as well as of the North demand an end to the pretences so "seriously" put forward in the Senate that Bilbo has the slightest claim based upon popular mandate. Almost exactly half of the citizens of Mississippi of voting age are Negroes — and the chief offense of Bilbo and his supporters consists of criminal acts depriving them of all Constitutional and human rights.

The allegiance of Bilbo and his ilk—and, indeed, their main bulwark of political support—has always been with the semi-feudal plantation landlords and the sweat-shop industrialists, who subject the Southern white and Negro workers to most extreme exploitation and oppression.

The anti-Negro propaganda which permeates the politics of the Bourbon South serves to further the political oppression and the material exploitation of the Southern white as well as Negro masses, to weaken the labor movement, pauperize the small farmers, bankrupt the local industries, and at the same time to strengthen the grip of economic and political reaction upon our country as a whole. New York, N.Y.

There can be no democracy for the white people of the South without equality of the Negro.

THE AROUSED NEGRO masses of the South, true to their fighting traditions during slavery and Reconstruction, are in the very forefront of the struggle, as valiant and powerful allies of the labor movement and of all other civic and political movements working to wipe the curse of Bilboism from the face of their Southern homeland. 12-30-46

The American people demand that the facts disclosed by the two Senate Committee investigations be turned over to a federal grand jury in Washington without exclusion of Negroes from its membership, and that an indictment be returned. Not all of Bilbo's criminal acts are protected by the statute of limitations.

The people demand the criminal prosecution of Bilbo.

The people demand that Bilbo be not seated in the United States Senate.

Mississippians Ask Bilbo Probe

Daily Worker

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 27 (UP).—Three Negro organizations in Mississippi sent telegrams to the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee today, urging the group to subpoena Negroes to testify at a hearing here Dec. 2 on Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo's campaign activities last summer. New York, N.Y.

The organizations acted after Sen. Allen Ellender (D-La), chairman of the committee, reported "less than five" volunteers had offered to testify at the investigation of the Mississippi Senator's purported anti-Negro electioneering tactics. Fri. 11-29-46

Telegrams were sent to Ellender and Sen. Styles Bridges (R-NH) by the Mississippi Progressive Voters League, the Mississippi branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the state branch of the American Veterans Committee.

T. B. Wilson, Jackson Negro real estate dealer and head of the Voters League, said: "The hearing will be a complete flop if the committee relies on Negroes to appear voluntarily."

Terry's Efforts To Reveal Bilbo

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Facts Backfire

Contempt Fine Asked For Refusal To Tell Where $15,000 Went

BY EDWIN B. HAAKINSON

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21 — (AP) — Attorneys for the Senate war investigating committee saiad today they have asked for authority to file contempt charges against Edward P. Terry, former secretary of Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.).

The action is based on Terry's refusal to tell the committee what became of $15,000 which he said a New Yorker bave him to use against Bilbo in the Mississippi election this year. Sat. 12-21-46

Committee counsel must obtain permission of President Pro Tem McKellar (D., Tenn.) and then pass the contempt complaint along to the federal district attornrey here for presentation to a Grand Jury.

Penalties for contempt of the Senate range up to a year in jail and $1,000 fine.

Chairman Mead (D., N. Y.) directed George Meader, counsel for the committee, also ot push a perjury charge against Terry.

* * *

THE FORMER SECRETARY TESTIFIED he got the $15,000 from Simon Liberman, of New York, to back any opponent who could defeat Bilbo this year.

Unable to find such an opponent, Terry said, he then was told to give the funds to anyone who opposed Bilbo in the rrun-off primary. But Bilbo mustered a majority over his four opponents in the first primary and there was no run-off. So, Terry said, he handed the cash back to Liberman.

Sen. Ferguson declared this was impossible because Liberman died several months before Terry's bank accounts showed the money repaid. Terry said he was "confused" and declined to tell who receeived the funds.

A woman who identified herself as Mrs. Terry said he is ill in his apartment here, under doctor's orders to talk to no one, and has nothing more to say about the transaction.

* * *

MEANWHILE THE 69-YEAR-OLD BILBO, declaring he has cleared himself of al complaints about his dealings with war contractors said he will spend Christmas at his "Dreamhouse" home near Poplarville, Miss.

The senator told a reporter he hardly expects to get the keys to an expensive new auttomobile for additional home furrnishings from Santa Claus this year.

Witnesses testified he received these gifts from war contractors in 1941 along with an artificial lake, a swimming pool, a "Dreamhouse No. 2," a painting of the original "Dreamhouse" and thousands of dollars for a church parsonage on his farm.

Bilbo explained gifts to public servants "are an old Southern custom" and that while some contractors were among the donors they were 'old friends" and there were 'no strings attached."

Ferguson reported he and committee attorneys are rechecking all testimony and exhibits in an attempt to complete a report by Dec. 30. The other two subcommittee members, Sens. Mead (D., N. Y.) and Tunnell (D., Del.), are not

Percy Green Asks Medals For 300

Chicago Defender Sat.

ST. LOUIS—Mississippi citizens who braved the wrath and violence of Dixie bigots to testify staunchly against the race terrorism of Sen. Theodore Bilbo last week were nominated for Distinguished Service Medals here Sunday when Percy Green, courageous editor of the Jackson (Miss.) Advocate spoke at the Pine Street YMCA.

Appearing on a public forum, Green spoke of the "New Day in the South," and said that others who had made great contributions this year to the cause of democracy were the 2,000 Mississippi Negro citizens who, despite lynch threats, went to the polls to vote.

The 300 anti-Bilbo witnesses, Green said, were worthy of medals won "in the service of Democracy."

Reviewing the present Dixie struggle for civil rights, Green asserted that during the period of

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sion Dec. 30.

* * *

THE SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT will go to the full war investigating committee report is shaped at a session Dec. 30.

Sat. 12-21-46

Bilbo also faces a report by the special Senate campaign expenditures committee, which conducted public hearings in Mississippi on complaints that Bilbo prevented Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary.

Chairman Ellender (D., La.) has

Lauds Bilbo Witnesses

Defender

World War II the case of democracy was stated with greater force and clarity than at any other time in the history of the world. There arose a desire for greater participation in this thing for which so much blood was shed, and "even in the backward state of Mississippi" that desire has risen. 12-28-46

Charging that a definite campaign "to keep the Negro in his place" was launched at the war's close, Green said that Senator Eastland's slurs on the Negro soldier was another phase of the campaign.

He called for new race leaders like Booker T. Washington, men who know "subtle diplomacy" and how to "talk smart" to work for civil rights with the fine white people engaged in the same struggle. He urged that Negro citizens not leave the South for it is here that they can make their greatest contribution to American democracy.

COURAGEOUS MISSISSIPPI

The Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Senate committee investigation of Senator Theodore (The Man) Bilbo proved to be the farce that The Pittsbur Courier predicted. Sat. 12-14-46

Headed by Senator Ellender of Louisiana who shares the same views about Negro suffrage as Senator Bilbo and with two other Democratic se senators Bilbo, was a f foregone conclusion tha that Senator Bilbo woul would be whitewashed.

There is no likelihoo that when the committee meets in Washington a few days hence it will do any note than tap "The Man" on the wrist and give him a clean bill of health for another six years in th Senate considering the fact that Senator Ellen der went out of his way to be an advocate for the Mississippi Solon. Wheteher Bilbo can beat the war graft charge is still coubtful, however

The inspiring thing about the Mississippi h hearings was the courag of the large group of N Negroes who presented themselves to testify against Senator Bilbo.

It is one thing to criticize Bilbo and his ilk from the safety of the North but quite another thing for color ed citizens living in Mississippi to voluntarily appear against their arch-enemy and de defy the Negrophobic forces who rule that benighted commonwealth

These colored people had everything to lost by so appearing, with very littele hope of unseating Bilbo, but nevertheless, they appeared and spoke upa as menand women against the terror to which they had been subjected to keep them from the polls on primary day.

One after the other they took their places on the witness stand and courageously testified without falter- ine one bit.

This was contrary to what anyone expected because of the widesp read propaganda that Southern Negroes are fearful and frustrated and cowardly.

These Negroes were n not afraid, although they had cause to be, considering the evil reputatio of those against whom they testified.

These veterans had fought for democracy abroad and they were not afraid for democracy at home.

Only those who are familiar with Mississippi life can aggreciate the courage of these veterans, many of them prominent in their various communit ties, and with every t thing to lose b their action.

Let it never be said again the Southern Negroes lack militancy and the courage of their convictions.

BILBO INQUIRY ON IN CAPITAL TODAY

The Times

Senate Subcommittee to Look Into Charges Mississippian Got War Contractors' Gifts

New York, N. Y.

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11—A subcommittee of the Senate War Investigating Committee will open hearings tomorrow on charges that Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, received gratuities from war contractors. The subcommittee consists of Senators James M. Mead, Democrat, of New York, James M. Tunnell, Democrat of Delaware, and Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan.

The names of War Department witnesses were announced today. They include Maj. Gen. Thomas M. Robbins, retired, former assistant Chief of Engineers; Doglas I. McKay, special assistant to the Chief of Engineers; Brig. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis, former chief of District Engineers at Vicksburg, Miss.; Maj. Gen. William F. Tompkins, former executive officer for the Chief of Engineers; and Col. John R. Hardin, former chief of the Construction section, Corps of Engineers. Thurs. 12-12-46

About thirty witnesses have been summoned from Mississippi, including Forrest Jackson, who served as Mr. Bilbo's attorney during the hearings last week before the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee under Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana.

Those hearings involved charges of inciting intimidation of Negro voters during his campaign speeches last Spring. At their conclusion, Mr. Ellender predicted that the committee would report there was no ground for unseating Mr. Bilbo as a result of the charges which were investigated.

A secretary at Senator Bilbo's office said today she did not know where he is. He announced last Saturday, in Jackson, Miss., that he would be in Washington for the hearings starting tomorrow.

The Courier-Journal

Senator Wants 'White Control' By Legal Means

Louisville, Ky. Fri. 12-6-46

Jackson, Miss., Dec. 5 (AP)—Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.) stood pat on his advocacy of "white supremacy and white control," but denied flatly to investigating senators today that he had advocated violence or illegal acts against Negroes during his primary campaign.

The unruffled senator, his diamond-horseshoe stickpin sparkling in the glare of camera flashes and newsreel floodlights, slipped into his stump-speaking manner as he reviewed the campaign last summer in which he was nominated for a third term in the Senate.

Denies Law Violated.

He declared that when he said organizers should be "ridden out of town on a rail" and when "I suggested taking some tar and feathers along and not forgetting a match," he was talking about C.I.O. men trying to organize Negroes, not about the Negroes themselves.

Bilbo told the Senate committee, which came to Jackson to look into a petition seeking to have the senator refused his seat, that he had violated no laws when he asserted Negroes should be kept from voting in the primary.

He complained that newspapers misquoted him by omitting the phrase, "by lawful means." Mississippi Negroes are Republicans, Bilbo asserted, and therefore ineligible to vote in Democratic primaries.

Four-Day Session Ends.

The senator's personal appearance, in a Federal Courtroom packed by both white persons and Negroes, climaxed the closing session of the four-day hearing.

Evidence received earlier from more than 50 witnesses included statements, often contradicted, that Negroes had been beaten, struck, taken to jail for disturbing the peace, and otherwise prevented from registering or voting during the campaign.

Senator Hickenlooper (R., Iowa) questioned the Mississippian at length on newspaper accounts of his campaign, and Bilbo frequently turned the examination into a crackling interchange of quips.

Asked about a reported statement that "Clare Boothe Luce is the greatest nigger-lover in the North except old lady Eleanor Roosevelt," Bilbo grinned and answered, "I said that."

His enunciation impaired by a recent mouth operation, Bilbo paused occasionally to speak distinctly.

He listened to another reported quotation:

"The people of Mississippi are sitting on a volcano. There is a nation-wide effort to integrate niggers into the social life of the country."

"I subscribe to that," Bilbo said. "If I didn't say it, I wish I had."

But he denied saying that anyone should be horsewhipped, that Negroes trying to vote should have gasoline poured on them, or that the leaders of the Mississippi Progressive Voters League, one of the organizations opposing him, should be "atomically bombed and exterminated from the surface of the earth."

Another hearing, on Bilbo's alleged relations with war contractors, is scheduled by a different groups in Washington next Thursday.

Bilbo Is Digging Up Information On Colleagues

The News Birmingham, Ala.

And He'll Raise Some Embarrassing Issues, Reports Sen. Thomas

By FRANCIS J. KELLY

WASHINGTON, Dec. 26—(AP)—Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.), an associate said today, is prepared to raise some "embarrassing" questions if his colleagues' seek to make an issue of his dealings with war contractors. Thurs. 12-26-46

Sen. Elmer Thomas (D., Okla.) told reporters that Bilbo has had "a bunch of people" investigating other senators' connections with contractors, and is prepared to parry questions directed against him with "a record of what other people have done."

* * *

THE SENATE WAR INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE is weighing a subcommittee's report on Bilbo's relations with a group of Mississippi contractors in the early days of the Nation's defense program. While the report has not been made public, the public hearing went into stories of favors done for the Mississippi senator by men he aided in obtaining multi-million dollar air field contracts.

Bilbo himself has denied any wrong-doing.

The committee's report is expected to be a major factor in a Republican fight to bar Bilbo from his seat, to which he was elected for a third time last Summer.

"There will be a long debate if they try to make him stand aside the day Congress convenes," Thomas declared.

* * *

"IT MAY BE AN EMBARRASSING ISSUE FOR SOME, but it won't be for me, because I made it a campaign issue in my own state. I left nothing undone for Oklahoma contractors that I could do."

For example, Thomas said, he exerted the utmost pressure he possessed as a senator in order to get a government powder plant located at Choteau, Okla., rather than at Terre Haute, Ind. He said the issue "I have no embarrassment or another Senate committee which to construct an airplane factory at Tulsa recently delved into Bilbo's actions, duplicate of one at Fort Worth, Thomas said.

In the government to get labor in Oklahoma and unorganized labor in those cases," Thomas said. Similarly, he continued, he got Texas. The Oklahoman is a member of

Thurs. 12-26-46

Senate on Trial With Bilbo

PM New York, N.Y.

Two series of public hearings have now been held on Bilbo. The first, in Jackson, Miss., delved into charges that the Mississippian had violated his oath of office and the laws of the country by keeping Negroes away from the polls at the time of his Senatorial primary victory last July. The second, just completed in Washington, probed into his war contract activities before and during the war. Sun. 12-22-46

Despite the massive pile of evidence produced by these two investigations, the whole case against Bilbo has not yet been revealed. It probably never will be. The same fear that kept so many Negroes away from the Mississippi primaries last July, kept many away from the Jackson hearings three weeks ago. And as for Bilbo's war contract activities, the Senatorial subcommittee which looked into them found that the hardest thing in the world to trace is the dollar bill, soft with use, on which the dishonest fingerprint is lost in the multitude of honest ones.

The soiled greenback was the currency with which Bilbo operated in war-contract activities, and more than once the subcommittee which listened to the evidence lost itself in the chase.

On such occasions Bilbo sat back and grinned, for this was part of his defense strategy. And part of his defense strategy, too, was the highly selective type of amnesia with which certain witnesses became automatically afflicted the moment they took the chair, and the peculiarly jumbled ledgers offered by other witnesses who were efficient enough businessmen in all other directions to have carried through millions of dollars worth of contracts for the Government.

So in this case the Senate, when at its opening session on Jan. 3, must decide on whether Bilbo shall be given the oath of office, will likely know only half the story. But in this case half the story is more, far more, than enough, unless the standards for admission to the most exclusive club in the world are even lower than the most pessimistic and most cynical of observers ever dared hope.

Out of the mass of evidence which has come out of the two investigations, I want to present only four items, three of them unchallenged by Bilbo and the other challenged only by his vituperation and not by any facts which he presented:

Item: At Jackson, Miss., Bilbo admitted on the stand that he urged registration clerks to "think up questions enough to disqualify" Negroes from voting in the Primary, *despite Constitutional protection of the Negroes' right to vote and despite an opinion by the Mississippi Attorney General that the only necessary qualification for voting is ability to read and understand the State Constitution.*

Item: At Washington, Bilbo admitted on the stand that he had received campaign contributions on behalf of his friend, Wall Doxey, *from certain war contractors, despite the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1940 which prohibits such contributions.*

Item: At Washington, to defend himself against charges that he had kept for his own use some of the money contributed for the Wall Doxey campaign, *Bilbo insisted he used this money to buy votes for Doxey, paying this money over to certain of Doxey's opponents to win their support.* 12-22-46

Item: At Washington, Bilbo admitted that he had helped a narcotic addict of his State to get Federal permission to obtain drugs and further said that the physician who had asked him to intervene in the case had turned in $1000 or $1500 to a pet project of Bilbo's, a building fund for a church and parsonage on his estate. But the bank account of this special church fund was produced in the hearings, *and there is no record of a deposit for $1000 or $1500 having been made during the period in question.*

Again, I say, I don't know exactly what are the standards of admission to the most exclusive club in the world. Surely they must be at least as high as any club of any normally honest citizens. And would normally honest citizens, no less the U. S. Senate, accept as a fellow club member a man who acknowledges openly that he buys up political candidates, who openly advocates violation of the Constitution, who breaks Federal law in accepting campaign contributions, who is unable to account for certain money paid to him by a man involved with the furnishing of drugs to an addict?

At this point it is no longer Bilbo who is on trial, but the Senate of the United States. Sun 12-22-46

Blow "The Man" Down

Bilbo's Chance To Give His Side Of Story Is Near

The News

Load Of Testimony By Contractors Tells Of Expensive Favors

Birmingham, Ala.

BY FRANCIS J. KELLY

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17—(AP)—Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) appeared likely to get a chance today to relate his side of the story of his relations with a dozen war contractors who: Tues. 12-17-46

1. Loaned him money.
2. Bought him a car.
3. Dug him a lake and
4. Chipped in more than $30,000 for his futile campaign to elect Wall Doxey to the U. S. Senate in 1942.

With the witness list drained low, Chairman Mead (D., N. Y.), of a Senate war investigating subcommittee, said Bilbo probably would be called today. Sen. Ferguson (R., Mich.) likewise told a reporter "it looks like 'the man' will get his chance to talk."

* * *

BILBO SOMETIMES REFERS to himself in campaign speeches in the third person, as "the man Bilbo." He has been an attentive listener to all the proceedings since the public hearings started last Thursday.

The committee would have preferred to wait for Bilbo's rebuttal until after examining Edward P. Terry, Bilbo's secretary from 1939 until last January.

But Terry, who claims his life has been threatened if he says anything against his former boss, has been in a Quitman, Miss., hospital with a heart ailment and is not due to arrive here until tomorrow morning.

Bilbo told reporters he planned to present a written statement explaining his side of the affair. He recenty underwent a mouth operation and cannot yet wear his denture comfortably.

Although his speech is somewhat slurred and indistinct as a result, Bilbo said he is ready to answer any questions the committee may put to him. He recalled that despite his mouth trouble he was able to testify for two hours during another recent inquiry at Jackson, Miss.

* * *

THAT HEARING WAS CONDUCTED by the Senate campaign investigating committee into charges that Bilbo tried to keep Negroes from voting in last Summer's primary. It has not yet announced its findings.

Republicans are counting on the two hearings to provide ammunition for their announced campaign to deprive Bilbo of his Senate seat.

Yesterday's session brought details of how contractors—all of whom held lucrative government construction of contracts in Mississippi—painted the senator's "dream house" home at Poplarville, contributed to the nearby Juniper Grove Baptist Church at his request, dug him a swimming pool and performed other favors.

The senators also heard Abe Shushan, New Orleans wholesale dry goods merchant and one-time Huey Long lieutenant, tell how he drove to Mississippi in 1938 to lend Bilbo $3,000 at the request of a mutual friend, the late Grant Stewart, of New Hebron, Miss. Shushan said he handed Bilbo the money under a shed where they had taken refuge from a driving rain.

* * *

A FEDERAL INCOME TAX SUIT was pending against Shushan at the time, and J. P. Winchell, chief counsel for the Bureau of Internal Revenue, testified that Bilbo had called him "four or five times" trying to get the case settled for a lower figure than the government claimed was due.

Shushan said he eventually "paid the whole thing—$102,000 or $105,000," including a settlement for a similar case involving Mrs. Shushan.

The New Orleans man said he understood Bilbo needed the money at the time because of marital trouble. He testified that Stewart finally paid the $3,000 after repeated duns.

M. T. Reed, of Belzoni, Miss., whose government contracts ran into many millions of dollars, testified that he painted the "dream house" at a cost of $1,790.79, which was never paid, and that he paid off a $517.92 note signed by Terry.

Reed was one of several who reported sizable contributions to the Juniper Grove church. His donation was $3,500. 12-17-46

Morrissey dug a 25-acre lake on Bilbo's plantation, leaving an island as the site of dream house No. 2. He also took a $48,000 loss operating Bilbo's farm.

It was Morrissey who gave Bilbo a $1,912 Cadillac automobile as a Christmas present in 1941.

The committee also decided to call for testimony from the Rev. D. Wade Smith, pastor of the Juniper Grove church. In letters seeking money for the church, Bilbo said he wanted to complete the church and parsonage as a memorial to "my sainted father."

Bilbo's Predicament

450

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Tues. 12-24-46

Two Senate committees have recently put and kept Bilbo on the front page. One group, holding hearings in Jackson and headed by Sen. Ellender, of Louisiana, was concerned principally with the question of civil rights involved in Bilbo's campaign warnings to Negro voters. Were these threats in violation of their rights, or were they merely the sort of thing to be expected from such a source? One gathers that the Democratic majority of this committee will give Bilbo a clean bill of health. Sen. Elmer Thomas, of Oklahoma, who is a member of the inquiring subcommittee, made that clear when he told reporters that "Bilbo did nothing that almost every other politician in Mississippi hasn't done."

But another Senate committee, holding forth in Washington, has been investigating Bilbo's financial affairs. A very sordid story has been told of favors and gratuities, of money circulating under many disguises. Bilbo had a church, a dream-house, a lake, a candidate for the Senate other than himself, mortgages. All this and more seemed to require a variety of contributions of one kind or another. To what extent Bilbo has stayed within the law remains to be seen. But a sorry and dubious state of things has been proved, and that may be enough to keep the senator from Mississippi from being allowed to hold his seat.

Other men elected to the Senate—Smith, of Illinois, and Newberry, of Michigan—were thrown out, even though they were not caught red-handed. A Senate majority proceeded on the principle that where there is so much smoke there must be fire, where so much filthy lucre was floating around, a would-be senator's claim to recognition must be tainted. In this instance, also, a question touching the narcotics law seems to be in the picture.

PROBES: Bilbo's Lovely Dream

Newsweek

It was an idyl of man's humanity to man, a pre-Christmas carol of faith, hope, and charity. It was the story of Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo's veneration for the memory of his parents; of dreams come true; of castles in Spain that actually were built in Juniper Grove, Miss., complete with artificial lake and island; of friendship transcending so sordid a thing as money.

The men who told it were Mississippi war contractors—hard-boiled, hard-headed men—and Bilbo himself. The place: the Senate War Investigating sub-committee's hearing on charges that Bilbo had accepted money and gifts from the contractors after helping to wangle jobs for them. The time: Monday, Dec. 16.

Michael T. Morrissey was on the stand. A giant dumpling of a man, with horn-rimmed glasses and pudgy hands, he was explaining why he gave nearly $66,000 to Bilbo in gifts, loans, and services.

And the Angels Sing: It was beatific. There, for example, was that 22-acre lake he dug for the senator in the center of The Man's 3,600-acre plantation. That had always been one of Bilbo's "beautiful, beautiful dreams," said Morrissey, so one day The Man got out his mule, called a one-armed assistant and two boys, and started to work.

"Well," said Morrissey, who was wearing an almost-yellow tweed suit and an expression of injured innocence, "I just happened to drive in to see Bilbo, and he was cutting a right-of-way for a pond. I told him I had a couple of bulldozers lyin' idle, and I'd be glad to do it for him." While he was at it, Morrissey thought he might as well dig a swimming pool, too. Later, he sent Bilbo a bill for the "actual cost" of the work—$3,627—but he made no effort to collect it.

John R. Junkin, who sold ready-mixed concrete for Army airfields, did the cementing job on Bilbo's swimming pool. He, too, was an angel of coincidence. "I just happened to be going by and saw Bilbo gettin' ready to mix cement," he drawled. He later sent The Man a bill for $1,194.70, stamped "paid."

But the stream of Samaritan visitors continued. A few weeks passed, and there was the senator sadly contemplating the peeling paint on his mansion, Dream House. "And I just happened by," began war contractor Maurice T. Reed, "and . . ."

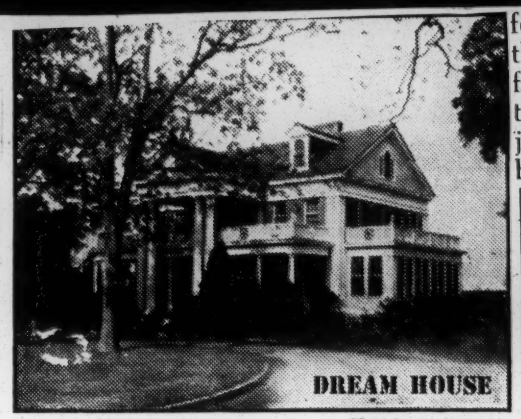
Dayton, Ohio

Republican Sen. Homer Ferguson of Michigan guffawed. "No mule?" he demanded. "No mule," replied Reed. "It was just that I noticed his house needed paintin' bad. So I did it." He said, after urging by Ferguson, that he used ordinary house paint, not special dream paint. Eventually, he sent Bilbo a bill for $1,790.79, a sum he tried to write off at the end of the year as a bad debt. The claim was disallowed, he said, adding: "I think maybe some day he'll pay it. I hope so."

Mon. 12-30-46

There was a cottage, Dream House Jr., on the island in the center of the lake. It was unfurnished. Bilbo's secretary, Edward P. Terry, and Bilbo's political crony, Robert Gandy, borrowed $500 from the bank for sofas, chairs, and floor lamps. The bank, lacking that fine spirit of charity which animated the contractors, demanded repayment plus $17 interest. Contractor Reed footed the bill. Why? "They asked me," he explained.

Passing the Plate: Nor were these the only "beautiful, beautiful dreams" the war contractors made come true. Most beautiful of all was Bilbo's dream of turning the Juniper Grove Baptist Church into a memorial to his parents. With contributions from the contractors running into thousands of dollars, he built a parsonage for the church on his property. The minister never moved into the parsonage and The Man put it up as partial security against an $18,000 loan the next time he found himself



Harris & Ewing

Whence comes the stuff . . .

in need of funds.

The contractors insisted that Bilbo did not actually solicit their contributions. Reed testified that one day, on his way to New Orleans, he stopped off to visit with the senator and told him: "Why Theo, I hear your collections for building that lovely Juniper Grove Baptist Church and parsonage on your property are going pretty slow. Would $3,500 help?"

Morrissey testified: "The senator wanted to be buried, when he died, by the parsonage . It was almost too much for him, that dream. He had a hell of a time building the church."

The idyl continued. Morrissey told of going into business with Bilbo under an arrangement that probably was unprecedented. He contracted to pay all running expenses and taxes for Bilbo's plantation, to absorb all the losses, and to share the profits, if any, 50-50. This cost Morrissey a mere $48,000 in four years.

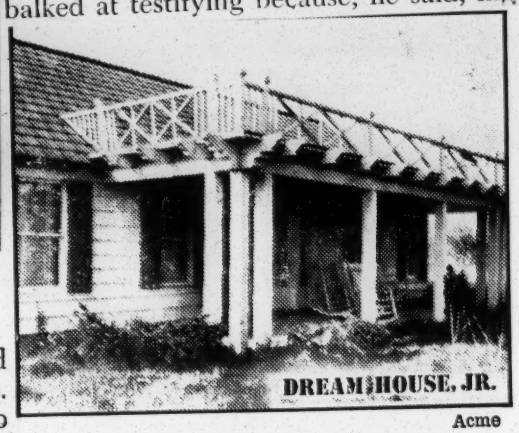
He conceded he wrote off the loss on his income tax. "What bracket were you in?" Ferguson demanded. "Well," Morrissey drawled, "I paid income taxes of $165,000 in 1942."

"Then, in other words," said Ferguson, "the government actually paid 80 per cent of the losses on Bilbo's farm for four years." Correct, said Morrissey.

To Theo With Love: The contractor said he also had given Bilbo a $1,912 Cadillac. "We always send poor people to Congress down there," he explained jovially. "So we gotta help 'em along."

At this, the Senate subcommittee and newspapermen covering the hearing broke into horse laughs. But other contractors rose to agree that Bilbo was terribly poor. They told of helping The Man along with loans, some of which he later repaid in whole or part. F. T. Newton got back all of the $1,200 he lent to Bilbo in 1941; B. L. Knost, who also lent him $1,200, got back $750. Knost was not quite so lucky with the $3,750 he gave to Bilbo's secretary, Terry, presumably for the unsuccessful reelection campaign in 1942 for Sen. Wall Doxey, a Bilbo protégé. Knost said sadly he was now beginning to suspect it had never been used for campaign expenses at all.

If the contractors' testimony was an ode to innocence, not so that of Terry or Miss Virginia Simmerman, another former secretary. Miss Simmerman said that Bilbo had fired her because her father refused to contribute to a fund to help pay the Senator's alimony. The jittery, bespectacled Terry, who had balked at testifying because, he said, his



Acme

. . . that dreams are made on?

life had been threatened, finally took the stand and on Wednesday promptly proceeded to involve The Man in graft, narcotics, and political manipulations of decidedly undreamlike proportions. Not the least, he also put himself in danger of going to jail.

Mississippi Mud: Terry's own troubles arose from an assertion that he received $15,000 from the late Simon Liberman, author of "Building Lenin's Russia" and onetime Soviet aide, to help finance the candidacy of anyone who would oppose Bilbo in the 1946 Senatorial campaign. He said he returned the money to Liberman "last July." When it was pointed out that Liberman had died the preceding January, he clammed up, saying: "I don't feel I can involve other people." Ferguson moved to cite him for contempt, noting that he also faced possible charges of perjury.

Until this episode, Terry had plastered Bilbo with these charges:

¶ That he collected $1,500 from a Vicksburg physician on the promise that he would try to obtain a narcotics license in Washington for a drug addict.

¶ That he obtained a $3,000 loan from Abe Shushan, former henchman of Huey Long, who in 1940 was sentenced to 30 months in jail on mail fraud charges, with the understanding that it would not be repaid if The Man could help Shushan out of his troubles.

Dayton, Ohio

¶ That Bilbo, who obtained $25,000 from contractor Newton for Doxey's 1942 campaign, didn't use the money for that purpose.

Mon. 12-30-46

Next day, Bilbo paid his respects to Terry in a 41-page statement studded with words like "limicolous" (which means "living in mud"). Lisping, because a mouth infection keeps him from wearing his false teeth, he pounded a table and said: "Christ had his Judas Iscariot; Caesar had his Brutus; George Washington had his Benedict Arnold. But I claim to have had the greatest traitor of them all in my trusted secretary."

Bilbo's report on Bilbo: "I am a very poor man and heavily involved in debt . . . I received during the period the investigation has covered but two Christmas gifts."

The committee, which had already thoroughly investigated all the charges except the alleged narcotics payoff, was unshaken by The Man's history-encompassing prose. It immediately began drafting a report strongly condemning Bilbo, and citing Federal laws which prohibit war contractors from contributing to a political candidate. But, lacking jurisdiction, the committee would make no recommendation on whether the Senate should seat The Man. The Senate would have to decide that for itself.

Primary Elections (Mississippi-Probe)

Bilbo Starts on His 'Last Mile'

The Worker
By Fred Vast

New York, N. Y. Sun. 11-24-46

WASHINGTON.—The little man with the big mouth is finally reaping the harvest he has sown for many years. The long over-ripe fruit is weighing down the tree of justice in Washington and Mississippi.

It's so tempting even the Republicans can't resist. They're apparently climbing on the bandwagon of national indignation against Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo in an attempt to steal the show.

Bilbo's flagrant race-baiting and trampling of every standard of decency, not to mention charges of legal violations and graft, are at last catching up with him.

Two Senate Committees are investigating him. One will hold open hearings in Mississippi, starting Dec. 2, on charges of fraud, intimidation of Negroes and constitutional violations in this year's primary elections. Another started hearings this week on alleged gifts Bilbo received from grateful war contractors in 1942.

★

REPUBLICAN LEADERS are talking about a move to deny him a seat in the Senate when the new session opens Jan. 3.

An admitted member of the Ku Klux Klan, "The Man" Bilbo has written letters to citizens on Senate stationery, calling them "dago", "kike", "nigger", "liar" and similar insults.

His conduct has inspired numerous demands for his removal from the Senate by city councils, unions, mayors and civic leaders. Last year he was picketed by a wounded war veteran for several days, who was joined by other vets.

Most complete documentation about the polltax rabble-rouser is contained in the petition presented to the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee by the Civil Rights Congress.

Affidavits secured by the group in Mississippi tell the story of terror, intimidation and violence that dominated Bilbo's campaign for reelection this year.

★

IN THE VICTIMS' own words they tell how Negroes were barred from voting through arrests, beatings, murder threats, and other intimidation, including firings from jobs.

"I call on every red-blooded American who believes in the superiority and integrity of the white race to get out and see that no -----r votes . . . and the time to do that is the night before." Bilbo advised his followers during the election campaign.

"I call on the citizens of Mississippi to resort to any means to keep Negroes from the Polls," he shouted. **"And if you don't know what that means, you are just not up on 'persuasive' measures."**

On another occasion he offered his legal services **"to anybody that gets in trouble. I'm a damn good lawyer. I've defended people in 11 murder cases in my life and got them off free."**

"How I did it is my business," he added.

In Senate speeches he has attacked Catholics and praised Nazi Germany for Hitler's anti-Semitic terror.

While governor of Mississippi he was asked to investigate the burning of a Negro at a stake.

"I have neither the time nor the money to investigate 2000 people," he replied.

★

HE IS REPORTED to have said while governor, that America needs a Mussolini.

No wonder more lynchings have occurred in Mississippi than any other state. A total of 532 such killings have been recorded.

During his first term as a state senator, in 1911, Bilbo narrowly averted being unseated by a one-vote margin over a charge he had accepted a $645 bribe.

Declared his colleagues in a formal resolution:

"The Senate pronounces Bilbo as unfit to sit with honest, upright men in a respectable legislative body.

When the champion of white supremacy left the governor's mansion in 1932, the state was in debt $11,500,000.

Current bribery charges lodged against him, which the Senate War Investigating Committee is examining, include: $25,000 from one contractor for aid in obtaining lucrative jobs, $8,750 from another, a Cadillac car from a third contractor, and $1200 apiece from two others.

In addition it is reliably reported several war contractors pooled their resources to build him a "dream house" with an eight acre artificial lake. Bilbo is also accused of accepting $4500 for appointments to West Point, $3000 for quashing income tax and other indictments, and $25,000 for setting up a church fund out of which he bought property for himself.

Apparently corruption and race hatred go hand-in-hand. There seem to be no bounds for either, especially when in the hands of an unscrupulous man like Bilbo.

SEN. THEODORE S. BILBO

There are plenty of laws to punish perpetrators of the crimes listed above.

Progressives and labor, first to launch the campaign for justice against Bilbo, are not expected to be satisfied with merely depriving him of a Senate seat. They will demand full justice.

Senate Unit Ponders Action Against Bilbo

The News

WASHINGTON, Dec. 27—(AP)—The Republican Senate steering committee was called together today to decide whether to try barring Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) at the opening session of the 80th Congress. Birmingham News

Chairman Taft (Ohio) invited Sens. Ferguson, of Michigan, and Hickenlooper, of Iowa, to sit in. They served on two committees which investigated Bilbo's relations with war contractors and his election campaign. Fri. 12-23-46

A senator who was Ferguson's colleague on the Senate war investigating subcommittee declared last night the group has drafted a "very tough" report on Bilbo and the contractors.

It makes no recommendations, he said, but emphasizes Ferguson's contention that the contractors were solicited for funds in violation of federal law.

Hickenlooper was a member of the special camp investigating committee which investigated charges that Bilbo sought to keep Negroes from voting in the primary which resulted in his election to a third term. This committee's report is still in the making.

Bilbo went back to Mississippi for the holidays, declaring neither investigatoin had turned up any evidence of wrongdoing on his part.

Ignorant of Law He Voted Against

The Afro-American

Memory Lapses Under Withering Examination

Baltimore, Md.

MAY KEEP SEAT

Sat. 12-28-46

GOP Faces Barriers . . in Expulsion Bid

WASHINGTON

Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi was embarrassed and uncomfortable last week when he pleaded ignorance of a law prohibiting solicitations of monetary contributions from Government contractors — a law he voted against — during hearings before the War Investigating Committee. 12-28-46

"The Man" was neatly trapped under the unrelenting cross-examination of Sen. Homer Ferguson (Rep., Mich.) after he had read a prepared statement which required 41 pages, in a desperate effort to refute the incriminating evidence which may cost him his Senate seat.

When Bilbo completed his all-day reading of the statement, Senator Ferguson, who clashed with him repeatedly, asked Bilbo whether there was a statute of limitations in Mississippi.

He explained that the statute of limtations in Mississippi ran three years on open accounts, but said, however, that he would not plead that statute of limitations in the case of any debt he owed.

"I suppose the same thing is true with the criminal statute?" asked Senator Ferguson. "I want to have you now come to a political statute."

Bilbo asked whether it had anything to do with war contracts.

After telling Bilbo it was a law that he, Bilbo, had voted against, Senator Ferguson passed him a United States Code and, citing the law, told Bilbo to have his attorney, Forrest Jackson, of Jackson, (Miss.), read the statute aloud.

The statute, which became effective July 19, 1940, makes it an offense for any person or firm entering into a government contract during the negotiations to make any contribution of money or anything of value to any political party, committee or candidate for public office.

The law also forbids any person to solicit any such contribution. The Afro-American

"Did you know such a law existed?" Senator Ferguson asked Bilbo. "No, sir," he replied. "Under our law, ignorance of the law is no excuse," Senator Ferguson told Bilbo, who himself is a lawyer. Baltimore, Md.

"What about that law?" Senator Ferguson querier Bilbo, after reminding him that he had collected a $25,000 contribution from Bernie Knost and another $25,000 contribution from "Big Boy" Newton, two of the contractors who got the bids for Keesler Field at Biloxi, (Miss.) Sat. 12-28-46

Bilbo said he left the construction of the law up to his lawyer and needed more time to read it.

His lawyer opined that the statute was not applicable to the facts as the investigating committee had developed them, and contended there was no proof of solicitation by Bilbo.

Yet, notwithstanding Thursday's damaging evidence of outright law violation on Bilbo's part, and his admitted efforts to stop colored people from voting, the Republican strategists are facing serious obstacles in their determination to Oust Bilbo—if they possibly can.

It appears that the only clear-cut line of action would be to expell Bilbo from the Senate for moral turpitude after he is seated, an action which would require a two-thirds vote.

The law which Bilbo voted against in 1940 provides a fine of $5,000 or five years' imprisonment for violators.

The Ellender Committee is understood to have had a "knock-down and drag-out fight" over a report on Bilbo's efforts to keep colored people from voting in the Mississippi Senatorial primary.

Without any official reports to go on, the Republican conference scheduled for Dec. 30, can still decide that the evidence against Bilbo is sufficiently damaging to go ahead with the ouster plan regardless.

But, if the caucus so decides—and this seems likely—there are other hurdles to clear.

If a report from the Committee on Election (of which Senator Ellender is chairman) shows that Bilbo's anti-colored activities introduced the element of fraud in his own election, Bilbo could be barred at the Senate door.

Yet, this could be done only in theory, since any attempt to keep him out on these grounds would probably bring the whole Southern bloc over to Bilbo's side.

Should Bilbo be asked to step aside and he refuse, there could be, according to one strategist, "one hell of a fight then and there—" with the Democrats still

concerning a brief prepared by Rep. Charles M. LaFollette (Rep., Ind.), entitled "The Case Against Bilbo."

In a prepared statement read to the committee, Bilbo charged that the NAACP and Communist Senate campaign investigating committee during hearings at Jackson (Miss.), into charges that Bilbo achieved his election through the intimidation of colored voters.

Sen. James M. Mead, New York, subcommittee chairman, told Bilbo that the charges were not germane to the issue before the committee, a telegram requesting him to vote against seating Charles H. Houston, NAACP attorney, reminded Senator Bilbo that the "legality" of Bilbo's election is the primary factor in the committee's findings, who asked to be heard before the committee.

Mr. Houston also told Senator Ellender that since Bilbo, as chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, claims to be the "mayor" of Washington-read from a NAACP press release

An expulsion order could then be taken in control.

Meanwhile, the NAACP is pressing its campaign to have Bilbo unseated by urging the support of Senatorial members of the Senate Investigating Committee who would vote on the matter.

Walter White, executive secretary, sent Sen. Elmer Thomas (Dem., Okla.), whose vote may be the deciding one on the five-man

committee.

Senator Mead repeated his statement of Dec. 12, when the hearings opened, that the committee was concerned only with Bilbo's dealings with war contractors and not with his ideologics or political convictions.

Moving that the committee strike the charges from the record, Senator Ferguson said the mere fact that comittee members refrained from cross-examining Bilbo was because they did not believe his statements were relevant to the issue.

He added, that fact was not an indication that they believed his charges were true.

Bilbo said he had done nothing more than Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeemen from Mississippi, who he asserted had urged colored people not to vote in the State Democratic primary last July 2, in which Bilbo was nominated for a third term.

In making this assertion, however, Bilbo did not deny that he had intimidated colored people and incided violence against them to keep them away from the polls.

Learning about the Bilbo statement, Mr. Howard showed up at the afternoon session last Friday and sought to testify. But the committee had decided not to encumber the record with irrelevant matters. 12-28-46

Mr. Howard denied to reporters that he had urged colored people not to vote in the Mississippi Democratic primary.

He said that as a good Republican, it pleased him to see the Democrats fighting among themselves, and kept his lips closed and made no comment whatever concerning the primary.

"But I do not want the impression to get abroad that I was against colored people voting," he said. "As a matter of fact, I have urged them for 40 years to vote as the only protection they have and so that this country will be a real democracy."

BILBO TO GO HOME; HIS FILES SEARCHED

The Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20 (AP)—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, made plans today to spend Christmas in his dream house in Mississippi while attorneys for the Senate War Investigating Committee dug through his personal office files here for evidence of a bank deposit of $1,000 or $1,500 alleged to have been paid to the Senator by a narcotics addict. New York, N.Y.

The investigation of Mr. Bilbo's transactions with war contractors and others still was held open but Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, told a reporter it may be necessary to forego additional public hearings before completion of a report.

Unruffled by the week of sensational testimony, including more than six hours of his own yesterday, Senator Bilbo told reporters that he had not missed spending Christmas in the dream house on his farm since 1935.

Mr. Ferguson, Republican member of the three-man subcommittee which recessed its public hearings late yesterday, is the only one of the trio who will sit in the next Congress. Sat. 12-21-46

Senator James M. Mead, Democrat, of New York, abandoned his seat to make an unsuccessful race for Governor of New York while James M. Tunnell, Democrat, of Delaware, was defeated in November.

Both Mr. Mead and Mr. Tunnell have left the capital for the Christmas holidays but Mr. Ferguson said he was rechecking all of the conflicting testimony and he hoped "we can have a report ready by Dec. 30."

Poll Shows Majority Favor Report Leveled At Sen. Bilbo's Actions

The News

Six Committee Members Back Criticism For His War Contractors' Deals

Birmingham, Ala. Sat. 12-28-46

WASHINGTON, Dec. 28—(AP)—Sen. Ferguson (R., Mich.), reported today that a majority of the Senate war investigating committee has approved a report criticizing Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) for his relations with war contractors.

Ferguson said the 10 members of the committee were being polled onthe Bilbo report and "six of them already have approved it."

He said he could not divulge the names or party affiliations of these six until the entire committee has been polled and the report filed with the secretary of the Senate.

At the same time Ferguson said it would be impossible for the war investigating subcommittee to hold additional public hearings on Bilbo's affairs before the new Congress convenes, Jan. 3.

Ferguson had asked reopening of the public hearings by Chairman Mead (D., N. Y.) of the subcommittee but learned today that Mead could not attend a hearing before Jan. 2, the day that Mead's term as senator expires.

Bar Group Urges Ouster of Bilbo

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Lawyers Ask Truman to Probe Vote Frauds

DETROIT — Adoption of resolutions asking the unseating of Sen. Theodore Bilbo (Dem., Miss.) and urging President Truman to appoint a special assistant attorney general to investigate vote frauds in Mississippi, highlighted the 21st annual convention of the National Bar Association held here recently. Sat. 12-14-46

The members also adopted a resolution urging the President and Secretary of State James F. Byrnes to use their influence to check imperialism on the part of United Nations' members.

A third resolution proposed that the National Bar Association memorialize the legal authorities of the UN to eliminate discrimination against minority groups in the United States.

Transportation Battle Not Won

Progress has been made in the judicial drive on discrimination in public transportation, said Atty. Richard Westbrooks, Chicago, chairman of the NBA civil rights committee, but he warned that all progressive forces must get behind legal forces to retain and further extend the victories.

Belford Lawson, Washington, furthering the comments on interstate travel, said: "Liberal lawyers throughout America must strive to perpetuate the ideals established by liberal lawyer-statesmen in the past.

"Success or failure of the democratic experiment hinges on this perpetuation. Mere talk of peace, brotherhood and equality means nothing to the man in the street, legal machinery must work to make these ideals mean something," he declared.

Civil Rights Tenuous

Theodore M. Berry, Cincinnati, in his talk on segregation in public places, said that although 18 States have civil rights laws of some kind, successful prosecution of violators is rare.

Principal reasons, Mr. Berry stated, are the reluctance of jurors to seve in such cases and the high cost of litigation to plaintiffs.

In the restrictive covenants report, Loren Miller, Los Angeles, who presided at the discussion, urged that the United Sates be urged to establish and guarantee rights of minorities on a sociological basis.

300 Delegates Attend

Francis M. Dent, Detroit, pointed out that since last June, when Mr. Miller gained nation-wide attention for prosecution of a Los Angeles covenants case involving colored movie stars, prospects for elimination of the pacts have greatly improved.

C. LeBron Simmons, president of the Wolverine Bar Association, host to the more than 300 delegates, welcomed the lawyers on Nov. 29. The theme of the convention was "Second Class Citizenship and Mob Violence Must Go."

Incumbents Re-elected

Chester Smith, fourth vice-president, presided at the final morning session of the convention Sunday, at which time the entire slate of officers was re-elected. Voted back into office were:

Earl Dickeson, Chicago, president; J. Robert Booker, Loren Miller, J. Mercer Burrell, and M. Smith, first, second, third and fourth vice-presidents, respectively; Sadie T. M. Alexander, Philadelphia, secretary; and Harold T. Gassaway, treasurer.

Public Meeting Held

Z. Alerander Looby, Nashville, a counsel in the Columbia, Tenn., "riot" trials, related to a large audience at Bethel AME Church details of the trial and the numerous incidents that preceded the disturbances at Columbia.

He then told of the various attempts to sabotage his efforts in regards to getting a fair trial for the defendants in the case.

Washington was selected as the host of the 1947 National Bar Association Convention.

$30,500 Fees Went to Bilbo

The Afro-American

War Contractors' Checks Liven Probe

Baltimore, Md.

FIGHT FEATURED

Sat. 12-21-46

Insurance Agent Tells of Hotel Rendezvous

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Testimony showing that Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (Dem., Miss.) received a total of $30,500 from Mississippi war contractors whom he aided in securing fat Army contracts, highlighted the hearings against him last week before the Senate War Investigating sub-committee.

One contractor, Francis T. Newton of Hattiesburg, had testified earlier that on Sept. 7, 1942, he had given Bilbo four checks totaling $25,000.

Earlier testimony established that Bilbo had helped the Newton-Glenn Construction Co., to get the contract for the $13,967,005 Keesler Field at Biloxi, as a co-venture with other contractors.

Hotel Rendezvous

Under a withering examination by Sen. Homer Ferguson (Rep., Mich.), a former judge of the Circuit Court of Wayne County (Detroit), Gandy said he had cashed the four checks for Bilbo and taken the money to him in a hotel room.

Senator Ferguson pressed Gandy to tell what had become of the money after Bilbo received it as chairman of an "informal committee" to aid the candidacy of Wall Doxey, now Senate sergeant-at-arms, against Senator James M. Eastland.

Operation 'Deficit'

Gandy explained that after the regular white Democratic primary in Mississippi in 1942 it was necessary to carry on certain "maneuvers" to get "eliminated" candidates to support Doxey.

Senator Ferguson inferred from Gandy's testimony that the eliminated candidates to be paid for their support of the candidates who were in the run-off primary. Gandy did not agree, but labeled the payment to eliminated candidates as an "operating deficit."

Witness Attacked

Ross Collins, former Mississippi Congressman, and one of the candidates Bilbo defeated in the July 2 Mississippi Democratic primary, by keeping colored Mississippians from voting through intimidation and incitement of violence against them, attacked a witness as he was testifying in the late afternoon. The Afro-American

Capitol police quickly subdued Mr. Collins, and Sen. James M. Mead of New York, subcommittee chairman, adjourned the hearings until Saturday morning. Baltimore, Md.

The witness, Robert Gandy, insurance agent of Jackson, Miss., was explaining the political corruption in Mississippi where a poll tax payment and restriction of the Democratic primary to white persons only, prior to this year operated to disfranchise most of the people, leaving power in the hands of a few. Sat. 12-21-46

CLEARING OF BILBO ON NEGRO VOTE SEEN

The Times

Thomas of Oklahoma Declares Mississippi Law Is to Blame, Thinks Inquiry Will So Hold

New York, N.Y. Mon. 12-23-46

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22—Senator Elmer Thomas, Democrat, of Oklahoma, predicted today that Democratic members of an investigating committee would hold next week that the Mississippi election system and not Senator Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, prevented Negroes from voting there.

Mr. Thomas told a reporter that as a member of the Senate Elections subcommittee which held hearings on the ground, he was convinced that "Bilbo did nothing that almost every other politician in Mississippi hasn't done."

Mr. Bilbo was accused of preventing Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary in which he won renomination. Republicans looked to this charge as a possible ground for efforts to unseat him.

"Senator Bilbo's views on this question are well known," Mr. Thomas observed. "As far as I can see, he didn't say anything in Mississippi that he hasn't said on the Senate floor."

Results In Oklahoma Cited

Mr. Thomas said he regarded the Mississippi primary system as being in the process of an evolution that eventually would lead to voting by Negroes in increased numbers.

"A few of them voted this year," he remarked. "More of them are likely to vote in the next election, some day most of them will be voting. I watched the same thing in Oklahoma, where there were few; what, if anything, the minority will do about Bilbo.

The outcome of the Senatorial primary campaign of the full elections committee headed by Senator Green, Democrat, of Rhode Island, may be referred by the Senate to its new Rules Committee for recommendations. If this action should be taken, Senator Brooks, Republican, of Illinois, expected to head the Rules group, said it would have to decide whether any further investigation would be justified. 12-23-46

Mead May Join in Report

Senators Mead, Democrat, of New York, and Tunnell, Democrat, of Delaware, defeated in the November election, have closed up shop and gone home. But committee attaches said they believe the two will be willing to join in a report on some of Mr. Bilbo's findings of the Democratic majority found Republicans still apparently undecided what they would do about a minority report at a meeting of the group. Senator Hickenlooper, Republican, of Iowa, said he did not know yet what, if anything, the minority would have to say about Bilbo.

There is now no question about Negroes voting so long as they are qualified voters."

Regardless of the outcome of the elections inquiry, the Republican-controlled Senate will get a report on some of Mr. Bilbo's activities. Senator Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, has been working on a report of the War Investigating Committee's inquiry into the Mississippi Senator's relations with war contractors. Mr. Mead and Senator Tunnell report by Jan. 3 before they officially go out of office. New York, N.Y.

Hearings Scheduled for Miss. Capital

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Sen. Ellender, Committee Head, Bars Testimony of Citizens Elsewhere

AIDS BILBO, WHITEWASH GOAL

Sat. 11-23-46

Maneuver Seen as Attempt to Halt GOP Action Before Congress Meets

WASHINGTON

Senator Theodore G. (The Man) Bilbo (Dem., Miss.), who has disgraced the United States Senate for 12 years, will be asked to "step aside" when he presents himself to take the oath of office for a new six-year term beginning January 3, it was disclosed last Thursday.

If he refuses to comply with the request as other new members of the Senate are being sworn, a test vote probably will be taken on the question of administering the oath to him.

A coalition of Republican and Democratic senators from northern and western States are expected to vote to deny him the oath.

Republicans made "Bilboism" an issue in the recent Congressional elections. Some northern and western Democratic senators already have denounced him for his insults to minority groups. They will risk party harmony by voting to deny him the oath and to unseat him.

Action by Rules Unit

If he is denied the oath, the question of his right to a seat would then be referred to the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. The Senator who makes the challenge will be called upon to present the case against Bilbo before the committee.

Reports also would be asked from the present Senate Campaign Investigating Committee and the special Senate War Investigating Committee.

These agencies have been inquiring into complaints against Bilbo that he intimidated colored voters, thereby keeping them from voting in the Mississippi Democratic primary last July 2, and that he received a "slush fund" of $25,000 from war contractors.

GOP's Commitment

Senator Robert A. Taft (Rep., Ohio), chairman of the Republican Senate Steering Committee, told a news conference after a meeting of the committee last Thursday that the question of seating Bilbo had been discussed, but declined to into details.

Afro-American

Senator Taft and Senator Eugene D. Millikin (Rep., Col had been designated to investigate procedures to be followe in any challenge that may be made to Bilbo's taking the oa of office.

"The Republican Steering Committee," said Senat Taft, "definitely committed itself to go through with the cha lenge, but wants to find out what method should be followed

Bilbo will be second in the line of newly-elected or re-elected senators appearing to take the oath on Jan. 3. The roll is called alphabetically. The first will be Senator-elect Raymond E. Baldwin (Rep., Conn.).

Strategy Explained

The strategy of trying to exclude Bilbo rather than seat him and then try to expel him apparently was based on the belief that his conduct has been such as not to warrant his being seated in the first place.

Baltimore, Md.

If the request that Bilbo step aside is resisted by Southern Democratic Senators, the issue will be decided by a simple majority vote.

Sat. 11-23-46

If the test comes when he appears to take oath of office, only 29 Republicans, including Senator-elect Baldwin, and 32 Democratic holdovers will be eligible to vote, despite the fact that Republicans will hold 51 of the 96 seats in the 80th Congress.

The other newly-elected or re-elected senators will not have been sworn in. If Bilbo should be seated and a resolution of expulsion later voted upon, a two-thirds vote would be required for adoption.

Committee Feud

After Senate Republicans adjourned policy talks last Friday, Senator Taft announced that the question of seating Bilbo had been assigned to a study group consisting of Senators Styles Bridges of New Hampshire and Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, with Senator Millikin acting as adviser on procedural matters.

While these two developments were being disclosed, it also was revealed that a fight was brewing within the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee itself.

Senator Bridges charged that Bilbo's friend, Senator Allen J. Ellender (Dem., La.), committee chairman, was trying to "gloss over" charges filed with the committee against Bilbo.

Hearings in Mississippi

The committee met Saturday to receive reports from four investigators sent into Mississippi to check charges that Bilbo carried on a vicious campaign to keep colored voters from the polls in the Democratic primary last July 2, and that a war contractor gave him $25,000 on Sept. 7, 1942.

After the committee had heard the investigators' reports and sworn statements filed by the Civil Rights Congress, Senator Ellender announced unanimous agreement to hold public hearings in Mississippi, beginning Dec. 12 in Jackson, the State capital.

The committee chairman said only residents of Mississippi will be permitted to testify—although numerous organizations in other sections of the country have played an active role in the "Oust Bilbo" movement and wish to be heard through their representatives.

No Washington Hearings

Spokesmen for these agencies interpreted Senator Ellender's move to hold the hearings in Mississippi as an apparent attempt to forestall GOP action before the 80th Congress convenes, and thus set the stage to whitewash Bilbo.

Mr. Ellender said Bilbo will be called to the witness stand and allowed to present any witnesses he desires.

No hearings are planned in Washington, according to the committee chairman, but hearings may be held in communities other than Jackson for the convenience of Mississippi witnesses.

He made no promise that his committee's formal report would be available to the Republicans when ready.

Testimony to Decide Move

It is believed, however, that the Republican advisory unit would not necessarily wait for the formal report.

If the testimony at the hearings warrant it, Senators Bridges and Hickenlooper could make their own recommendation that their party move to prevent Bilbo from taking his seat.

Representatives of the Civil Rights Congress and the National Negro Council waited in an adjoining corridor while the committee held its session behind closed doors.

Witnesses' Safety Asked

Edgar G. Brown, director of the council, asked Senator Ellender at the press conference following the session, if the committee was making any arrangements to protect witnesses who appear against Bilbo.

Mr. Ellender replied by telling Mr. Brown that he was "trying to be sensational."

Ellender Defends Bilbo

The committee chairman charged that the Republican plan is designed to capture colored votes for the party in the next election, that it is an invasion of the sovereign rights of the State of Mississippi.

He defended Bilbo by saying that he did no more than Robert E. Hannegan, Democratic national committee chairman, did during the campaign when he rejected Communist support for his party.

Mr. Ellender's latter reference was to the charge that Bilbo urged white people of Mississippi to do whatever was necessary to keep colored voters from casting their ballots in he Mississippi primary.

"It is not the Republican Steering Committee that has spoken," he declared. "It is a bunch of pressure groups who want to castigate Bilbo and won't be satisfied unless he is hanged."

Press dispatches from Poplarville, Miss., where Bilbo lives, quoted him as saying, after being informed of the decision of the Republican Steering Committee: "I have done no wrong and I have nothing to say."

ANOTHER INQUIRY PLANNED ON BILBO

Senators Schedule Immediate Hearing on His Dealings as to War Contracts

The Times

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18—A second Senate investigation into the campaign activities and conduct of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi was ordered today.

Within forty-eight hours after the Senate's special Campaign Expenditures Committee had voted to inquire into the Senator's 1946 primary campaign, its War Investigating Committee, headed by Senator Harley M. Kilgore of West Vriginia, directed a subcommittee to start hearings Wednesday morning concerning Mr. Bilbo's relations with war contractors in 1942.

The subcommittee is headed by Senator James M. Mead of New York. Serving with him will be Senators James M. Trunnell, Democrat, of Delaware, and Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan.

While the campaign expenditures group scheduled hearings to begin at Jackson, Miss., not later than Dec. 2, the war investigating body set the first hearing on the 1942 charges with little more than a single day allowed for preparation.

New York, N. Y.

Investigators Are Busy

It was indicated that the first witnesses, in closed session, would be committee investigators who worked in Mississippi during much of the summer and submitted detailed reports recently. It was indicated, too, that the committee pretty well knows what witnesses would be called for public hearings later, but was withholding their identities for the time being.

"This investigation will have to do with war contracts only," Senator Kilgore esaid. "It will have nothing to do with the 1942 campaign as such. We want to find out whether Senator Bilbo's conduct with war contractors was proper or improper."

Tues. 11-19-46

"The jurisdiction of the Campaign Expenditures Committee," interposed Senator Owen Brewster, Republican, of Maine, "covers only the 1946 primaries and general elections. Our hearings will go behind 1946."

Thus it appeared certain that Senator Bilbo would face the reports and recommendations of two independent Senate einvestigating groups when he is scheduled to take ehis Senate seat for a third term on Jan. 3.

The Republican Steering Committee has assigned Senator Eugene D. Millikin of Colorado to study "procedures" and have a tactical plan ready in case its members should decide on the basis of the investigations to request Senator Bilbo to "step aside" when he appears to take his third-term oath.

Action Against Negroes

During the 1946 primary contest Senator Bilbo was alleged by Mississippi citizens to have conducted his campaign in such a wayceived from war contractors he had built the house and a third as to incite the intimidation ofaided in getting contracts. Mr. created the lake. Involve Negroes in order to keep them Bilbo, not a candidate for re-elec- according to committee cou away from the polls. The petition tion in 1942, has said that these The furnishing or the house of the Mississippi citizens was "contributions" went to the aid of expensive automobile. pressed for committee action by other candidates.

Also under investigation, accord- Investigating Campaign Expendi- ing to committee counsel, is a par- tures has found "widespread" vio- the war for lations of election laws "through- ptist Church, out the country." Representative lbo property. J. Percy Priest, Democrat, of Ten- t was said, nessee, its chairman, said today. e collection of The violations, Mr. Priest ex- e parsonage, plained, were of a 1944 statute which requires specific identification of persons inserting advertisements or distributing circulars on behalf of a candidate for Federal office.

"These violations are not willful, I am sure," Mr. Priest said.

The indicated that the committee would not recommend prosecutions unless deliberate violations were shown as the investigation proceeds.

Election Violations Found

The special House Committee Investigating Campaign Expendi- tures has found "widespread" vio- lations of election laws "through- out the country." Representative J. Percy Priest, Democrat, of Ten- nessee, its chairman, said today. The violations, Mr. Priest ex- plained, were of a 1944 statute

gore Committee will investigate, ficial lake on Senator Bilbo's estate which adjoins the Bilbo p deal largely with "campaign con- at Poplarville, Miss. Two war con- The investigation, it wa tributions" totaling $33,750 which tractors involved in the committee would center upon the colle Mr. Bilbo was alleged to have re- investigation are alleged to have funds for building the pa

"But we have found too many instances where such advertisements and circulars have been signed 'Friends of Good Government,' or something like that. The law reqquires specific identification of those who finance and cause the distribution."

Negro Lashed, Others Intimidated,

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Witnesses Tell Probers of Bilbo

Tues. 12-3-46

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 2—(UP) Negro witnesses testified before the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee Monday that Sen. Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, appealed to violence and intimidation in white supremacy speeches to prevent Negroes from voting in last Summer's State Democratic primary.

Etoy Fletcher, young Negro war veteran, told the five-man Committee that he was stripped, lashed and beaten by a group of six or seven white men because he attempted to register to vote.

T. B. Wilson, Jackson realtor, and Percy Green, Jackson publisher, both Negroes, charged that Bilbo's speeches had aggravated the white supremacy feelings in the State and had contributed to the low Negro registration and voting.

Testimony of the three highlighted the opening day of public hearings into charges that Bilbo, who won renomination in the July primary and subsequent re-election, had engaged in racial discrimination to prevent Negroes from voting.

Other charges that Bilbo received gratuities from war contractors in 1941 and 1942 will be aired in public hearings to be held by the Senate War Investigating Committee in Washington Dec. 12.

At Monday's hearing, Green said that he could produce witnesses who could testify first hand about being refused registration but they would have to be subpoenaed because they were afraid to appear voluntarily.

Bluntly, Committee Chairman Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, Louisiana, replied that Green could tell such a person "the committee will protect him or any other witness who wants to testify because we want to get the facts."

The committee late Monday still had not decided whether to use its subpoena power.

Ellender has been opposed — subpoenas. Sen. Styles Bridges, Republican, New Hampshire, wanted to issue subpoenas because of fear that very few Negroes would testify unless ordered to.

However, nearly 200 Negroes turned up as the hearing opened. Others were in the federal courtroom audience, segregated on the last three rows.

Bilbo, despite his recent illness and an operation on his mouth, appeared healthy and dapper as he sat in the courtroom, flanked by his three attorneys.

Bilbo had asked that he and his attorneys be permitted to cross-examine witnesses but the committee rejected the request.

Fletcher, a student at Jackson Negro College, said he was beaten June 12 in a woods near Brandon, Miss., near here, after he had attempted to register at the county courthouse.

He said the veterans' registrar threw a pamphlet containing the Constitution of the United States on the desk and asked if he had read it. Fletcher said he hadn't and was told he therefore was not allowed to vote.

When he left the courthouse four men in an automobile drove up and ordered him to get in, he said.

Fletcher said they took him to the woods, forced him to disrobe and lie on the ground. He said they took turns lashing his legs with a "car cable" which was less than a finger in diameter and was about five feet long. He said they used it doubled.

Dr. E. J. Matranga, Jackson chiropodist, later testified he treated Fletcher for bruises on his right leg on June 13 and the Negro youth told him he was beaten by four Negroes.

Wilson, President of the Mississippi Progressive Voters League, said he personally heard Bilbo in campaign speeches urge white Mississippians to "do everything you can to keep the Negroes from voting."

Sen Elmer Thomas, Democrat, Oklahoma, asked Wilson what Mississippi Negroes were "afraid" of.

"They have always been unwilling to register Negroes for years and this year the opposition was increased," Wilson replied.

Hats Off!

New York, N.Y.

Hats Off to Rabbi Stanley Brav of Vicksburg, Miss., and Rev. T. J. Strype, Catholic pastor of Pass Christian, Miss., who in the predominently Protestant state of Mississippi were the only two white clergymen courageous enough to attack Sen. Bilbo at public hearings on his election now being held there by a Senate Investigating Committee.

Rev. Strype, who said he was born and received his early training in Brooklyn, N. Y., yesterday testified that no Negro in Pass Christian had been permitted to vote on primary day, last July 2, and declared his belief that the Negroes had been barred as a direct result of Bilbo's campaign speeches. He declared the town officials principally responsible for turning the Negroes away from the polls were "Bilbo's personal friends."

Wed. 12-4-46

Rabbi Brav, testifying on Monday, declared he had heard some of Bilbo's campaign exhortations and could "fully understand how Negroes would be intimidated by the Senator's remarks to the extent of not even trying to qualify for voting." And he quoted his Negro cook as having said, after the broadcast of a Bilbo speech, "I don't think I'll bother with voting —I want to live a little longer."

Even some of Bilbo's supporters acknowledged that it took "plenty of guts for a Jew and a Catholic to support the Negroes in a land where the Ku Klux Klan ain't exactly foreign."

Bilbo's Chances

Newsweek

Chances are slim that Senator Bilbo will be barred from the Senate when he returns to Washington to take his third-term oath of office. Republican senators with inside knowledge of the two Senate committee investigations of the Mississippian admit they haven't much evidence to go on. An airtight case must be made on at least one of three counts: election fraud, violation of his oath of office, or bribery. Evidence collected so far shows that fewer than 100 Negro votes went uncounted and that more Negroes voted in Mississippi this year than two years ago. The question of whether Bilbo's campaign speeches were intended to incite violence is too slender to rely on, and war contract pay-offs are hard to prove.

New York, N.Y. Mon. 12-2-46

Busy Bilbo Can't Attend War-Contract Hearings

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Jackson, Miss., Nov. 22 (AP)—Senator Theo G. Bilbo today advised the special Senate committee investigating the defense program he will be unable to attend hearings on charges concerning transactions he is alleged to have had with war contractors.

Sat. 11-23-46

He has, he said, accepted an invitation from the Senate committee investigating senatorial campaign expenses which will begin hearings here December 2 on charges Bilbo's campaign speeches resulted in intimidation of voters in the July 2 Democratic primary.

Mississippians to Tetsify.

The senator yesterday received a telegram from George Meader, chief counsel of the defense investigating (Kilgore) Committee extending the invitation.

The Senate Campaign Investigating Committee today invited all Mississippians who desire to do so to testify at its hearing on the campaign of Senator Bilbo. It assured such witnesses they need not fear reprisals as they will be given committee protection regardless of their views.

Committee Opens Offices.

The committee opened offices in the Federal Building and announced the offices will be open all day every day, at nights and on Sunday.

Louis G. Wyman, associate counsel for the committee, urged that all persons planning to testify before the committee contact him in order that he might plan an orderly presentation of testimony before the committee.

Wyman added "Senator Bilbo is not on trial. He is not considered guilty by any member of the committee. This hearing is to give the committee information on what went on down here."

Hot Spot For Democrats

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

The Republican maneuver against re-admitting Theodore G. Bilbo to the Senate is a very shrewd political act. If Democrats oppose it, they will help future Republican candidates in closely contested states where Negroes, Jews and many other people hate everything that Bilbo stands for. But if some Democrats support it, there will be more ill-feeling between their reactionary and liberal wings, providing the Republicans with further spectacles of Democratic division to hold up to public view.

Thurs.

The dilemma is still more uncomfortable because, through alphabetical accident, Democrats could halt the maneuver. Holdover Democrats will be a majority of those voting when the motion comes up for Bilbo to stand aside while charges of personal corruption and electoral irregularity are considered. The motion will fail without some Democratic support.

11-21-46

In all probability, those like Overton, Cotton Elmer Thomas and fellow-demagogue O'Daniel will vote to spare Bilbo an investigation. But what about such men as Downey, Hill, Lucas, Taylor and Elbert Thomas? Will they hold their noses and join the reactionaries? Or their hats and join the Republicans?

However politically difficult either choice may be, the course of principle is for Democrats to spank their Bigotry Bloc and go along with the Republicans.—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Investigators To Keep Sen. Bilbo Busy

The News and Courier Charleston, S. C.

If Bilbo Be Unseated

The News and Courier would have no man suffer degradation unless he deserves it and would have Theodore Bilbo, the senator, vindicated if the weight of the evidence be that he is guilty of nothing unworthy of a senator. It is not especially interested in his case, for the good reason that it is confident that if he shall be sentenced to keep company with the displaced Mississippi Keep him busy all the fore part of send to Washington a senator more representative of its good character and intelligence. Indeed a successor of Mr. Bilbo could be a great Democrat, of the stamp of L. Q. C. Lamar and John Sharpe Williams. Of Mississippians who elected those two and, before them, Mr. Jefferson Davis, Mr. Bilbo is not representative.

Thurs. 12-19-46

December. And he won't have much time for rest between engagements.

The War Investigating Subcommittee announced it has set Dec. 12 for opening of public hearings here on charges that Bilbo accepted more than $30,000 in cash and an automobile from war contractors and allowed them to build him an artificial lake and a new home.

Earlier, the Campaign Investigating Committee fixed Dec. 2 for the start of hearings in Mississippi on allegations that Bilbo prevented Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary last Summer who renominated him.

Mon. 11-25-46

WASHINGTON, Nov. 25 — (AP) — The two Senate committees which are going to quiz Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) about his deportment will Keep him busy all the fore part of December. And he won't have much time for rest between engagements.

The War Investigating Subcommittee announced it has set Dec. 12 for opening of public hearings here on charges that Bilbo accepted more than $30,000 in cash and an automobile from war contractors and allowed them to build him an artificial lake and a new home.

Earlier, the Campaign Investigating Committee fixed Dec. 2 for the start of hearings in Mississippi on allegations that Bilbo prevented Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary last Summer who renominated him.

Mon. 11-25-46

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Associated Press Wirephoto.

EXHIBITING bloodstained clothing as evidence of beating he said he received for trying to vote in the Mississippi primary last July, Richard E. Daniel, Negro war veteran, appears before a Senate investigating committee in Jackson.

Wed. 12-4-46

2 Negroes Tell Bilbo Investigators They Were Beaten Trying to Vote

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Senators Hear Gulfport Men

Wed. 12-4-46

Jackson, Miss., Dec. 3 (AP)—Two Negroes swore today that they were beaten because they sought to vote last July in a Democratic primary in which Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.) was nominated for a third term.

One exhibited stained clothing as evidence.

They were witnesses at a hearing conducted by a Senate investigating committee which is looking into charges that Bilbo's campaign tactics kept Negroes from exercising their constitutional right to take part in party primaries.

Varnado R. Collier, Gulfport Negro, testified that on July 2 when he and his wife entered City Hall to vote, one of a group of white men in a corridor struck out his arm and stopped them.

"You people don't vote here today," he quoted the white man as saying. "Come back tomorrow."

Collier said 10 or 15 white men then swarmed over him, beating him until he lost consciousness for a moment and threw him out on the City Hall porch. His protesting wife, Collier said, also was struck.

Records Are Subpoenaed.

Another witness, Richard E. Daniel, said he was not allowed to vote in Gulfport, was struck by two men who ordered him to "take that damn hat off," then was taken to jail and beaten insensible by a police officer he named as "Williams." He displayed to the committee clothing splashed with brown stains he said were blood from injuries sustained in the beating.

Senator Ellender (D., La.), committee chairman, said the officer mentioned had been called to appear tomorrow, and that records and witness in the Police Court case against Daniel in Gulfport were being subpoenaed.

Bilbo, an unruffled spectator, said he had not decided whether he would testify.

"I have three good lawyers," the senator said. "I'll take their advice, just as I take the medicine the doctor gives me when I am sick."

John James, 31, Negro taxi driver of Bay St. Louis, Miss., testified he heard Bilbo say June 21, "If any Negro is caught organizing voters, tar and feather him, and don't forget the match."

Priest and Rabbi Were the Only Two White Bilbo Critics

The Tulsa Daily Dispatch Oklahoma City, Okla.

JACKSON, Miss.—(ANP)—Only two white men in this state openly opposed last week Bilbo's arguments in favor of a white Democratic primary before the senate's subcommittee that investigated the klan politician's appeal to white voters last summer to keep Negroes away from the polls. Sat. 12-21-46

They were a Roman Catholic priest and a Jewish rabbi. Both disagreed that Negroes should be excluded from voting in the Democratic primary, which is tantamount to election. Not a single white Protestant clergyman challenged the klansman's position that the primaries should be "white."

Say Bilbo Brought in Contractors

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 12-13-46

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12—(AP)—A Senate War Investigating Committee, looking into relations between Sen. Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, and war contractors, heard from Army officers and ex-officers Thursday:

1. That Bilbo on numerous occasions brought contractors to their offices to recommend them for construction jobs;

2. That Bilbo was extremely active in having construction of the Jackson (Miss.) air base placed under control of the Army Engineer office at Vicksburg, Miss., rather than the office at Mobile, Ala.;

3. That his 1940 campaign manager, A. B. Friend, participated in a $1,731,029 contract at Key Field, Meridian, Miss., as one of four contractors in a pool or co-venture.

When the morning session ended, the little Democratic Senator told reporters:

"If it's wrong to recommend friends and constituents for jobs, then it disqualifies three-fourths of the Senate and all of the House.'"

Wearing a diamond horseshoe stickpin in his red necktie, Bilbo maintained an air of jauntiness as two of his colleagues dug into allegations that he accepted more than $30,000 in cash, a furnished house and a big automobile from contractors for his work in getting them the Government construction jobs.

Maj. Gen. Thomas M. Robins (Ret.), former Assistant Chief of Army Engineers, called Friend the "promoter" and "front man" for the Key Field contracting pool.

Brig. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis, Jr., former Chief of District Engineers at Vicksburg, said that Friend had no resources, no equipment and no organization, but that his presence among the contractors "did no harm."

Bilbo commented to the press table that Friend certainly was "the brains of the organization."

"I know that," Bilbo said, "because he elected me twice."

Douglas I. McKay, special assistant to the chief of engineers, testified that although he had no personal knowledge of the affair, he had heard "rumors" that Friend was to receive "a $5,000 cut" of the $63,175 fixed fee for the contractors on the Meridian job.

The combine which got the Meridian contract was made up of Friend, the Volz Construction Company, the Flint-Jordan Construction Company and the Rock City Construction Company. The last named firm was from Tennessee, the others from Mississippi. It was Army policy to award contracts, when possible, to residents of the State where the construction work was to take place. Fri.

The original estimate of cost of the job was $1,515,090 plus the $63,175 fee. Eventually the Government paid out $1,731,029 for the work. The Constitution

That excess was minor, however, compared to the under-estimate on the Jackson Air Base. There the estimate was $1,459,710 plus a $62,000 fee to the contractor, M. T. Reed. Final cost was $2,639,983, due principally, the engineers explained, to expansion of the projcet after it got under way.

Contracts under examination by the Committee total $25,932,361.

Sen. Mead, Democrat, New oYrk, presided and Sen. Ferguson Republican Michigan, conducted much of the examination of witnesses. The third member of the sub-Committee, Sen. Tunnell, Democrat, Deleware, was not present at the opening session. 12-13-46

Forrest Jackson, of Jackson, Miss., Bilbo's attorney, inquired at the outset whether he would be allowed to cross-examine witnesses. Mead ruled that he could not, but said that if Jackson or Bilbo wanted to raise any points they could submit them in writing to the Committee. Atlanta, Ga.

Banker Called From Jackson To Bilbo Hearing

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Fri. 12-13-46

Testimony Expected To Shed Light On Missing Witness

BY EDWIN B. HAAKINSON

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13—(AP)—A Senate war investigating subcommittee today ordered a Jackson, Miss., banker summoned to Washington for testimony which may throw some light on the mysterious disappearance of Edward P. Terry, former secretary to Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.).

Chairman Mead (D., N. Y.) announced that committee agents would serve a subpoena today on J. M. Quinn, executive vice president of the Jackson State National Bank, for an appearance here Monday.

George Meader, committee counsel, said that Quinn, in a telephone conversation with him yesterday afternoon, said he recently had suffered a heart attack and that his doctor might forbid such a long trip.

QUINN'S NAME WAS brought into the investigation late yesterday by Forrest Jackson, attorney for Bilbo in the senators' inquiry into Bilbo's relations with a group of war contractors on Mississippi Army airfields.

Jackson said that Quinn recently informed him that Terry had told the banker he would use alleged threats against his life as an excuse for not testifying in the investigation of his former boss. Jackson quoted Quinn as saying Terry explained also that his testimony might incriminate himself (Terry).

Meader said that Quinn made similar assertions yesterday when he telephoned Quinn at his bank.

Quinn told Meader, the latter said, that he did not believe his doctor would sanction a journey to Washington but if legally summoned and I am physically able to come, I would have to come."

Sen. Ferguson (R., Mich.) asked that Quinn be allowed to come by rail, and made the additional request that Quinn bring Terry's bank records with him. The request was granted.

* * *

MEANWHILE FBI AGENTS were searching for Terry, who asked in a letter to the committee to be excused from testifying because of asserted death threats against hi mand his family.

Terry, long-time political associate of Theodore G. Bilbo, told the Senate war investigating committee in a letter made public yesterday that anonymous callers had threatened to kill him, his wife and his daughter if he spoke out in any way against his former boss.

The Senate committee is digging into complaints that Bilbo accepted $30,000 in cash, a new home and other expensive gifts in return for his efforts in behalf of various war contractors who shared in some $26,000,000 worth of construction work in Mississippi.

Terry left Bilbo's employ January. In his letter read into the record, Terry told Chairman Mead that on Oct. 31 a person he did not know telephoned him at Meridian that "I would pay with my life" if he had anything to do with the investigation of Bilbo then in progress in Mississippi. This was an inquiry by the Senate campaign committee into charges that Bilbo had intimidated Negro voters.

On Nov. 26, the letter added, an-

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On Nov. 26, the letter added, an-

Birmingham, Ala. Fri. 12-13-46

* * *

SEN. FERGUSON (R., Mich.), this week, His letter to Mead was read into the record, Terry told Chairman Mead that on Oct. 31 a person he did not know telephoned him at Meridian that "I would pay with my life" if he had anything to do with the investigation of Bilbo then in progress in Mississippi. This was an inquiry by the Senate campaign committee into charges that Bilbo had intimidated Negro voters.

On Nov. 26, the letter added, an-

other anonymous call said "that should I participate or take any part in connection with the investigation of Sen. Bilbo that my wife and daughter would pay with their lives."

Last April, Terry added, "I was, in the presence of witnesses, told that I would be killed if I gave out any information I might have detrimental to Sen. Bilbo."

George Meader, counsel for the war investigating committee, related that Terry had been questioned Nov. 26 behind closed doors and that committee attaches had last talked with him by telephone at Lakeland, Fla., last Saturay.

Mississippi Shame:

The Worker New York, N.Y.

'Pride of the South'

Sun. 12-8-46

By Matt Magee

JACKSON, Miss.—Toward the end of the first day's hearing of the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee, which is to determine whether U.S. Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, in urging the white populace of Mississippi "to get them the night before," deprived the Negro people of their democratic right to vote in a free election, a Negro named Nathan Hodges of Meridian took the stand.

The day's testimony had been a tale of violence, of beatings, of pistol-waving deputy sheriffs, of intimidation and abuse. And now the puffy Senators were tired and shuffled their feet as Nathan Hodges told what, compared to the beating received by Negro veteran, Etoy Fletcher, seemed to be a mild abuse His ballot had been challenged and thrown out.

"Well," pouted Senator Styles Bridges, Republican of New Hampshire, "for whom would you have voted if you had been allowed to vote"?

Nathan Hodges shook his head. "I don't have to tell that," he said firmly. "That's a private matter."

The New Hampshire Senator hastily accepted his point. But the white spectators in the rear of the Federal courtroom exploded with surprise and indignation. For a moment their angry murmurs seethed, boiled and then died away. A Negro had asserted his democratic right to a white man—without being rebuffed.

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IN A WEEK of testimony of violence, brutality and blood-stained shirts, in an atmosphere charged with race hatred, it might seem a small incident, a minor point. Yet it is important. For far more than Bilbo is on trial here. The white supremacy crowd are on trial with him—and they know it.

Also being determined here in this court-room adorned with the American flag and sound-tracked with the mean cackle of men who find it funny if a courageous Negro stumbles in his speech is what the attitude of the Negro people will be towards the Democratic party for the next few years.

That is why this is a remarkable time to be here in Jackson, in the heart of the Jimcrow South.

Jackson, the state capital, is a modern city of 45,000 people and the most industrialized city in Mississippi. Its people are the most literate, the most liberal, and the best educated in the state. They are proud people, proud of their growing industries and the sweet-smelling piney woods country lying nearby. They are proud of their air-conditioning, paved roads and modern stores. They are proud of Mississippi and a tarnished and deserted statue of Jeff Davis in the "old Capitol" with its forgotten memories of days when Negroes sat in its legislative halls and passed the first public school law Mississippi ever had.

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BUT IT IS an uneasy pride today for they know, not only in Jackson but throughout the state, they are on trial before the people of U.S. They know they have been called a "disgrace" to the United States.

They know they are held in derisive contempt by the majority of the American people because they named a racial bigot their Senator, because they have abused and held in vicious servitude a million Negroes whose only sin is the blackness of their skin.

So they are whinning in the corridors, on the street corners, in the hotel lobbies, trying to explain and justify their conduct, seeking some kind of approval for their own special form of Nazism.

I have been here many times before and know their pride. It is tormenting their consciences now because they would like to be considered the finest people in United States and not a disgrace. Their pride is as much a part of them as an arm or leg. In a quite literal way they sometimes stand on it—rather than take an empty seat in the Jimcrow section of a crowded bus.

I mention it now because it is important if you are to grasp the drama that it is going on here, that is rocking Mississippi and the whole Deep South.

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IT BEGINS each day when a runty, pot-bellied old man named Theodore G. Bilbo crawls out of a creaking old brass bed in a second-rate hotel and wipes from his lips the crusted saliva that drools constantly from his infected mouth.

He could afford a better bed, a better hotel. But he stops at the Royal out of a well-publicized loyalty to the man who owns it and who gave him credit when he was starting his obscene career thirty years ago.

Later, after a breakfast of milk and soft-boiled eggs, he waddles down State Street to the Federal Courthouse, being waved to and patted admiringly by Mississippians who, seeing and remembering his loyalty to the Royal, are somehow reassurred and grateful, even though he has brought them some of their disgrace.

But a Negro school girl, passing him on the street, did an interesting thing. She put her hand over her eyes and walked straight by, as thugh she were shutting him out of her life.

The trial itself is at times farcical, an open travesty of justice. The chairman of the investigators is Senator Ellender of Louisiana, whose views on the Negro do not differ from Bilbo's beyond the correct "thank you" he coldly murmurs after each witnesses' testimony.

Two other Democrats are on the committee, Burnet R. Maybank, from the Jimcrow state of South Carolina, who voted against FEPC, and Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma who voted for FEPC. And then there are the two Republicans—Senator Bridges and Senator Bourke Hickenlooper, who are completely reactionary and interested in the Negro only because they want his vote.

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AND THEN THERE is the superb courage of the Negroes taking their lives in their hands, amidst the sniekers and the supercharged hatred of the courtroom to tell you how they were beaten. A Gulfport man was beaten by the police because he came to the polls. A Congregational minister was chased from the Madison County courthouse by a pistol-threatening deputy. A Negro war veteran was flogged by four white men with a cable.

One after another, over two hundred have appeared. Not all have had a story of violence. Some were merely threatened, others were refused, other had their ballots destroyed. But the result in every case is the same: they were not permitted to vote, a situation which Secretary of State Byrnes could find very alarming in any part of Europe but not in his own Deep Suuth.

Bilbo listens, grinning, chewing his cigar, and repeating again and again, "I have done no wrong. I haven't been connected with any of these things. I haven't said anything or done anything that I haven't said in the Senate and will say again."

But this will not end regardless of whether or not Bilbo is okayed by his friends in the Senate investigating committee. The important thing is that for the first time in over half a century the Negro people, who constitute 52 percent of Mississippi's population, have had a chance to stand up and demand their democratic rights.

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BILBO IS the best known man in Mississippi. Thousands of white men voted against him, though they still share his views toward the Negro.

They will tell you of reports that he got money from war contractors, that he ruined the state's finances as Governor, that he had accepted a bribe in the state legislature, that he was involved in the seduction of a secretary, that he occupied himself with bawdy-house lechery until his wife divorced him.

But they voted for him because he stands for what they believe to be the "only" way to treat the Negro. Yet they are ashamed of it, embarrassed and tormented by guilt. They yearn desperately for a word of praise, a word of agreement not only about their treatment of the Negro, but about anything in Mississippi. They don't like to be responsible for the "disgrace of the United States Senate."

They want to be the finest people in America.

Fair Play for Marcantonio

Times-Dispatch

UNLESS there are good and sufficient reasons to justify so drastic a procedure, the new House of Representatives should be reluctant to entertain a motion to deny a seat to VITO MARCANTONIO, of New York, who has been reelected for his sixth consecutive term—and whom THE TIMES-DISPATCH despises.

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN E. RANKIN, of Mississippi on Wednesday announced that such a move would be made when the new House convenes on January 3. It would be equally reasonable to bar RANKIN from the House because his views are obnoxious to so many Americans.

MARCANTONIO, whose radicalism is anathema to us and to all but extreme leftists, ran on both the Labor party and the Democratic tickets, and was elected. MR. RANKIN told the Associated Press that MARCANTONIO'S right to a seat would be challenged on a basis of the latter's "political affiliations and activities." He did not state what specific political affiliations and activities he considers sufficient grounds for a challenge.

There are ugly rumors that the fatal beating of a poll worker for FREDERICK BRYAN, the Republican candidate, highlighted a "reign of terror and intimidation" to discourage Republican voters. That charge is now being probed by the House Campaign Investigating Committee, headed by REPRESENTATIVE PERCY PRIEST, a Tennessee Democrat. If the investigation reveals any evidence pointing toward conscious consent on the part of MARCANTONIO, such evidence would be sufficient to justify a challenge.

If, on the other hand, no such evidence exists, nor evidence of other election irregularity, a Republican majority attempt to bar the New York Congressman would be in the nature of a political purge—for purely partisan reasons—a "ganging up" on the lone representative of the American Labor party.

Richmond, Va.

Such action would be in violation of the American code of fair play which permits freedom of opinion within our legislative halls, even when that opinion sails, as MR. MARCANTONIO'S does, directly down the Communist party line. A legally elected representative of any legitimate political party should fully enjoy his right to make himself heard, even when his opinions are unpopular and, in the opinion of the majority of his colleagues, "un-American."

Sat. 11-30-46

Such expression of opinion can, in fact, serve a valuable function in revealing the extent to which pro-Communist sentiment exists within our own country, and thus provide a danger signal enabling us to take such protective measures as occasion may demand.

Down in Mississippi, they don't believe at all in the GOP campaign slogan—"Had enough?" At least, not according to Felix T. Newton, Hattiesburg, Miss., contractor who gave Sen. Bilbo four checks totaling $25,000, but who says that Mississippi would reelect "The Man" all over again.

"Furthermore," drawls the bulky Mississippi contractor, "if Sen. Ferguson (of Michigan) and these other sonofabitches up here think $25,000 was heavy sugar to give to Bilbo to help Doxey, let them wait and see how much real dough we raise down in the Magnolia State if it becomes necessary for Bilbo to run again. "Bilbo is our friend, and we are his friends, and we have already perfected the organization and have the funds in sight to send him right back to Washington if these smart-alecks up here presume to tell us we can't elect the man we want."—© Birmingham, Ala. The News

PESTBROOK WIGLER, ROVING REPORTER

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

"This Bilbo hearing is strictly a frameup—just like the Neurnberg trial." Mon. 12-9-46

'White Supremacy' Racket

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

THE "white supremacy" racket sure has been paying handsome returns to Sen. Bilbo. He is the gent who has been getting himself elected Senator in Mississippi by the simple device of terrorizing his opponents away from the polls.

The leering lynch advocate has been having some of his private deals exposed before a Senate Committee. It turns out money has been rolling into his pockets. War contractors have delivered "gifts" to their senatorial friend and, as if by magic, they found themselves rewarded by profitable contracts —war contracts. Wed. 12-18-46

BILBO

Sen. Bilbo's patriotism was of the kind that did not hesitate to mix his private advantage with government affairs during wartime.

We can't say we're surprised, frankly.

Our experience has been that where you find a professional red-baiter and "white supremacy" racketeer, you find something crooked.

Bilbo matched his contempt for the Negro people with contempt for his public duties.

His "white supremacy" ravings were only a cover for private greed and corruption, as all race "supremacy" propaganda is a cover for somebody's profiteering and thievery.

Can there be any doubt left that Bilbo is unfit to sit in the Senate?

The evidence is in already.

With evidence in, Bilbo should go. No other verdict is decently possible.

Southern Heroes

Daily Worker

CONTRARY to the expectations of the Committee chairman, the Ellender Senate Committee investigating Sen. Bilbo in Mississippi is finding the Negro people ready to brave terror and lynching in the fight for democratic rights. New York, N.Y. Thurs. 12-5-46

Dozens of witnesses have testified to the fact that Sen. Bilbo and his cohorts kept them away from the polls in the Democratic primaries by actual force or threat of force. Sen. Ellender, himself a Louisiana polltaxer, "predicted" before the hearing that only about two or three would show up.

The fact that the Negro people, with vets in front, are fighting back against Bilbo terror is both a sign and a result of new currents in the South.

The Fight Against Bilbo

THE struggle to oust Sen. Bilbo, hated symbol of the brutal "white supremacy" storm troopers and bigots, is coming to a head. Daily Worker

Two senate committees are investigating his evil record. While there is a chance that one of these committees may try a whitewash, the opportunity is good for striking a blow against Ku Kluxism. New York, N.Y.

No doubt, the GOP leaders in the Senate, for their own partisan political reasons, are not averse to taking action against Bilbo even if he is a political ally. Thurs

But they cannot be depended upon to carry the fight to a finish unless there is powerful popular intervention.

The people should take over the fight to unseat Bilbo. The nation's anti-Bilbo sentiment should be directed at this moment to the chairmen of the two senate investigating committees, Sens. Allen J. Ellender of the Campaign Expenditures Committee, and Harley Kilgore of the committee investigating war production. 11-21-46

BROKE NO LAWS, BILBO DECLARES

The Times New York, N.Y.

Senator Tells Inquiry He Never Urged Unlawful Means to Bar Negroes From Primary

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 5 — Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo denied to the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee today that he had incited violence or racial hatreds during his primary campaign last spring. On July 2, he was nominated for his third term as United States Senator, winning by a majority of about 3,800 over four opponents. Fri. 12-6-46

The senior Senator's own testimony was the high point of the closing day of the committee's hearing here, and the Federal court room was filled to overflowing when he took the stand. A goodly number of Negroes, who had been following the proceedings from day to day, was absent when he testified.

Sen. Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, declared the hearings closed soon after Mr. Bilbo left the stand. There was every indication that the committee would recommend that he be sworn in and take his seat in the Senate on Jan. 3. Mr. Ellender said he would be "disappointed if the report is not unanimous."

The committee came to Jackson to investigate complaints signed by fifty Mississippians charging that Mr. Bilbo had been elected as a result of wholesale intimidation of Negro voters and asking that his election be declared illegal and void.

Bilbo Reads Denial Statement

"I specifically deny," Senator Bilbo said in the formal statement he read to the committee, "that if there were or appeared to have been any incidents of attacks, acts of violence, or intimidation against any Negro resident or any qualified Negro elector of Mississippi, they were committed as a result of anything that was said or done by me during the campaign for the senatorial nomination in the election of July 2, 1946, nor were they attributable to or occasioned by any act or utterance on my part during the campaign."

Since Monday, when the hearings began, the committee has heard more than fifty Negroes testify that they were prevented from registering or voting either by force, intimidation or persuasion, or had been afraid to attempt to register or vote. Five of them told of being beaten because, they said, they had tried to vote. All of these witnesses attributed their plight to racial tensions induced by Mr. Bilbo's campaign speeches.

Only two white witnesses appeared to corroborate this estimate of the situation. One was a Roman Catholic priest who is pastor of a Negro church in Pass Christian. The other was a rabbi from Vicksburg.

"I deny that such election was achieved by force, violence, or the use of criminal, extra-legal or illegal tactics," Mr. Bilbo's tsatement said, "or in wanton disrespect or disregard or in derogation of the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States under the United States Constitution, particularly, the Fifteenth Amendment thereof."

Says He Once Joined Klan

He repeated his previous admissions of former membership in the Ku Klux Klan, and said he had attended only one meeting of the organization, when it was first formed. He said the Klan he joined had been out of existence twenty-five years.

Most of the interrogation of Mr Bilbo was conducted by Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Republican, of Iowa.

Mr. Bilbo conceded that the bill of complaint's quotations from newspaper and magazine articles were accurate in the main, with one important exception. He said that everytime reference was made to his recommendations that white Mississippians use every means to keep Negroes from the polls on July 2, the writers omitted the word "lawful." He contended he had never advocated any but legal methods to keep Negroes from voting.

Among the quotations which he agreed were substantially correct were these:

"I'm a damn good lawyer. I've defended people in eleven murder cases in my life and got them off free. How I did it is my business."

"The white people of Mississippi are sleeping on a volcano and it is left up to you red-blooded men to do something about it. The white men of this State have a right to resort to any means at their command to stop it."

"If there is a single man or woman serving in this important office (circuit clerk, who acts as registrar) who cannot think up questions enough to disqualify undesirables, then write Bilbo or any good lawyer and there are a hundred good questions that can be furnished."

Would Oust Union Organizers

"Anyone caught in the act of Negro-organizing Communist-supporting, racial-antagonizing acts should be horsewhipped, tar-and-feathered and chased out of our be-

DIDN'T GET DOLLAR, BILBO SAYS ON FUND

The Times New York, N.Y. Sun. 12-15-46

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

By HAROLD B. HINTON

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14 — Conflicting, and often confusing, testimony was heard today by the Senate War Investigating Subcommittee which is trying to trace the disposition of $25,000 given to Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, by a war contractor.

Senator Insists He Received No Part of $25,000 Given Him to Aid Doxey Campaign

they were political opponents of the Senator. They all testified that Mr. Bilbo had not incited any violence or denial of civil rights, they were quoted by Negro witnesses during his views on the "white the hearing was to the effect that for the Democrats of "the best time to keep a nigger agreed with theirs. away from a white primary in Mississippi is to see him the night before." Mr. Bilbo told Mr. Hickenlooper that he meant only a peaceful, persuasive visit.

After Mr. Bilbo completed his testimony, Forrest Jackson, counsel, called several white political leaders, most of whom said they were or appeared to have been any incidents of attacks, acts of violence, or intimidation against any Negro resident or any qualified Negro elector of Mississippi, they were committed as a result of anything that was said or done by me during the campaign for the senatorial nomination in the election of July 2, 1946, nor were they attributable to or occasioned by any act or utterance on my part during the campaign." Since Monday, when the hearings began, the committee has heard more than fifty Negroes testify that they were prevented from registering or voting either by force, intimidation or persuasion, or had been afraid to attempt to register or vote. Five of them told of being beaten because, they said, they had tried to vote. All of these witnesses attributed their plight to racial tensions induced by Mr. Bilbo's campaign speeches. Only two white witnesses appeared to corroborate this estimate of the situation. One was a Roman Catholic priest who is pastor of a Negro church in Pass Christian. The other was a rabbi from Vicksburg. "I deny that such election was achieved by force, violence, or the use of criminal, extra-legal or illegal tactics," Mr. Bilbo's tsatement said, "or in wanton disrespect or disregard or in derogation of the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States under the United States Constitution, particularly, the Fifteenth Amendment thereof."

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Fists Swing As Senators Beard Bilbo

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sat. 12-14-46

Ex-Congressman Kicks Recumbent Figure Of A Testifying Deacon

Session Adjourns

But One War Contractor Tells Of Checks He Paid To Mississippi Senator

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13—(AP)—The Senate inquiry into Senator Theodore G. Bilbo's dealings with war contractors recessed in tumult today when former Representative Ross Collins, of Mississippi, knocked a witness out of his chair and rained kicks and blows upon him.

The witness, Robert Gandy, Baptist church deacon, insurance man and political associate of Bilbo's, had been testifying about an arrangement under which, he said, part of a $25,000 campaign contribution by a war contractor was to have been paid to Collins.

Calling Gandy a "damn liar," Collins rushed. He upset the witness chair. Gandy sprawled on the floor and Collins began pounding and kicking him.

Capitol police moved in, warded off Collins and assisted Gandy to his feet. On motion of Senator Ferguson (R), Michigan, the Senate war investigating subcommittee then recessed the hearing. Sat. 12-14-46

Gandy said he suffered only a sprained wrist.

Earlier in the hearing Felix T. Newton, a Mississippi war contractor, testified that he paid $25,000 to Bilbo, Mississippi Senator, as a contribution to the unsuccessful Senate campaign of Wall Doxey in 1942. Doxey is now Senate sergeant-at-arms.

"You tell us that you were giving $25,000 to have Wall Doxey elected as United States Senator so he would be for you in the future?" demanded Ferguson.

"Yes." Newton replied.

Gandy Cashed Checks

Gandy said that he cashed the checks for the $25,000 after endorsing his name below Bilbo's.

Gandy testified that he was treasurer of an "informal committee" trying to elect Doxey. He said Bilbo was a member of the committee.

Gandy related that Bilbo came to Doxey's hotel headquarters in Jackson and asked him to cash the checks.

"Did he ask you to get the money in small denominations, five and ten dollar bills?" Ferguson asked.

"I can't just remember," Gandy replied.

However, President William M. Mounger, of the Jackson bank, where the checks were cashed, testified that Gandy had asked for $10 and $20 bills. Mounger agreed that $25,000 in these bills made quite a bulky package.

"It would take a mighty big pocket to hold them," he said.

Gandy explained that he and others were "working day and night on the campaign" and that the $25,000 was badly needed in a run-off election.

In the original primary, Doxey led former Representative Collins and Rolland Wall but lost in the run-off primary to Senator Eastland.

Ferguson insisted that Gandy explain exactly what was done with the money.

Gandy said he delivered it to Bilbo in the hotel suite which served as headquarters for the informal Doxey campaign group.

Ferguson asked what Bilbo did with it.

"He disbursed it," Gandy said. "He started disbursing it right there."

Gandy explained that he and Forrest Jackson, Bilbo's attorney at the current hearing, had borrowed $7,500 from a Hattiesburg, Miss., bank to finance some of the committee's activities, and that $7,500 of the $25,000 went to Jackson. He said another $1,000 went to Leland Speed, mayor of Jackson, Miss., to repay another loan. The Advertiser

Gandy said the second or run-off primary was coming up, there were some candidates eliminated in the first primary to be dealt with, and some "manipulating" had to be done.

"You mean you had to pay off the defeated candidates?" Ferguson asked. Montgomery, Ala.

The audience rocked with laughter as Gandy rejoined: "Senator, you haven't been down in Mississippi in an election, have you?" Sat. 12-14-46

Ferguson and Chairman Mead (D), New York, asked Gandy to interpret his personal account book on the Doxey campaign.

"Well we paid one gentleman $1,000," he began slowly.

"What was it? What was his name?" Ferguson and Mead shouted.

"Why do you hesitate?" Ferguson asked.

Gandy, silent for a moment, attempted to explain that in Mississippi primary winners usually help losers meet "election deficits" in return for support in run-off elections.

"Probably the last loser in the runoff is the only loser," Senator Mead put in. "Nobody can pay him off."

Gandy agreed, adding that Doxey supporters still were meeting the deficit of his unsuccessful 1942 campaign.

Ferguson pressed Gandy for the name of the primary loser who got $7,500.

"You make it pretty hard for us fellows who are not politicians to discuss this in public," Gandy said, and then testified that payments of $7,500 went to Roland Wall.

Ferguson then wanted to know if Gandy had agreed to pay Ross Collins any money.

Gandy said that he, Bilbo, and Jackson met Collins and three Collins supporters for a "conference" about an "operating deficit."

Gandy said "Cecil Travis, Charlie Snow and George Butler" accompanied Collins and that Collins and Bilbo "exchanged greetings."

Gandy said that in the last 40 years Collins and Bilbo "at times had been the closest of friends and the bitterest of enenmies."

"Did you talk money?" Ferguson asked.

Gandy said that Travis was designated by Collins to work out details of the "operating deficit."

Little headway had been made when the hearing was recessed late today until Monday morning.

Mr. Bilbo, invited to take the stand during the day, declared that he "didn't get a damn dollar" of the money in question.

In the first three days of its hearings, the subcommittee heard testimony that F. A. Newton, a contractor of Hattiesburg, Miss., gave Mr. Bilbo drafts amounting to $25,000 as a contribution to the campaign fund to win for former Senator Wall Doxey the Senatorial nomination in 1942. The drafts were cashed and the proceeds, in ten and twenty-dollar bills, were taken to a room in the Royal Hotel in Jackson, Miss., and given to Senator Bilbo.

That is as far as the testimony has agreed. Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, interrogated witness after witness on the disposition of the money, without success. At one point today, where the testimony seemed to be hopelessly contradictory, he invited Senator Bilbo to take the stand. This was when Mr. Bilbo made his denial.

"I will give you a written statement at the conclusion," Senator Bilbo told the hearing after having said that it was the truth that "I didn't get a damned dollar."

Mississippi political enmities were involved in the testimony of the witnesses. Robert Gandy, who was knocked from the witness stand yesterday by Ross Collins, former Representative and unsuccessful candidate for the Senate both in 1942 and 1946, told the subcommittee that the Collins organization received $11,000 from him and from Senator Bilbo and Forrest B. Jackson, Mr. Bilbo's lawyer, to support Mr. Doxey in the run-off primary in 1942.

Three candidates, of whom Mr. Collins was one, had been eliminated in the first primary on Aug. 25. In the decisive run-off election held on Sept. 15, James O. Eastland defeated Mr. Doxey and is now the junior senator from Mississippi. The Times

Mr. Gandy, along with Mr. Bilbo and Mr. Jackson, set up what Mr. Gandy called an "informal committee" to back Mr. Doxey's candidacy in the run-off. This body had no connection with Mr. Doxey's authorized campaign committee, of which Lee Hall was manager.

No Overall Records Kept

The "informal committee" received contributions which Mr. Jackson estimated at "less than $100,000," including the $25,000 from Mr. Newton. Mr. Gandy and Mr. Jackson said that the money was spent, often faster than it came in, for what were considered legitimate campaign expenses in Mississippi and for which no overall records were kept.

"We would like to keep Mississippi politics out of this and get the facts," Mr. Ferguson said at one time. New York, N.Y. Sun.

"They are inseparable," Mr. Gandy replied.

He and Mr. Jackson testified seated side by side. Mr. Jackson said that the $25,000 from Mr. Newton and the other contributions were all put into the pot and disbursed under "the frenzied finance" which the witnesses said was inevitable in Mississippi run-off primaries. 12-13-46

A good deal of the money, Mr. Jackson told the subcommittee, went to hire automobiles to transport voters from the war projects on which they were working, in such places as Gulfport, Meridian and Laurel, back to their homes to vote. He recalled that in 1942 automobiles and gasoline were scarce and that the transportation problem was a serious political consideration.

Tells of Paying 'Losers'

The largest single expenses, however, were devoted to the purpose of swinging over supporters of the three losers in the first primary to vote for Mr. Doxey in the run-off. Mr. Gandy said that the Collins organization got $11,000 for this purpose, and Roland J. Wall, another unsuccessful contender, $8,000.

On the stand yesterday, Mr. Gandy had appeared about to say that Mr. Collins himself got the $11,000. Just before he reached that statement, if he intended to make it under Mr. Ferguson's questioning, Mr. Collins knocked him from the witness stand and broke up the hearing.

On resuming the stand this morning, Mr. Gandy made it clear that he had never meant to intimate that Mr. Collins received a single dollar. He told the Senators that he paid the money to Cecil F. Travis, Jackson lawyer and political supporter of Mr. Collins, in five installments.

Mr. Travis, he said, had been designated by Mr. Collins to make the financial arrangements for covering the Collins "operating deficit" resulting from his unsuccessful campaign. Later in the day Mr. Collins denied that he had any deficit or that he had received any money from the Bilbo group.

Collins Questions 'Practice'

Mr. Ferguson asked him whether it were the usual custom in Mississippi primary contests for the two winners of the first race to attract support of the losers by paying their "operating deficits."

"I have been defeated in primaries," Mr. Collins said, "and I have never taken a penny from anyone to pay any deficit, real or imaginary. I should not like to think it is the usual custom in Mississippi. It is a very reprehensible practice."

Mr. Wall, on the other hand, admitted cheerfully that he had received $5,500 of the $8,000 the Bilbo group promised him for his support for Mr. Doxey. Asked whether this sum were to cover his "operating deficit," he replied that "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet."

"I didn't know a thing about this $25,000," he said. "If I had, I wouldn't have sold myself as short as I did."

Mr. Travis partly cleared the confusion surrounding the testimony in regard to Mr. Collins by saying that he had taken the $11,000 from Mr. Gandy to build up the former Collins county organizations to work for Mr. Doxey in the second primary. He said that the sum was reached by calculating $100 for each of the State's eighty-two counties, plus $3,000 for general expenses.

The whole sum, he testified, he turned over to Phil Kimball, a dealer in building supplies, for distribution to the county managers and other field workers. Mr. Kimball died about a year ago.

Letter of Apology Is Read

At the beginning of today's session Senator James M. Mead, Democrat, of New York, chairman of the subcommittee, read a written apology by Mr. Collins for hitting Mr. Gandy yesterday.

"I take a fierce pride in my reputation, not only in Mississippi but elsewhere," he wrote. "It is difficult for a man to sit idly by and hear another man, by insinuation, innuendo and cheap humor, besmirch him and seek, in a few moments, to tear down a reputation which is the product of a lifetime." 12-16-46

Mr. Doxey testified that he knew nothing of the Newton $25,000 contribution until some time after his defeat, when the contractor told him of it at a dinner in Washington.

"I said 'Goodness, gracious,'" he told the committee. "Well, I probably didn't say 'Goodness, gracious.' What I actually said was, 'The hell you say.'"

Mr. Hall, Mr. Doxey's campaign manager, said that the Newton contribution had not been included in his report to the State of Mississippi under its Corrupt Practices Act, at the request of the contractor.

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high on the agenda of the Senate Republican steering committee. Mon. 12-2-46

The charges had been piling up since June. But Bilbo flicked them aside. He'd see all his accusers into their graves, he said. New York, N.Y.

PROBES: Target Bilbo Nunnuck

In Poplarville, Miss., where he was nursing a swollen nose bumped in an auto accident, Sen. Theodore (The Man) Bilbo last week could feel the Washington tremors that threatened his seat. As the swelling in his nose went down, the charges piled up.

On Wednesday, the Senate War Investigating Committee began hearings on charges that war contractors had given Bilbo (1) cash gifts of $33,700, (2) a new Cadillac sedan, and (3) an artificial 8-acre lake with an island and a completely furnished "Dream House." Early next month, the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee will start public hearings on charges that Bilbo intimidated Negroes into staying away from the polls. And on Dec. 30, Bilbo's fitness for a third term in the Senate will be closed

Negroes Defy Bilbo Gang; Continue Testimony in Probe

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y. Wed. 12-4-46

By Mary Southard

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 3.—A heroic procession of Negro witnesses, coming voluntarily without protection of subpena from all over Mississippi, continued to file to the witness stand in Federal Court today to testify against Senator Bilbo before a Senate Investigating Committee.

Sitting only a few yards from the witness chair was Senator Bilbo himself, listening closely to testimony. He was surrounded by his legal staff, which has been granted power to present questions to the Committee for cross-examination of witnesses.

Courageous young Negro veteran, Richard Daniel, came all way from Gulfport at a risk to his personal safety to describe brutal treatment suffered on election day, July 2. Daniel was struck on the head by two election officials, later arrested by a policeman, who took him to City Hall and beat him into unconsciousness.

Daniel exhibited to the Committee and the crowded courtroom his blood-stained clothes as evidence of the brutal attack. He was tried and convicted in Gulfport of "drunkenness and disorderly conduct." Senator Bridges recommended the Committee impound Daniel's clothing as evidence.

Daniel was one of more than a score of young Negro veterans who braved a gamut of Mississippi anti-Negro mobs and many months of intensified intimidation to fight on the witness stand for the right to vote.

It was brought out in testimony that at Meridian, ten veterans were refused the right to place ballots in a ballot box, and were told that all Negro ballots were being challenged and put in separate envelopes. At Greenville, 20 veterans attempted to register and get poll-tax exemption receipts and were told by the county clerk that "if you recite the Constitution backwards, it won't be satisfactory to me" and that he wasn't going to stick his neck out to register Negroes.

Louis Miles, young GI student from Jackson College and chairman of the Mississippi American Veterans Committee, said he had reports from all over the state that Negro veterans had been intimidated and kept from regis-ing by hatred created by Bilbo's inflammatory campaign speeches.

A number of witnesses refused registration by Circuit Clerks placed direct blame on Bilbo's speech, reported in the Jackson Daily News of May 28, in which he stated:

"If there is a single man or woman serving in this important office (Circuit Clerk) who cannot think up questions enough to disqualify 'undesirables' then write Bilbo or any good lawyer and there are a hundred good questions which can be furnished."

Father George Strype, white priest from Pass Christian, testified that 82 Negro veterans who had voted in the June municipal elections were kept from voting in the July Primary by decision of the local electoral board, all good friends of Bilbo, who had stated that voting of Negroes at this town was "one of most damnable demonstrations of demagogery in our Southland."

MET WITH PISTOL

Dr. William Bender, Negro minister from Tougaloo College, testified he had been kept from the polls on election day by two white men who told him "we're not letting N-----s vote today" and by another white man who met him at the polling place with a pistol.

Evidence was expanded by testimony of Joseph Parham, who last voted in 1898 and was told by a sheriff on election day, "You're too old to get into trouble trying to vote" after white men insolently asked him "what kind of flowers do you want?"

The Investigating Committee has so far refused to use powers of subpoena to protect prosecution witnesses, but has announced it will subpoena Circuit Clerks, election officials, all of whom will be Bilbo witnesses.

Bilbo Ex-Secretary To Testify Today Despite Threats

PM New York, N.Y.
Mon. 12-16-46

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15. — Edward P. Terry, who claims he was warned under pain of death not to testify, appears before a Senate War Investigating Committee tomorrow to take up the elusive trail of $25,000 which a war contractor allegedly paid over to Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D-Miss).

Bilbo is accused of accepting the money and other gifts in 1942-43 in exchange for his influence in obtaining lush war contracts. His answer is that he "didn't get a damned dollar" and that he'll prove it when all the evidence is in.

The right to his Senate seat may be the stake.

Terry, Bilbo's erstwhile secretary turned up "in a nervous state" in a Quitman, Miss., hospital last week while FBI agents were trying to ferret him out. He had been missing for several days. He will have a star role tomorrow along with J

Marvin Quin, Jackson, Miss. banker to whom he revealed th

Civil Rights Day—A Note for Senators

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15.—The nation today celebrated "Bill of Rights" Day.

President Truman recently named a 15-man group of business, labor, religious, educational and sociaological leaders to study and recommend ways to strengthen what he termed "the weak and inadequate" civil rights statutes.

Friend—whose names have crept in and out of the testimony purporting to link Bilbo with political and financial manipulations.

Terry said from his hospital bed that his testimony will "strike a telling blow" and "have definite bearing on Bilbo's political future."

QUIT BILBO

He quit Bilbo a year ago and also resigned as Clerk of the Senate District of Columbia Committee which Bilbo heads. No reasons were given. Last week, soon after the Bilbo hearing started, the Senate probers were electrified by reports that Terry and his entire family had been threatened with death.

Substance of testimony so far is that Bilbo got the $25,000 from Felix T. Newton, Hattiesburg, Miss., contractor, to aid the unsuccessful Senatorial campaign of Wall Doxey, who is now Senate Sergeant-at-Arms.

EDWARD P. TERRY
To Talk Today

have had dealings with Bilbo. Also on hand will be three Mississippi contractors—Michael Morrissey, M. T. Reed and A. B.

Politician Takes Punch at Witness Telling of Pay-Off in Mississippi

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 12-14-46

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13—(UP) Ross Collins, 66-year-old Mississippi political leader, threw a punch Friday at a witness testifying at the Senate War Investigating Committee's inquiry into charges that Sen. Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi had accepted money and other gratuities from war contractors.

The blow, directed at Robert Gandy, Jackson, Miss., insurance man who was telling the story of how politics are run in Mississippi—sometimes, he said, by paying unsuccessful candidates' expenses—failed to land squarely.

But Gandy, a much younger man, was bowled over and he and the witness chair crashed to the floor.

As Capitol policemen grabbed Collins to restrain him, Sen. Mead, Democrat, New York, hurriedly recessed hearings until Saturday.

Gandy was giving the committee an intimate picture of Mississippi politics. Just a moment earlier the committee had invited Collins, a former congressman, who apparently is hard of hearing, to take a front row seat. Collins did so, and was close to Gandy.

Collins, one of Bilbo's opponents in last Spring's Democratic primary, had been occupying a rear row seat as Gandy told of the "installment" plan of paying off the debts of defeated primary candidates to gain their support for the second primary.

Gandy said a few words of greeting as Collins sat down near him.

A moment later Collins' unexpected attack came. It was the climax of a day of dramatics in which:

1. F. T. Newton, a Hattiesburg, Miss., contractor testified that in 1942 he gave Bilbo checks for $25,000 ostensibly to aid the Senatorial campaign of Wall Doxey of Mississippi, who now is Senate sergeant-at-arms.

2. Another contractor testified that he had donated $500 to the construction fund of the "in-the Poplarville, Miss., Baptist Church on the representation that it was a "good thing to do" since Bilbo considered it a worthy charity" 3. The Senate subcommittee is sued a subpoena for the appearance next Monday of J. Marvin Quin, Vice President of the State National Bank, of Jackson, Miss.,

to tell what he knows about Bilbo's former secretary, Edward P. Terry, who is missing and whose whereabouts are being checked by the FBI.

How Bilbo's Pals Kept Negroes from Voting

The Worker New York, N.Y.

By Mary Southard

JACKSON, Miss.—The low, even voice of a Negro shoe repairman from Greenwood filled Federal Court here with the story of how Negroes were terrorized away from the polls in Mississippi's July 22 primary. Of an estimated potential Negro electorate of 500,000, only about 2,500 managed to exercise their franchise.

The Negro, brought in under subpoena to testify before the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee probing the reelection by a slim plurality of Sen. Theodore G. "The Man" Bilbo, was J. D. Collins, chairman of the Greenwood district of the Mississippi State Progressive Voters League. Sun. 12-8-46

Collins related how Mayor Allen Saffold and three of his "white supremacy" cronies of Greenwood county seat of Leflore County (population: 14,394 whites and 38,970 Negroes), met three weeks before election day. The Mayor's cohorts were Shelby Steele, a big seven-foot insurance man; attorney Means Johnson and another unidentified white attorney.

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THESE FOUR called in Collins and a friend, Negro taxicab driver and service station operator A. C. Montgomery, and gave them a list of the Negroe veterans in the Mississippi Delta town. The two Negroes were told to contact the others and warn them not to attempt to vote

They didn't vote, Collins related, as his emotion-filled voice rose and fell, but remained constantly intelligible in this room filled with Bilbo followers who seize every trip or blunder as an occasion for laughter and fun-poking.

"The city officials called me in," he said. "They said there had never been any disturbance in the city before and they didn't want any. They said Mr. Bilbo had made some threatening speeches. They said five of us could vote but there would be trouble if the others tried to.

"They wanted me to go around and say because Senator Bilbo's speeches caused such restlessness it might be bad for us. Neither of us wanted the job."

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THEN CAME the day's revealing remark from committee chairman Allen J. Ellender (D-La), who, in five words, expressed his attitude toward the right of Negroes to vote:

"Did you perform your duty?" he asked Collins.

But the question was quickly reworded to state, "Did you go around and see these people?"

Collins did, under pressure from the white supremacists, and his testimony was borne out by other Negro witnesses, who came forward from the Jimcrow section at the rear.

One, Louis Redd, 39-year-old Negro veteran, was on the list. He said Collins told him of the confab with the white officials and showed him his name on the list, advising him not to try to cast his ballot for fear of recriminations.

"He being the leader (chairman of the Voters League), I took his advice," Redd said.

The tales of beatings and intimidations went on through the week. Two young Negro witnesses testified they had been beaten at polling places on election day. Another told how he had been taken to the woods and beaten when he tried to register.

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NUMBERS TOLD how they had been refused registration by Circuit Clerks who said, "This is a white man's primary and we don't want n . . . .' to vote."

Only two white witnesses have appeared thus far to testify against Bilbo—a Catholic priest from Gulfport, who reported 82 Negro veterans had voted in the municipal election there in June and then were barred from the polls in the primary; and a Jewish rabbi from Vicksburg, who testified to the state of fear produced among potential Negro voters by Bilbo's ranting speeches.

The main force of the anti-Negro campaign here was directed against the 60,000 Negro veterans who were exempt from polltax payments. This vote alone would have been sufficient, if cast in strength, to wipe out Bilbo's plurality of 3,824 votes.

Chairman Ellender, in attempting to lead witnesses to state that a "white primary" was the accustomed pattern in the South, has tried to absolve Bilbo of wrong by implying "The Man's" conduct of his campaign had no effect on the potential Negro vote. 12-8-46

No member of the committee has stated for the record that a "white primary" is unlawful or that depriving Negroes of ballots is a violation of the 15th amendment to the Constitution.

Bilbo Says Place In Roll Call to Prevent Republicans From Barring Him In Senate

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

He'll Be Second To Take Oath

Mon. 12-16-46

Washington, Dec. 15 (AP)—Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.) predicted confidently today the Republicans will be unable to bar him when the new Senate convenes January 3.

Republican strategists agreed privately that regardless of the outcome of a current inquiry by the Senate War Investigating Committee into what happened to $25,000 a war contractor gave Bilbo in 1942, the prediction probably is correct. But they vowed that if they are defeated in the first round, they will press further efforts to unseat the senator.

Bilbo told a reporter he is satisfied "they can't stop me at the door."

"They haven't even got a scratch against me," he declared, adding:

"Besides, alphabetically, my name is Bilbo."

There, said Republicans who have been studying the situation, is the rub.

When the Senate meets to begin swearing in new members, the Democrats still will be in control, with Secretary Leslie Biffle in the chair. Holdover Democrats outnumber holdover Republicans 30 to 29 after the death today of Senator Bailey (D., N. C.).

If precedents are followed, new members will be sworn in alphabetically, with Senator-elect Raymond E. Baldwin (R., Conn.) first on the list. That would make the count 30 Democrats and 30 Republicans when Bilbo comes up second.

Expect Terry to Testify.

Even if they get some Democratic votes or are aided by absences on the side, Bilbo's opponents fear they might lose some Republican votes.

Meanwhile, Chairman Mead (D., N. Y.) said he expects Edward Terry, Bilbo's former secretary, to be available tomorrow to tell the War Investigating Subcommittee what he knows about the involved financial transactions the group is investigating.

Terry, who has been in a Quitman, Miss., hospital, has reported anonymous threats against his life if he testified in any manner against his former employer.

Mississippi Officials Admit They Barred Negroes From Voting

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

By Mary Southard

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 4.—The whole rotten structure of Mississippi political life was being exposed today as witnesses took the stand in Federal Court here before a Senate Campaign Committee investigating charges against Senator Bilbo. Thurs. 12-5-46

A number of county officials, in a brazen matter-of-fact manner, admitted on the witness stand discriminatory treatment of Negro applicants for registration as voters. A sheriff stated he had advised Negroes not to attempt to vote in the recent primary.

A Circuit Clerk said he had put harder questions to Negro registrants with the purpose of denying them registration, in spite of the fact that Mississippi law requires only that an applicant shall be able to read and write the Constitution or interpret it when read to him.

Two Negro members of the Progressive Voters League testified that the Mayor and three leading white citizens of Greenwood, Delta community, has presented them with a list of 32 qualified Negro voters, and urged them to contact these voters and advise them not to appear at polls on election day "to avoid trouble."

J. D. Collins, a Negro witness, stated that most of 207 Negro veterans in Greenwood would have voted except for the intimidating speeches of Bilbo.

Witness after witness attested to the eager desire of Negro veterans to vote in the Primary. A body of Negro veterans estimated at 60,000, exempt from poll taxes and able to meet literacy requirements, constitutes an entirely new political force in Mississippi and bore the main brunt of violence and intimidation.

SLM PLURALITY

Bilbo won election by a slim plurality of 3,824 votes and Negro votes cast in spite of Bilbo's incitement are estimated at 2,500. Had only one-ten of the potential vote of Negro veterans been cast, Bilbo would have been forced into a run-off and faced with united opposition, it appears.

Rev. C. M. Eiland, Negro minister of Louisville, testified that two white men stopped him at polls July 2 when he declared he was a reputable citizen whose father had paid taxes for 50 years, he himself for 20 years. They told him, "We don't want these colored soldiers boys to vote and if we let you into the polling precinct, they'll want to come too."

In spite of conciliatory conduct on the part of Senator Ellender, chairman of the Committee, who repeatedly attempts to lead witnesses to state that keeping Negroes from voting in primaries is a common pattern in Mississippi, evidence is piling into the record showing Bilbo won election by illegal conduct of Circuit Clerks and a campaign of intimidation on a statewide scale. 12-5-46

Hickenlooper Not So Sure of Bilbo Whitewash

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9.—Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper (R., Ia.), engineering Republican anti-Bilbo action, said yesterday there is no assurance of a unanimous committee vote to clear the Mississippi Senator of charges of intimidating Negro voters. PM

Hickenlooper, member of the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee which conducted hearings in Mississippi, said he had not made up his mind, although Chairman Allen V. Ellender (D., La.) had predicted a unanimous decision in Sen. Theodore Bilbo's favor. The committee will meet next Monday to consider its report.

Hickenlooper declared that "Republicans are not engaged in any plot" to keep Bilbo from taking his seat in the next Congress. Hickenlooper, member of the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee which conducted hearings in Mississippi, said he had not made up his mind, although Chairman Allen V. Ellender (D., La.) had predicted a unanimous decision in Sen. Theodore Bilbo's favor. The committee will meet next Monday to consider its report.

"The question is not a partisan political issue, but rests entirely upon the propriety of the individual, regardless of what party he belongs to."

Meanwhile, attorneys for the Senate War Investigating Committee assembled witnesses, documents and photographic copies of bank accounts and war contracts preliminary to a second investigation involving Bilbo appearing here Thursday. Mon. PM

Hickenlooper told a

Congressman Slaughter Defeated by Negroes

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 8-17-46

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—(ANP)—Congresman Roger C. Slaughter, who killed the FEPC bill in the House Rules Committee last year, received the defeat that he deserved in the primary election Tuesday, Aug. 6, when Negro voters marched to the polls and cast their ballots against him.

Slaughter lost the Democratic nomination for congressman from Missouri's Fifth District to Enos A. Axtell, young lawyer who was endorsed by President Truman when he made public his "purge" on Slaughter.

Axtell, who polled 20,389 votes to Slaughter's 17,606, has pledged to support the FEPC bill if he is elected to Congress. He will run against Albert L. Reeves Jr., Republican, in November.

The election returns clearly show that it was the Negro vote which defeated Slaughter, and which won the nomination for Axtell. Axtell piled up a heavy majority in the First, Second, Third and Fourth Wards, where most of the Negro voters live, while Slaughter carried the ten Southside wards where the well-to-do whites and the "silk stocking" crowd who supported him live. Axtell carried only the first four wards, but his majority in those wards was sufficient to give him a 2,783 lead over Slaughter.

Axtell rode to victory over Slaughter with the support of the Negro voters, the Pendergast organization, the CIO Political Action Committee and, of course, with the backing of President Truman.

City Primary Voting Light; Marcantonio Fight Bitter

Times
New York, N.Y.

ALP Chairman's Battle to Win Place on 3 Tickets Waged Vigorously — Few Complaints Are Filed in Day

Wed. 8-21-46

By JAMES A. HAGERTY

Twelve Representatives in Congress—four Democrats, seven Republicans and one member of the American Labor party—faced contests in yesterday's primary election in New York State.

In the city, with slightly more than 2,000,000, qualified to vote in the party primaries, the vote, except in those districts having contests, was extremely light. It was not particularly heavy in the contested districts, except in the Eighteenth Congressional, where Representative Vito Marcantonio attempted to repeat his feat of two years ago by carrying both Democratic and Republican primaries, as well as that of the American Labor party.

From the time the polls opened at 3 o'clock in the afternoon until they closed at 10 in the evening there was a minimum of disorder and comparatively few complaints.

The Democratic Representatives whose renomination was contested are all from New York City Districts. Six up-State Republican Representatives and one in New York City had primary opposition. The one American Labor party Representative engaged in a primary contest was Mr. Marcantonio, New York County chairman of that party, who was unopposed for the Labor party nomination but sought also the endorsements of both major parties. Wed. 8-21-46

Of the comparatively few contests for legislative nominations, the one of outstanding interest was that of Irwin Steingut, Democratic leader of the Assembly, for renomination in the Eighteenth Brooklyn District against Paul Seiderman, former Assistant District Attorney.

There were contests for election as members of the Democratic State Committee in four Brooklyn Assembly districts, election carrying with it the district party leadership, and a Republican leadership contest in one Brooklyn district.

Of particular interest in New York City were the attempt of the Labor party and the CIO Political Action Committee in infiltrate into the major parties by influencing fights for Congressional nominations. New York Times

In the Eighteenth Congressional District, Mr. Marcantonio was opposed by Frederick V. P. Bryan for the Republican nomination and by Patrick J. Hannigan for the Democratic nomination.

Marcantonio Drive Vigorous

Mr. Marcantonio made a whirlwind tour of his district in a manner reminiscent of former Mayor Mayor La Guardia. He visited virtually every polling place and urged his supporters to get out every possible vote. N.Y.

"You can't win an election by sitting in a clubhouse," he said. "I am confident that the people of my districts will ratify my record with their votes."

Mr. Hannigan, a World War veteran and former policeman, predicted that 50 per cent of the 42,000 enrolled Democrats in the district would go to the polls.

"That spells victory for the only Democrat on the ticket," he said.

Mr. Bryan, who was accompanied by his mother when he voted at public school 77, First avenue and East Eighty-sixth street, predicted that he would win the Republican nomination.

Left wing influence also was a factor in the contest for the Republican nomination for Representative in the Seventeenth Congressional District. Joseph Clark Baldwin, Republican incumbent, was turned down for redesignation by the party organization, which designated State Senator Frederic R. Coudert Jr. Mr. Baldwin is unopposed for the Labor party nomination and tried unsuccessfully to get on the Democratic primary ballot as an opponent of Myron Sulzberger Jr., now the unopposed Tammany candidate.

Caudert Voices Confidence

Mr. Coudert, after voting at public school 6, 39 East Eighty-fifth Street, said he was entirely satisfied with the indications.

"The case is now before the Republican voters," he said. "I am entirely confident of the result."

Secretary of State Thomas J. Curran, New York County Republican chairman, predicted the nomination of both Senator Coudert and Mr. Bryan. Wed. 8-21-46

"There's no question at all that Coudert will win," Mr. Curran said, "and I am sure that Bryan will be successful too, since we have got a good break in the weather and are sure to get out a good vote. The only trouble is that many people are out of town. This is a terrible time to hold a primary election—right in the middle of the heaviest vacation season—but we can't make it any later and still get ballots overseas to soldiers who want to vote."

Another Democratic contest in which the Labor party is involved is that for nomination for Representatve i nthe Twenty-first Congressional District among Assemblyman Daniel Flynn, City Councilman Eugene P. Connolly, secretary of the County Committee of the American Labor party, and Norman S. Rein, backed by the present Democratic representative, James H. Torrens, whom Tammany turned down for designation. Mr. Flynn, organization designee, has charged that the candidacy of Mr. Connolly, unopposed for the Labor party nomination, represents an attempt of Mr. Marcantonio to gain control of the Democratic party in Manhattan.

Powell Seeks 3 Nominations

Wed. 8-21-46

In the Twenty-second Congressional District, Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. is unopposed for the Labor party nomination, but has Grant Reynolds, former Army chaplain, as an opponent for the Republican nomination and Harold E. Simmekjaer as an opponent for the Democratic nomination. Mr. Powell, enrolled as a Democrat, won all three legal party nominations two years ago.

The Labor party and the PAC also figure in the contest of Representative William B. Barry for renomination in the Democratic primary in the Fourth Congressional District in Queens. Mr. Barry incurred the displeasure of the PAC by his votes in Congress. He was opposed for the Democratic nomination by George H. Rooney, who was unopposed for the Labor party nomination.

In the Thirteenth Congressional District, Brooklyn, Representative Donald L. O'Toole finally overcame Labor party opposition and was unopposed for that nomination, but was opposed by Arthur F. Hurley, backed by local Democratic organization leaders, for the Democratic nomination.

Up-State the Congressional contest of greatest general interest was that of Representative Augustus W. Bennet against Mrs. Katharine St. George, a distant relative of the late President Roosevelt. Mr. Bennet, a Republican, was elected two years ago on the Democratic and Labor party tickets in a drive to oust Hamilton Fish from his seat in the House of Representatives. The district includes the counties of Rockland, Orange, Sullivan and Delaware.

Another up-State contest of general interest was that of Representative John Tabor, veteran Republican, who was opposed for renomination by C. A. Roberts in the Thirty-eighth District. Other up-State Republicans having contests for renomination were W. S. Cole, Thirty-ninth District, opposed by F. C. White; John C. Butler, Forty-fourth District, opposed by Kenneth O'Hara; and Daniel A. Reed, Forty-fifth District, opposed by Carl W. Lundberg. Wed. 8-21-46

In New York City, there was no opposition to the nomination of party candidates for Surrogate of New York county, City Court and Municipal Court Justices and members of the City Council in Manhattan and Queens.

Delegates to the State and judicial conventions of the three legal parties were elected, for the most part without opposition. The Democratic and Republican State Conventions for the nomination of State tickets will be held Sept. 3 and 4, respectively at Albany and Saratoga Springs. The Labor party convention will be held in New York City on Sept. 3.

TREND TO THE RIGHT SHOWN IN PRIMARY HERE AND UP-STATE

Times
New York, N.Y.

Ebb in Marcantonio, Powell and Connolly Strength Gives Evidence of ALP Slump

REPUBLICANS HEARTENED

Fish Scores James Roosevelt in Talk on Mrs. St. George's Victory Over Bennet

Thur. 8-22-46

By JAMES A. HAGERTY

A trend toward the right, undoubtedly caused by growing resentment toward the actions of Russia and its satellite nations in the post-war period, was indicated in Tuesday's primary election in New York City.

The defeat of Representative Vito Marcantonio by Frederick V. P. Bryan for the Republican nomination for Representative in the Eighteenth Congressional District, and the close margin of Mr. Marcantonio's victory over Patrick J. Hannigan for the Democratic nomination indicated clearly an increase of opposition to an alliance of either major party with the American Labor party with its communistic elements and its alliance with the CIO Political Action Committee.

Rightist Successes Listed

This anti-Left, anti-Communist trend also was shown in the following results:

The overwhelming defeat of Representative Joseph Clark Baldwin by State Senator Frederick R. Coudert Jr., for the Republican nomination for Representative in the Seventeenth Congressional District. Thur. 8-22-46

The defeat of City Councilman Eugene P. Connolly by Assemblyman Daniel Flynn for the Democratic nomination for Representative in the Twenty-first Congressional District.

The defeat of Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., for the Republican nomination for Representative in the Twenty-second Congressional District.

The victory of Representative William B. Barry over Labor-supported George H. Rooney for the Democratic nomination for Representative in the Fourth Congressional District.

These right-wing victories for major party candidates were regarded as distinctly encouraging by leaders of the Republican party, who will increase their efforts to elect Republican candidates for Representative in New York City with special drives to elect Mr. Bryan over Mr. Marcantonio and to elect Jacob K. Javitz, Republican Congressional nominee, in a three-cornered fight with Mr. Flynn and Mr. Connolly, who was unopposed for the Labor party nomination, in the Twenty-first Congressional District. The victory of Mr. Bryan and the strong run of Mr. Hannigan were due in large part to war veterans who formed a bi-partisan committee to oppose Mr. Marcantonio in the Democratic and Republican primaries. Times

The one purely left-wing victory in the city was the nomination of Samuel Kaplan, former member of tthe Communist party, by all parties. Mr. Kaplan, unopposed for the Republican nomination, won the Democratic nomination from Assemblyman Philip Blank and the Labor party nomination from Morris Kaufman. Thur. 8-22-46

Fish Comments on Result

Up-State, the victory of Mrs. Katharine St. George, second cousin of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who defeated Representative Augustus W. Bennet for the Republican nomination for Representative, drew favorable comment from former Representative Hamilton Fish, whom Mr. Bennet defeated two years ago. Mr. Fish said: New York

"James Roosevelt, eldest son of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt, injected himself and his radical New Deal views into the primary campaign for Congress in Orange County, by endorsing his father's New Deal protégée, Augustus Bennet, against his cousin, Mrs. Katharine St. George. It turned out to be a political kiss of death. The Republicans of the Twenty-ninth Congressional District preferred a real Republican to a New Deal

CITY PRIMARY RESULTS
Times New York, N.Y.
Our local primary elections have registered an unmistakable anti-left-

nomination. He chose to contest this decision. The Republicanism of his opponent, Mr. Coudert, was not in question, though the ALP had denounced him as a "Red baiter." Mr. Baldwin had the full support of the ALP and of its nominal head, Mr. Marcantonio, but it only seemed to handicap him. It is to his credit that he has now withdrawn as an active candidate in November, though he won the ALP

November elections.

Perhaps the sharpest setback suffered by the radical groups was the 5-to-1 defeat of Representative Joseph Clark Baldwin in the Seventeenth Congressional, the so-called "silk stocking" district. Mr. Baldwin's voting record was often too close to that of Representative Marcantonio to please fellow-Republicans, who refused to accept him as their candidate for re-

ward swing the significance of which will be recognized far beyond State and city limits. New York City is the very stronghold of the radical American Labor party and the shock troops of the CIO's Political Action Committee. Yet despite Tuesday's light vote, which favored their infiltration into other primaries, they made a sorry showing. It indicates a reaction against the extreme left which may be felt in the

nomination. Thur 8-22-46

Even more surprising is the shaken prestige with which Mr. Marcantonio emerges from the Eighteenth District primary. This was considered impregnable ALP territory, fortified by Tammany Hall. Throughout the war years Marcantonio, who has followed a pro-Communist line, has pocketed the nominations of all three parties. This time he was defeated for the Republican nomination by Lieut. Col. Frederick Bryan, and even with Tammany backing barely captured the Democratic nomination from another vote-getting veteran, Patrick Hannigan. His chances in November may be jeopardized if the veteran vote combines against him. In Harlem Representative Powell, who has also followed a pro-Communist line, did better, yet lost the Republican nomination to another veteran. In almost every district the swing was against the radicals. They can now match one small but clear-cut victory for an Assembly seat against many unexpected setbacks.

Primary results here may influence the coming State election. They should cause sober reflection in Democratic ranks over the selection of candidates. ALP support may not prove as weighty as it was. But it is national trends which will be studied throughout the country. A revolt against the extreme radicals seems to be spreading in both parties. This trend is nowhere more clearly discernible than in California and New York, two of our most populous States. Opportunist tactics such as those of Tammany Hall are at a discount. Yet one of the strongest undercurrents, apparent all over the nation, lies in the astonishing strength shown by politically unknown veterans. To the dismay of the "Ins," the GI is having his say on the American scene.

REPUBLICANS HOPE TO WIN CITY SEATS

Times New York, N.Y.

Curran Sees Chance to Defeat Marcantonio—21st District Fight Also to Be Pushed

Thur. 8-22-46

Encouraged by the results of Tuesday's primary election, Republican leaders intend to make intensive efforts to capture Congressional seats in New York City now held by Democrats.

They will concentrate particularly on an attempt to elect Frederick v. P. Bryan in the Eighteenth Congressional District over Representative Vito Marcantonio and Jacob K. Javits in the Twenty-first Congressional District. In the latter district a three-cornered fight among Mr. Javits, Assemblyman Daniel Flynn, Democratic nominee, and City Councilman Eugene P. Connolly, American Labor party candidate, is believed to give Mr. Javits a chance of election in a strongly Democratic district.

The Republican leadership also will make a vigorous campaign for the election of State Senator Frederic R. Coudert Jr., who defeated Representative Joseph Clark Baldwin for the Republican nomination in the Seventeenth Congressional District, and for the election of Grant Reynolds, who defeated Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., for the Republican nomination in the Twenty-second Congressional District.

Although the primary returns alone indicating little chance of defeating Mr. Marcantonio for election and less of defeating Representative Powell, Republicans have some hope of electing Mr. Bryan. Thur. 8-22-46

Curran Assails Marcantonio

Secretary of State Thomas J. Curran, New York County Republican Chairman, expressing satisfaction at the victories won by Mr. Coudert, Mr. Bryan and Mr. Reynolds, declared that the primary results indicated a definite trend.

"In fact, the results were more than a trend," Mr. Curran said. "They were in the nature of an unequivocal demonstration that pressurized PAC efforts, spearheaded by radical forces, cannot long endure under our American system of government and the political philosophies upon which this Republic was founded."

Mr. Curran said that the effort of Mr. Marcantonio to infiltrate his left-wing followers into the Republican party had failed dismally and that the return of veterans from the second world war had played a significant part in the primary results.

"The Marcantonio dreams, his dreams of running the city at a future date by extending his delusions of empire-building to all New York County and the greater city, have received a revastating set-back," Mr. Curran said.

Bryan to Seek Hannigan Aid

Mr. Bryan in an interview in his office in the Chanin building announced that he intended to make a vigorous campaign for election and hoped to get the support of Patrick J. Hannigan, Mr. Marcantonio's opponent for the Democratic nomination. He attributed his nomination in part to the support of war veterans who, he said, had worked actively for the nomination of both Mr. Hannigan and himself.

"The results of the primary election show that for all practical purposes the Democratic party has ceased to exist in the Eighteenth Congressional District," he said. "It is a combination of Clarence Neal, Bert Stand and Ed Loughlin, in addition to a dose of Marcantonio. Add to that the Communist party and The Daily Worker and you get a very peculiar cocktail when you shake them all up together. This is a cocktail which is very distasteful to the voters of the district." Thur. 8-22-46

Martin P. Beirne announced that an effort would be made to draft Mr. Hannigan to run as an independent candidate, saying that enough support had come to the Hannigan headquarters to indicate that he would win. Mr. Beirne added that Mr. Hannigan had not said he would run independently.

Mr. Reynolds, a former Army chaplain, said that he regarded his primary victory as evidence of the beginning of an act that would end Mr. Powell's public career, and added that he would follow it with a vigorous campaign for election.

PRIMARY DAY IN NEW YORK ADMITTEDLY

The Nation New York, N.Y. Sat 8-31-46

brought no cheer to the left, but the ecstasy of the conservative press is pathetically out of proportion. Joseph Clark Baldwin and Augustus Bennet, two reasonably liberal Republicans—both repudiated by their party and running without campaign funds, organizational backing, or any kind of mass support—were defeated for renomination to Congress. That is the extent of the victory. From the editorial pages of the Scripps-Howard, Hearst, and other metropolitan papers the casual reader might conclude that the G. O. P. had gone much further and retired from public life such leftist luminaries as Vito Marcantonio and Adam Clayton Powell. Actually, all that happened was that those two gentlemen, deprived of a Republican nomination, will run in November on two tickets instead of three. As Democrats and American Labor Party nominees, both are almost certain to return to Congress. Their failure to go back as Republicans, far from depressing us, seems like a healthy, if unsought, release from a none too savory connection. The appallingly low vote in the New York primary is regarded by experienced observers as a failure of the machines: not enough canvassers rang enough doorbells. This failure, particularly marked on the left, was largely responsible for the Republican defeat of Marcantonio and Powell. Communists and their fellow-travellers, who can normally be counted on to perform this basic chore, are reliably said to have fallen down on the job this year—a sign of the weakness that has beset the party since the purging of Earl Browder. Here again the effect can be salutary if it induces labor candidates to organize such support in the trade unions instead of buying it, politically, from a party which, like the Republicans and Democrats, has its own fish to fry.

Sat 8-31-46

City Contest Results

Final returns in the thirty-five contests in the New York City primaries follow:

CONGRESS

QUEENS

Fourth District, Democratic

George H. Rooney	5,075
*William B. Barry	16,819

Fifth District, Democratic

Lawrence S. Collins	1,424
James A. Phillips	7,250
Vito E. Colucci	603

BROOKLYN

Ninth District, Republican

Samuel R. Scialabba	720
Harry Chiert	715

Twelfth District, Democratic

Anthony F. DeVito	1,111
*John J. Rooney	7,182

Thirteenth District, Republican

C. W. Weadon	2,014
A. P. Costanzo	729
W. C. Hanning	1,345

Thirteenth District, Democratic

Arthur F. Hurley	11,555
Donald L. O'Toole	11,604

MANHATTAN

Seventeenth District, Republican

Frederic R. Coudert Jr.	10,265
*Joseph Clark Baldwin	2,004

Eighteenth District, Republican

Frederick v. P. Bryan	3,641
*Vito Marcantonio	2,760

Eighteenth District, Democratic

*Vito Marcantonio	9,778
Patrick J. Hannigan	9,216

Twenty-first District, Democratic

Eugene P. Connolly	5,635
Norman S. Rein	2,991
Daniel Flynn	9,606

Twenty-second District, Democratic

*Adam Clayton Powell Jr.	7,643
Harold E. Simmelkjaer	690

Twenty-second District, Republican

Grant Reynolds	2,168
*Adam Clayton Powell Jr.	1,598

STATE SENATE

BROOKLYN

Fourteenth District, Democratic

Joseph F. Ruggieri	10,070
Ross J. DiLorenzo	12,157

RICHMOND

Seventeenth District, Republican

Robert E. Johnson	1,812
*Robert S. Bainbridge	1,390

MANHATTAN

Twenty-first District, American Labor

Harold Ira Panken	214
Charles Collins	1,516

ASSEMBLY

MANHATTAN

Second District, Republican

John J. Lamula	483
Alfred D. Licato	605

Second District, Democratic

John J. Lamula	1,119
*Louis DeSalvio	3,039

Second District, American Labor

John J. Lamula	299
*Louis DeSalvio	346

Seventh District, American Labor

James T. McNamara	120
Paul H. Riess	451

Eleventh District, American Labor

Cyril W. Stephens	314
*William E. Prince	57

Twelfth District, Democratic

James H. Ravenell	2,070
*William T. Andrews	2,297

Thirteenth District, Democratic

Harold E. Stevens	2,843
Robert E. Swain	1,639

Thur. 8-22-46

BRONX

Seventh District, Republican

Chester Addison	214
Abraham Gudowitz	409

Eleventh District, Democratic

Frank J. Suozzi	1,910
Daniel J. Brick	2,519
Howard Bigg	824

Thirteenth District, Republican

*Leo Isacson	316
William J. Drohan	1,788

Thirteenth District, Democratic

Peter H. Brandt	4,776
*Leo Isacson	2,345
Thomas C. O'Leary	560

BROOKLYN

Ninth District, Republican

*Frank J. McMullen	2,060
Ronald W. Cook	1,243

Ninth District, Democratic

Cornelius J. O'Shea	7,101
Vincent J. Haigney	3,457

Tenth District, Democratic

Edward A. Buda	2,774
Andrew J. McCaddin	2,837

Seventeenth District, Republican

Ada B. Jackson	729
Maude B. Richardson	1,024

Eighteenth District, Democratic

*Irwin Steingut	4,966
Paul Seiderman	3,564

Nineteenth District, Democratic

*Philip J. Schupler	7,733
Samuel Shapiro	5,214

Twenty-fourth District, Democratic

*Philip Blank	2,903
Samuel Kaplan	3,883

Twenty-fourth District, American Labor

Samuel Kaplan	1,580
Morris Kaufman	103

QUEENS

Twelfth District, Democratic

George F. Young	5,868
Milton E. Jacobwitz	2,959

*Denotes incumbent.

Powell Loses GOP Nomination

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 8-31-46

NEW YORK—Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., was unsuccessful in his attempt to capture the Republican nomination in Tuesday's primary from Grant Reynolds, although Powell did win the Democratic nomination by an overwhelming majority. Reynolds will be Powell's opponent in the November general election from the Twenty-second Congressional District.

In another hotly contested district Vito Marcantonio barely received a majority to win the Democratic-ALP nomination from the Eighteenth Congressional District. Marcantonio 9,778 to Patrick Hannegan 9,216. Marcantonio lost the Republican nomination to Frederick melk.

In the GOP voting Grant received 2,150 to Powell's 1,591.

In the Democratic balloting Powell got 7,550 to 671 for Harold Simmelkjaer.

NEGROES HELP WHIP BOREN IN OKLAHOMA

St. Louis Argus St. Louis, Mo. Aug. 8-9-46

OKLAHOMA CITY—(ANP)—Negroes in the 4th Congressional district of Oklahoma helped to snow under Lyle Boren, because of his reactionary voice and vote in the national legislature. Boren tried two years ago to bait the Negroes of his district with a jim crow vet hospital bill for Boley, and when this blew up the black voters remembered Boren's reactionary vote against FEPC and anti-lynching legislation.

Glen D. Johnson snowed Boren under 31,093 to 19,469 in the primary election in a district where the black vote is decisive. There is no question but the Negro vote was a vital factor in Boren's undoing. A Negro candidate for congress in this district, Eugene Dunn, polled 1,600 votes.

THOMAS L. STOKES

South in Throes Of Revolution

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

MEMPHIS—Conflict is the prevailing motif today in the political and economic life of the South. It is erupting more frequently in violence lately in sections of our country that always has had more than its share.

This is the most vivid impression of a three-week visit below the Mason and Dixon Line.

There will be more conflict, perhaps more bloodshed, as the South continues to adjust itself to new and changing conditions, both economic and political, some growing from the war.

Industrialization, which always creates problems, was advanced during the war. Industrial conflict is intensified now by the stepping-up of union organization by the AFL and CIO—themselves also in conflict. And a new factor has been introduced which undoubtedly will have far-reaching influence as time goes on.

8-6-46

THAT is the war veteran. He has returned from far places and has come back, as does anyone who has been away from the South for a time, to see conditions in his native land in new perspective and more clearly. He wants to change them. This, of course, is not true of all veterans. Some slip back easily into the old setting. But it is true of an intelligent minority, and it is the intelligent minority which always brings about revolutions. Tues.

This determination for change exhibited itself in its most violent form in the armed revolt of returned veterans against a sector of the corrupt political machine of Burch Biggs in three Eastern Tennessee counties. The veterans rose up at Athens against the usual machine attempt to control elections.

Veterans had a stake in the election with a ticket in McMinn County—jointly supported by them and Republicans—that included a candidate for Sheriff, 33-year-old Knox Henry, who ran against Paul Cantrell, the Biggs machine boss in McMinn County. The other two Biggs machine counties are Polk and Monroe. Burch Biggs or his son have rotated in the sheriff's office in Polk County for years. The Biggs machine never has hesitated to use force and gunplay. Now, for the first time, it met force from a new direction.

SIGNIFICANT is the fact that the Biggs machine is in alliance with Boss Ed H. Crump here in Memphis. The two work together in election as well as in the legislature, using the same repressive tactics. The victory for reform in McMinn County may have its effect eventually on Boss Crump's State control.

War veterans also were active in the abortive revolt against the Crump machine in Memphis in the State-wide election last week. Veterans were among the corps of watchers trained by the CIO, and the Clean Election League to try to keep the count honest in Shelby County. They failed. But they are not done yet.

LONG-ENTRENCHED machine bossism is a first and obvious target for veterans. It sticks out plain in Tennessee. But veterans are getting perspective, too, on the bigger target of entrenched interests who are represented in many cases by the bosses. Some, they have learned, use the racial issue to perpetuate themselves in power or recapture power.

A most significant thing happened here in Memphis on the night of the election. The local chapter of the American Veterans Committee voted to admit Negroes, to have one single, mixed chapter instead of segregation. That was a revolutionary departure by young Southern white men who fought in this war.

Hope for the future lies in these veterans who are beginning to see the evils in their native Southland.

Carmack Ready To Press Election Fraud Charges

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Thurs. 9-12-46

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11—(AP)—Edward W. Carmack, defeated in the recent Tennessee Democratic Senatorial primary, informed the Senate campaign investigating committee today he is prepared to testify under oath about what he termed the "illegality and corruption" in that election.

The nomination was won by Kenneth D. McKellar, presiding officer of the Senate and its senior member.

Carmack gave reporters at a Capitol news conference copies of a letter addressed to Senator Ellender (D), Louisiana, chairman of the investigating committee, in which he offered to testify.

Probe Is Ordered

The committee has ordered investigations of Democratic primaries both in Tennessee and Mississippi, where Senator Theodore G. Bilbo was renominated.

Carmack, a tall young man with curly hair, also declared that E. H. Crump, Memphis Democratic leader, Senator Taft (R), Ohio, and Carroll Reece, Republican National chairman, were engaged in a "conspiracy" to throw Tennessee into the Republican column in 1948.

Carmack said that Taft had "given out a statement endorsing McKellar a couple of weeks before the primary" and that recent published reports quoted Crump as predicting that the Republican party would win the Presidency in 1948. He did not specify what part Reece, a Tennesseean, took in the affair.

Carmack wrote Ellender he was here "to put myself at the disposal of your committee." The staff of the committee still is being selected, and its general counsel, Riley Shanks, is not to take office until next week. Ellender is out of the city.

Carmack's letter said he was willing to appear as a witness at the committee's convenience and "then make under oath considerably more extensive and more definite charges of the illegality and corruption in the said primary." He added:

"In the interest of the future decent government and honest elections I am willing to go to any length in the exposure of the frauds and thoroughly unscrupulous and tyrannical methods by which nominees are declared in the Democratic primaries in Tennessee."

Carmack's Hope

He said he hoped to see Democratic National Chairman Robert Hannegan to tell him about the "conspiracy" to make Tennessee Republican. He declared flatly that "the Republican machine in East Tennessee had for years played with the Crump machine and Senator McKellar."

A reporter, noting that Carmack referred to himself as a "defeated candidate," asked whether Carmack had any serious hope that he might be seated in place of McKellar.

"I think I'd be very optimistic to hope to unseat a man of Mr. McKellar's power and position," he replied. "I believe it would be wholesome for the future if they have a full investigation."

Carmack said he honestly did not know whether he or McKellar received the most votes.

He said he spent "about $6,900" in his own campaign, although conceding some other funds may have been spent in his behalf without his knowledge. He estimated that "the opposition" spent close to $500,000.

When reporters asked if Senator McKellar had any comment on Carmack's statement, they were told at the Senator's office that he had none.

THE TENNESSEE PRIMARY

Advertiser Montgomery Alabama

On the basis of incomplete returns from the Tennessee election it appears that Ed Crump, the Memphis political boss, has chalked up another victory in his long and imposing string of trophies. The Nashville Tennessean, chief sponsor of the Browning-Carmack challenging team, conceded defeat to Mr. Crump early in the returns. Considering that only one box from Shelby County figured in the returns up to the moment of conceded defeat by the Nashville paper, it appears that Boss Crump owns not only Shelby County and Memphis, but also the whole State of Tennessee. 8-3-46

That one Shelby County box gave Carmack only one vote. To McKellar, it gave 205. A whole county at the opposite end of the state, normally Republican, gave McKellar the impressive vote of more than 500 to 1 over his challenger. These two examples of abnormally one-sided returns are sufficient to convince even the most skeptical that something curious was happening in Tennessee's Democratic primary Thursday. Such almost perfect unanimity in election returns just is not credible in a free election—the only kind we are supposed to have in America. 8-3-46

There is one bright aspect of the Tennessee primary. So far as reported, it was free of any racial issue. It was a knock down and drag-out fight between an entrenched and apparently impregnable political machine, and the awakening civic consciousness of Tennesseans. The issue was not the ignorance, prejudice, and passions of the electorate, but corruption of and loyalty to a selfish machine. Saturday

Viewed from any angle, returns of recent elections in the three states of Mississippi, Georgia, and Tennessee are not entirely discouraging. In each of the three states there is a powerful and intelligent minority who resisted every pressure possible for bossism and demagoguery to bring to bear upon them. They have been through the fire, and it would be a serious error for anyone to discount their power for good in the future.

The Political Picture Of The Negro In Houston And Texas

The Informer, Houston, Texas
Sat. 8-24-46

By REV. B. H. ROBERTS

The Negroes of Houston and Texas as a whole have just emerged from one of the hottest and most bitterly contested campaigns of recent times. The Negro was in the heat of this battle not so much for political office for himself but for the candidates of his choice, whom he felt disposed to vote for. Certainly this was his right as well as that of any other citizen of Texas.

Since this primary campaign of July 27 has passed and we are facing another hot contest for August 24, it is well that we consider the picture of the Negro in election of July 27, and what his future should be in regards to the coming campaign. It certainly is well to remember that there are many angles to politics and one may not get all he expects in return for the very best efforts put forth. Politics is a win or lose game. Somebody must always lose and somebody must always win.

The method of winning or losing makes up the system of politics. No one can always predict the outcome of an election. Neither can anyone guarantee to any candidate his success in a race for any place in government, and this should not be pretended by anyone.

Everyone who voted honestly in the July 27 election need not feel ashamed because honesty is the only safe rule in politics. If you were sincere in your belief of the worthiness or unworthiness of a person and cast your vote accordingly then you should feel that you have done your duty.

It is not wise for Negroes to make their vote a racial vote for that is just what we have always complained about on the part of the white man; but we must put character and ability above race. If a man is worthy be he white or black, he should be our choice, if not then we should reject him.

The Negro has the right to claim any position which he is capable of holding and so does the man of the other race. This is a sane and constructive political philosophy. If we are to survive politically we must be wise and strategic in our approach to our problems. We must not allow the over anxious and over ambitious Negro to run away with us in order to gain for himself political notoriety and financial gain. We must have strong and well trained political personnel, formed into strong political organizations in our city and state. This organization must take up the political problems of the Negro and deal with them on the basis of reality and not as mere political expediency. If we are not organized we will be unprepared for such attacks as we faced following the recent primary.

The recent primary election has convinced the intelligent Negro that education politically is a serious problem with us and that some are inclined to take advantage of every point of vantage against our political well being.

In the recent primary election, two Negroes were elected as Precinct judges who must hold the elections. This is indeed gratifying we are really grateful to God that we were fortunate enough to win for these two members of our race these places of distinction, but this is not half of the question—there is a great responsibility associated with these positions which these men are bound to regard with the deepest moral conviction and the keenest sense of their duty and loyalty to the group that made it possible for them This we hope they ever keep in mind.

If what followed the July 27 election was a possibility under a white man's supervision who has had years of experience in politics, what will be our fate if such lossness accompanies our own efforts.

These judges need not expect the over indulgence of the colored citizens when it comes to the performance of their proper functions and the safeguarding of the interest of all concerned The public will not excuse indifference and carelessness, and inefficiency on their part They were elected because the citizens were willing to trust their honesty and ability but this fact must be demonstrated by them in the fair an impartial an efficient administration of their offices.

Now, concerning our July 27 election we know, according to the decision of the Court that boxes 48 and 24 lost all votes cast for the Sheriff race in behalf of Mr. Woolley Whether this decision was justified or not it is the decision of the Court and it places us on the defensive as voters in these precincts, and every one of us feels the reflection but that must not discourage us. We must still go to the polls and vote and, by all means, see to it that you do not vote for your enemy knowingly.

Let us be prepared against the repetition of such an outcome in the future Let us assure ourselves against such charges as were alleged against us in the other election. Let someone be designated or any number of persons be appointed to observe the voting and be prepared to refute any false charges that might be brought against our boxes.

75,000 Negro Vote Reported in Texas

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
July 30, 1946

AUSTIN, Texas, July 30.—(AP)—Governor Coke Stevenson estimated that about 75,000 Negroes went to the polls Saturday in the first Texas Democratic primary.

It was the first time in Texas politics that Negroes have cast a full, free vote in a Democratic primary election.

The governor said he believed that for the most part the votes in the gubernatorial race were cast in a bloc for Homer P. Rainey, who ran second in the balloting. Rainey faces Beauford H. Jester in the August 24 second Democratic primary.

Run-Off Seems Assured In Texas, With Negro Vote Heavy In Primary

The Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.
Sun. 7-28-46

Jester and Rainey Vie for Governor

By the Associated Press.

Dallas, Tex., July 27.—A run-off contest for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Texas apparently was assured tonight as two colorful political figures raced ahead in mounting returns from a Texas primary election featured by a mass Negro vote.

Beauford Jester, 53, member of the powerful oil-regulating State Railroad Commission, and Dr. Homer P. Rainey, deposed president of University of Texas, ran steadily ahead of the 12-man pack as a record-smashing vote was tabulated across Texas.

It was the first Democratic primary in Texas' 100-year history in which Negroes voted in large numbers.

Jester had a lead of 6,000 votes over Rainey in incomplete returns from the Texas Election Bureau. Attorney General Grover Sellers, close friend of retiring Governor Coke R. Stevenson, was a poor third.

Connally Sure of Choice.

The two leaders were so close on the basis of an estimated 1,250,000-vote total that it appeared definite neither could capture a clear majority and the nomination, which is tantamount to election. The state's first runoff for the Governoship since 1934 was indicated. It would be held August 24.

Apparently reassured of renomination was Senator Tom Connally. He had more than three times as many votes as his four opponents combined and his lead was increasing steadily. Another Texas political leader, House Speaker Sam Rayburn, was unopposed.

Official returns from 40 of the 254 counties gave these results in the Governor's race: Jester, 17,662; Rainey, 11,532; Sellers, 7,032; Lieutenant Governor John Lee Smith, 4,832; Jerry Sadler, 4,068! Caso March, 507.

The same tabulation gave Connally 11,078 votes. His nearest opponent was Floyd E. Ryan, Houston, with 1,615 votes.

The Texas Primary

Birmingham, Ala., News

The first Texas primary held last Saturday gave the wealthy Beauford Jester a big lead over Homer Price Rainey, but Rainey is in the runoff. Liberals throughout the country had hoped that Rainey might come in first and enter the runoff with the velocity of band-wagon jumpers to push him into the nomination. But although he is trailing Jester by about 100,000 votes out of some 1,250,000 cast, he is not to be counted out yet.

* * *

Rainey's name is widely known throughout the land because of the difficulties he had when he was president of the University of Texas. He fought a losing fight against the encroachment of certain business interests in the matter of academic freedom. The influence of Gov. Coke Stevenson and Sen. Pappy O'Daniel was too much for him, and the board of regents of the university dismissed him on Nov. 1, 1944.

he had extensive funds to use in the campaign. There is no doubt, also, that Jester had much of the support of the Texas Regulars, a group which, it will be remembered, jumped the Democratic party in 1944 because of its hatred of Roosevelt and the New Deal.

* * *

The race that Rainey made in the primary is probably all the more remarkable in that

A lesser man might have left the state and gone on to a position somewhere else, for there were many college administrative jobs open to him. But he chose to stay on in Texas. He conducted a radio program called "Religion in Life" which had a wide audience in the small towns and rural sections. Incidentally, he is an ordained Baptist minister. When the time came to qualify for the governor's race, no one was surprised at his entry. It was always known in Texas that he was the man that the other candidates had to beat. 7.30.46

His platform was clearcut and simply stated. It was critical of certain big corporations, most of which are controlled at the top outside the state. Gov. Stevenson, who has had strong support from big business, has been able to stay in office longer than any other person in the history of Texas. Also it has been amply evident that O'Daniel in the Senate has worked hard in the interest of his wealthier constituents. The influence of both these men was against Rainey in his campaign.

Rainey proposes a constitutional amendment to do away with the ceiling on funds for old-age assistance, aid to the blind, to dependent children, and further public welfare work. In order to get more funds for altruistic enterprises in the state, he has let it be known that he would raise taxes on the state's resources of oil and would increase levies on tobacco and liquor. Like James E. Folsom in Alabama, Rainey promised a minimum teachers' salary of $1,800 a year, but unlike Folsom, Rainey told the voters just exactly how he proposed to raise the needed funds.

The leader of the pack in Saturday's primary, Beauford Jester, is a rich man in his own right, and although he split the corporations' support with Jerry Sadler brought the race issue into the ca

he did not have the support of the state's largest newspapers. Furthermore, by an agreement among the radio stations to ration the time allowed each candidate, he was forced to give up the program he had conducted for many months and thus lost the radio personality he had built up. Tue. 7-30.

Now the campaign goes into its final phases. The runoff will be a clearcut fight between Rainey and Jester. It should be a rip-snortin' campaign in the best Texas tradition, guns blazing and no holds barred. For the next four weeks the people of Texas should really enjoy life. We'll watch with much interest from the sidelines.

An Estimated 75,000 Negroes Voted In Texas Primary

Daily Texan Austin, Tex.

AUSTIN, Tex.—(SNS)— Governor Coke Stevenson estimated Monday that 75,000 Negroes voted in Saturday's Texas Democratic primary marking the first time that Negroes have cast a full vote in the Democratic primary election. Wed. 7-31-46

The Governor stated that he believed that most Negroes voted in in a bloc for Homer P. Rainey who ran second in the race

Analysis Of Negro Vote Refutes Charges

The Informer

HOUSTON.—Loose and random statements have been made following Saturday's elections about Negro votes being sold and about machine politics among Negroes. These charges have been made by people who were either ignorant or who sought to give Negro voters a bad name.

The best way to explain the Saturday's elections is to show Negroes what they did as a group in their voting.

The governorship presented a special case in Saturday's voting. The choices of Harris county for governor were Beauford Jester and Homer P. Rainey. Negroes chose Rainey, giving him 95% of their votes. Houston, Texas

The whites in Harris county gave Jo Ed Winfree, a local candidate for lieutenant governor, an overwhelming vote. The Negroes gave Winfree an even more impressive vote. The whites gave James for state treasurer almost 2 to 1 over Williams. The Negroes came nearer giving a 2 to 1 vote for James than the whites did. The whites cast 60% more votes for Justice Sharp than for Rowland. Negroes gave better than 2 to 1 to Sharp.

In the case of the criminal court of appeals the whites divided their votes between the four candidates a about 11,000, 14,00, 18,000, and 22,000. Negroes divided their votes among the four.

For Justice Graves of the court of civil appeals, the whites gave better than 2 to 1. Negroes gave Justice Graves about 3 to 1. Whites gave Albert Thomas better than 2 to 1 over Prof. Horne. Negroes gave Albert Thomas almost 3 to 1.

For district attorney the whites gave Winborn nearly 2 to 1 over Allen. The Negroes were better than 2 to 1 for Winborn. So down through the total list of candidates the comparison goes about the same. 8-10-46

The cold facts prove what we have always contended; namely, that the Negroes and whites have about the same interest in the same localities and will come near voting the same, all things being equal. Negroes have no more reason to vote in blocs or to be sold or bought than whites, and are never sold and bought any more than whites.

The modifications of race or racial interests are always a minor element in elections, though some particular candidate will naturally pay the price for having been hostile to Negroes on some occasion. For instance, Sellers and Smith did not want any Negro votes, and they didn't get any to speak of, either. Captain J. R. (Bob) Davidson didn't appeal to Negroes for support and he got practically no votes from Negroes.

But Captain Davidson will be one to long remember that the Negro vote in Harris county is important to reckon with whenever the election is close. In the two years ensuing, he will probably come to realize that a vote is a vote, regardless of the color of the citizen who casts it, and we predict that if he ever runs again for office in Harris county, he will not go out of his way to discourage the Negro vote.

It was remarkable how nearly the vote of the Negro of Harris county coincided with the published choices of the Informer. Even in cases where the local organizations had endorsed others, the people in practically every instance showed a judgment similar to that of the Informer. The Informer takes it as a compliment to its faithfulness to the will and interest o fthe people themselves that it could beforehand so accurately and so uncannily pick the course the people would take.

Even in the case of the sheriff's race, where the Informer frankly declined to choose a candidate but suggested that Woolley and Polk would be in the runoff, we were correct, the people giving Neal Polk 1900 votes and Fay Woolley 1600 votes, with 208 for Captain Bob Davidson. It is significant that the only real machine among Negroes was behind Neal Polk, still there was only a 300-vote edge for Mr. Polk. In this instance the total vote for Mr. Polk was 27,000 as against 17,000 for Mr. Woolley, and another 17,000 for Captain Bob Davidson. It is interesting to wonder what would have happened if the Informer had endorsed Mr. Wooley or Mr. Polk! Sat.

Too often during the period when Negroes were disfranchised, our liberal white friends would say they thought that intelligent Negroes should vote, but they wanted to know how it could be figured so that Negroes would not be sold or voted in blocks. The implication always was that Negroes could be bought, and therefore would vitiate the election. Well, we'd like to know who bought or sold the Negro vote in the past primary.

For most candidates the Negroes of Harris County voted like the white people voted on the basis of the records of candidates as they knew them and on the prospects of what candidates convinced them. The deviation from general friends came only in a few spectacular instances in which the Negro voters felt they had friends to reward or enemies to punish.

Negroes took marked sample ballots to the polls with them in an attempt to vote intelligently. They should have no shame for having done that. It was a crude thing to do, but an honest one. Next election they will know to remember whom they want to vote for and forget the rest.

Handful Of Negroes

The Whip Miami, Florida

EL PASO, Texas, (ANP)—Negro voters of El Paso—some 600—played a decisive part Saturday in defeating County Judge M. Scarborough in the first state primary election held here in which Negroes have participated.

In all parts of the state, at least 75,000 Negroes cast their ballots, according to reports. In this city and the surrounding county, the 3,000 Negro residents were most interested in the county judgeship, since the county judge is the political head of the county.

How significant the Negro vote was may be seen from the fact that Judge Scarborough lost by a mere 316 votes. The winner is Victor Gilbert, local attorney, who received 6,840 votes to Scarborough's 6,524. Sat. 8-10-46

The 600 Negro votes went heavily against Scarborough for several reasons:

1. Not a single Negro is employed by the County.

2. The City-County Hospital, whose board is named by the judge, refuses to accept Negro physicians in any capacity; therefore, no Negro doctor can accompany his patient to the hospital.

3. When a group of Negroes sponsored the Southernaires last year, and sold tickets to white friends without segregation, Scarborough sent a deputy sheriff to order the sponsors to segregate the patrons. This order he issued two hours before concert time.

4. When FEPC sent G. James Fleming here in 1942 to direct investigations into job discrimination, Scarborough telephoned the White House, it is reported, and protested a Negro in such a capacity. A few days later, when Scarborough thought Fleming had been recalled, he telephoned a newspaper and said: "I've gotten rid of that coon at last, and a northern one at that."

When Scarborough campaigned before the Negro Voters League before election, he was questione on a number of his past practice: Negroes were thereafter convinced that they should not help him in office.

All the newspapers supported Scarborough, and expressed surprise that he was defeated.

In the contest for Governor, Homer P. Rainey, liberal ex-president of the University of Texas, ran second in the state, and will figure in the run-off election on August 24. He will be opposed by Beauford Jester, railroad official.

Rainey was backed by liberal groups, but opposed by most newspapers and the groups who believe him too liberal on the Negro question. In the election on Saturday, Rainey was knifed by several radio announcers who continually stressed that "150,000 Negro voters will cast their ballots today for Rainey," or "The first 51 ballots cast here were by Negro voters and all for Rainey." The ballot in Texas is not secret; ballot boxes are not locked.

NORFOLK CANDIDATE LOSES BUT SHOWS SOME STRENGTH

Daily Ward Atlanta Ga.
Wed. 6-19-46

NORFOLK, Va. — (A N P) — Victor J. Ashe, Negro attorney, who failed to win a seat on the city council in the June 11 election here, showed so much strength at the polls, that political observers are predicting success for him in the future in case he runs for a local or state office. Though Mr. Ashe stood in seventh place in the field of nine candidates, he polled 3,101 of the 16,984 votes cast.

Mr. Ashe secured votes in every one of the 37 precincts in the city. "The People's Ticket" consisting of Richard D. Cooke, attorney; Protlow Darden, automobile dealer and brother of ex-governor Colgate W. Darden, Jr., of Virginia and John Twohy III, sand and gravel dealer, won the election.

Wed. 6-19-46

PARTIAL VICTORY

Though Mr Ashe did not get elected, defeat of the incumbents, Mayor James W. Reed and Councilman Richard W. Ruffin and C. E. Wright, none of whom rated high among Negro voters, was considered a partial victory for Negro voters. Their defeat is a signal for more action among progressive voters for the things they want in the city.

It is the unifying contribution of the Ashe campaign for Negro citizens and the salutory effects of his campaign on interracial problems that mark his candidacy as a successful one. Obviously, many white people voted for him. More would vote for him for local office. Jews supported the campaign financially and with votes.

Virginia in Bondage

Times-Dispatch
Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

With smugness we in Virginia look upon the re-election of Bilbo in Mississippi and Talmadge in Georgia. Before we heap criticism on others, should we not put our own house in order?

Sun. 8-4-46

Make no mistake: What Bilbo is to Mississippi, Talmadge to Georgia, Crump and McKellar to Tennessee, O'Daniel to Texas, Wheeler to Montana; what Ham Fish was to New York, and the late Huey Long to Louisiana, Harry Byrd is to Virginia. Each and every one of these men is a political dictator, out of step with the times, and a disbeliever in the American doctrine of the right to freedom, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all.

Richmond

Virginia

The time has come for Virginia to loose the bonds of political and economic slavery.

Sun. 8-4-46

MILTON E. BRADSHAW.
Richmond, RFD.

Drive to un-Byrden Virginia

Daily Worker

By Alice Burke

Richmond, Va.

The renomination of Sen. Harry Flood Byrd in the Virginia Democratic primary is a serious blow to our nation. For millionaire apple grower Byrd is the leader of the polltaxers who together with the Taft, Vandenberg Republicans are spokesmen for Wall Street monopolists in their drive against the people.

BYRD

New York N.Y.

In 1944 Byrd organized and led the southern delegates at the National Democratic Convention against Henry Wallace as FDR's running mate. Byrd was "too busy picking apples" to support FDR.

Today Byrd's number one aim is to wipe out completely all traces of progressive legislation enacted while FDR was in office, and to prevent enactment of Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights.

Despite the set-back suffered by the re-nomination, there were certain positive features of the struggle to un-Byrden Virginia.

Martin Hutchinson, a Roosevelt democrat who ran against Byrd, received 82,000 votes—the highest vote ever received, despite lack of organization and money — against the Byrd machine. As a matter of fact this was the first real bitter political struggle since 1922.

In the 2nd Congressional District (Norfolk - Suffolk) Byrd's man in Congress, Ralph Daughton, was snowed under by the nomination of Porter Hardy, a farmer.

In the 3rd District (Richmond) Byrd's candidate, J. Vaughn Gary barely nosed out Minetree Folkes, World War II veteran who lost his right leg at Iwo Jima.

How Byrd Got Out Vote

Every pointer that PAC ever made on how to mobilize the voters was used by the Byrd forces. There was a systematic door to door check of whether voters had a way to get to the polls. **In Richmond alone 57 cars** were doing double duty bringing voters to the polls and back home. For mothers with small children, the Byrd forces provided "baby sitters"—while mother went to vote.

For the farmer who couldn't leave his crop, Byrd provided farm hands and took the farmer to the polls by car.

In contrast to this highly geared machinery in every voting precinct and district, the Hutchinson campaign was to a large degree unorganized.

8-16-46

That Hutchinson could have won despite the huge sums of money spent by Byrd, is evident from those areas where there was at least a degree of organization, primarily of labor, Negro people and veterans, as in Norfolk County, Portsmouty, Clifton Forge, etc.

Labor Organization Was Lacking

Friday

State PAC attempted to do great things but in the absence of organization of political action groups in the local unions this was very difficult. For instance, in the city of Danville where there are some 12,000 organized workers in the CIO textile union—Hutchinson got only 1,596 votes. Clearly the CIO workers in Danville were not educated to the need of struggles on the political front. This situation can be duplicated in most areas where workers have been organized in CIO and AFL.

One of the greatest handicaps of the progressive forces is their failure to get into a campaign until the very last moment. While Byrd was burning up the airwaves with broadcast after broadcast, the Hutchinson people were without organization. As a matter of fact Hutchinson had no state manager, and the local managers' political experience and training was almost nil.

It will be impossible for Virginians to ever defeat the reactionary machine **unless** the process of organization begins **now** in preparation for the General Assembly elections in 1947 and 1948 congressional and presidential elections.

It has to be done first on a local scale—in each local union and in each precinct.

Unions who struggle so desperately for wage increases are practically wasting their time **if at the same time they are not organizing the membership for political undrstanding and struggle** to guarantee that the wage increases are not stolen back in the form of high prices and high taxes.

If each international union would place a **full time** political activities director to set up and organize day to day active political machinery in each local union, this would be of immesurable aid in safeguarding and raising the standard of living.

Work Must Begin Now

Unless this organization work is done now—long before the next elections — there can't be much hope for un-Byrdening Virginia and bringing it into the area of progress.

There are three main fields of activity. Labor, Negro people and veterans.

The little organization that Hutchinson had was primarily led by a group of veterans. Byrd also tried to win the veterans and lied all over the lot to explain his voting against veterans and peoples legislation.

The most highly organized progressive group are the Negro voters who have been consistently organizing and qualifying people to vote. Byrd reconized this and attempted to swing the Negro vote his way by a clever maneuver. One of the leading Negro leaders was pressured, at the last moment, to write a letter to the press —to the effect that while Byrd was Governor of Virginia a state anti-lynching law was enacted. He concluded that if re-elected Byrd would work for enactment of a federal anti-lynch law. This strategy, when hundreds of thousands were enraged at the brutal lynchings in Georgia and Mississippi, was calculated by the Byrd forces to win votes among the Negro people. Lateness of the hour made it impossible to counter this outrage.

Despite all these tricks and huge sums of money, Byrd got 138,000 votes, and Hutchinson 82,000. There is real hope for Virginia if the progressive forces begin organizing today for the '47 and '48 campaigns.

Primaries In The South

The Advertiser

The Republican National Committeeman from Georgia, Mr. Wilson Williams, threatens an old political tradition by suggesting that the Southern States choose delegates to the Republican National Convention by preferential primaries. The idea is that by taking the choice of delegates away from party leaders (most of them are hand-picked at State conventions) the South's representatives at a national convention would tend to reflect the desires of rank-and-file Southern Republicans rather than the maneuvers of party bosses.

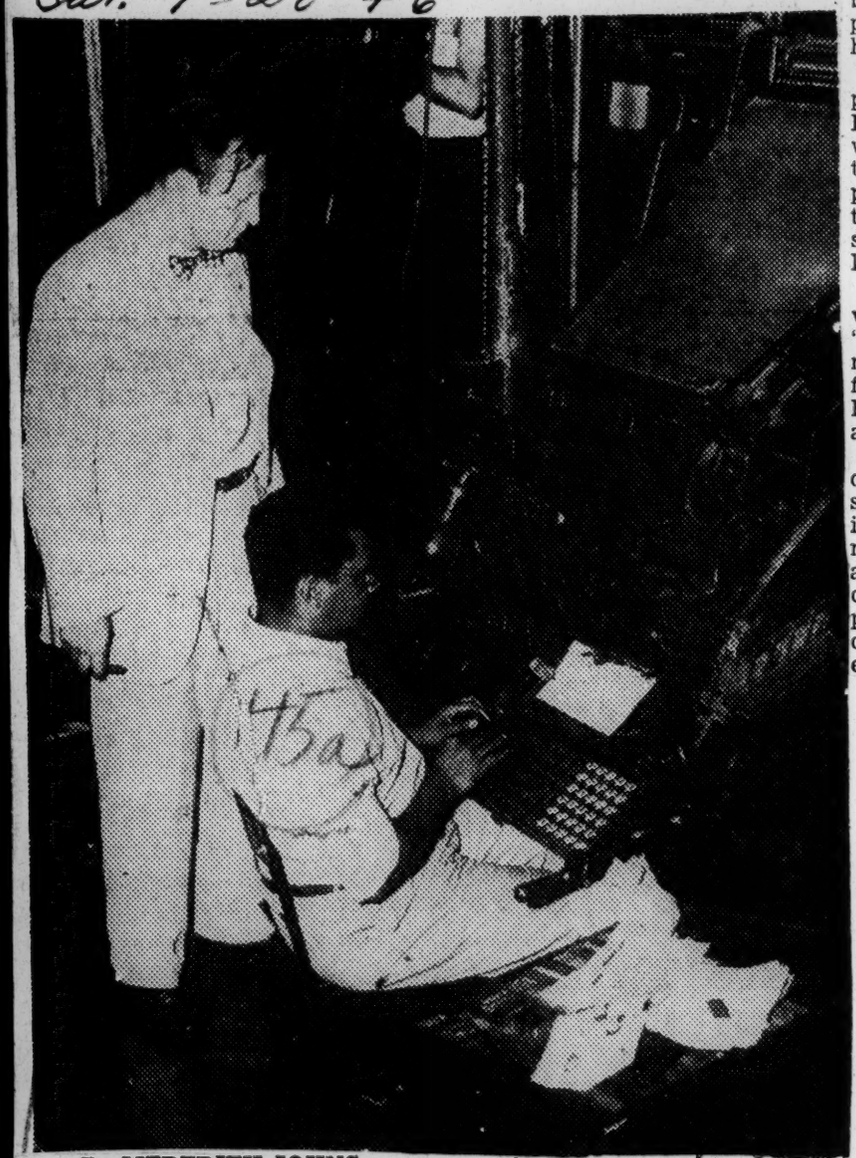
Beneath the obvious and praiseworthy objectives of Mr. Williams' suggestion, it is not difficult to see a more immediate and practical effect. Throwing the choice of delegates open in a primary contest would undoubtedly loosen the influence which the Ohio group, headed by Senator Robert A. Taft, now exercises over Southern party organizations. But, regardless of any designs on the Taft influence, the fact remains that the Republican party organization in the Southern States need a thorough overhauling. Montgomery, Ala.

The need is apparent, but the preferential primary does not offer the best means of attaining that result. Presidential primaries have been tried, with varying results since 1910, when Oregon passed the first primary law. New Jersey followed suit a year later, under Woodrow Wilson's prodding. The results have been demonstrated that they can control primaries for selfish purposes as effectively as they can control State conventions. The technique is different, but the result is often the same. There is more than suspicion that Wendell L. Willkie's defeat in the Wisconsin Presidential primary in 1944 was rigged by political forces eager to end his career. Nov. 12-9-46

The South needs an overhauling, politically, but the primary isn't the best answer. Mr. Williams' suggestion will serve a useful purpose if it stimulates the National Committee, when it meets this week, to review the whole subject and devote some constructive thinking toward making the Republican party in the Southern States the force it has every right to be.—New York Herald-Tribune

People Win Victory In Norfolk Although Candidate Defeated

The Defender Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 7-20-46



By MEREDITH JOHNS

"Victor Ashe did not win a seat in the Norfolk City Council but the people won a victory just the same."

Long-haired easy-talking David Levine, of Norfolk, Va., head of the Tidewater region, American Veterans Committee, said that last week while visiting the Defender offices in Chicago. He also said that the election was a wonderful education for 25,000 Negroes.

"We had the heaviest vote in that election in the history of Norfolk," asserted Levine. "Heavier than any election for governor. Heavier even than any presidential election."

Levine, operator of a large furniture manufacturing company in Norfolk, was a lieutenant in the Navy, skipper of a small naval vessel. He spoke quietly, with an air of complete confidence.

"Three factors that caused Ashe to be defeated were: He entered the race late; it was the first time Negroes had voted, and many who had paid their poll tax had not registered, and many who had registered had not paid their poll tax," he explained.

Ashe, one of the only Negroes to run for office in Virginia since the 1890's, is a 32-year-old Norfolk born attorney. He was backed solidly by Negroes and a substantial number of whites at the outset.

His entering the city council race was called "symbol of a new spirit among Negroes of Norfolk."

"Voting was entirely clean," said Levine. "There was no intimidation. Ashe received votes in every precinct. He had two poll watchers and counters at every precinct. Everything went off perfectly. It was a wonderful experience for Norfolk Negroes.

"One of the things that probably caused some confusion at nearly the last minute was the acceptance of huge 'don't vote single shot' ad by the Courier Journal and Guide."

There had been a move prior to election to single shot Ashe. By this technique—voting for only one instead of three candidates—the strength of the Negro vote could have been tripled.

But when the Negro newspaper ran the ad stating "don't vote single shot," naturally hundreds of Negroes and quite a few whites were confused.

"If we had three out of five progressive men in the city council, not necessarily Negroes but men of the people, we could remake Norfolk," says Levine.

"It was a victory for us even though our candidate did not win, because we had one of the right people running for office. He just happened to be Negro."

One of the major obstacles to progressive moves in Virginia is Democratic Sen. Harry Byrd, whose political machine through three terms has reached such proportions as to have complete control of every political job in the state down to and including the lowest paid.

"Sen. Byrd to me is not a man who hates Negroes," said Levine, "but a man who is anti-all common men. His dislikes are not confined to separate races or creeds like Bilbo and others. His is a fight against everyone except Byrd.

"Byrd claims that the Congress of Industrial Organizations is spending $1,000,000 to defeat him in the August 16, democratic primary," he asserted. "He will probably win again though, for among other things he has all of the big papers behind him. They back him on account of his political experience."

45b 1946

80th Congress Program

(45b)

Powell, Dawson Plan Racial Justice Fight

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 11-23-46

Inspired to militant action by their recent re-election to seats in the U. S. Congress, Representatives Adam Clayton Powell Jr., of New York, and William L. Dawson of Illinois, have expressed their determination to fight for the passage of certain specific legislation to help lift the yokes of social and economic oppression off the necks of their constituents.

In New York City, Adam Powell Jr., representing the Twenty-second Congressional District of New York, declared:

"I will specifically concentrate on a National Civil Rights bill to guarantee protection of all minorities everywhere in America, through the Department of Justice."

PLANS ANTI-SEGREGATION BILL

Further outlining his plans, Congressman Powell explained:

"I will also introduce a national Anti-segregation bill which will embody FEPC, Abolition of Jim Crow Interstate Transportation and Jim Crow in the Armed Forces, etc., all in one bill."

Representative Powell also declared that the Republican landslide was a real warning to the Democratic party. People didn't vote Republican, they voted anti-Democratic party, he said. And they will not vote a Democratic ticket again until the Democratic party, from the top down, completely recaptures the spirit and principles of Roosevelt, he added. Mr. Powell said that his contention was proven by the fact that only those Democrats won who were fighters and have been 100 percent Roosevelt.

DAWSON HITS HOUSING BIAS

Meanwhile, out in Chicago, reports indicated that Representative William L. Dawson, who was re-elected to represent the First Congressional District, was planning on sponsoring a National Housing Fair Practices Act. which would make race discrimination illegal in Federally financed housing projects.

While Congressman Dawson has not made any official statement it is said that he is studying a legislative draft of the measure which he plans to present to the next session of Congress before revealing its details.

BILL HAS SEVEN POINTS

Authoritative sources, however, say that the bill is made up of the the following seven points, and would:

1. "Make illegal, discrimination because of race, creed or color in housing financed in whole or in part by Federal funds;
2. "Deny Federal financial assistance to any State or local housing project or venture, which so discriminates;
3. "Deny Federal financial assistance to any state or local housing program from which persons are denied benefit because of race, creed or color;
4. "Establish a Federal housing fair practices commission with power of subpoena, appointed by the President to enforce this policy;
5. "Give power to this commission to order withholding of Government funds from individuals or corporations guilty of discriminatory practices . . . and of recommending suitable punishment to violators;
6. "Deny priority assistance to any privately or publicly financed project which so discriminates; and
7. "Deny mortgage insurance to any builder or financial institution for any housing project which is discriminatory in character."

11-23-46

White Democracy

The News and Courier

To The News and Courier:

Note the words of Dr. Clark Foreman, of Atlanta, that his organization has initiated and is cooperating in the drafting of a bill to be introduced into congress that will leave no doubt that the civil rights granted in the constitution are to be enforced by the federal government.

This bill, he says, will for the first time give a real meaning to the constitution in many Southern states. Note the words of a negro war veterans' organization and demands to vote in our Southern Democratic primaries. We are going to break the Mason and Dixon Line was sounded at the seventh Southern negro youth congress.

Encroachment on our Southern states rights is the chief desire of the negro organizations and should such a bill be a national law further encroachments and liberties will be injected for passage by our national government.

Suffice me to say the negro has lasting and true friends in our states, however, any concessions he desires must confine themselves to the negro with no encroachment on our Southern White Democracy. The Mason and Dixon Line is here to stay and the White Democracy of our states will endure to the end of time.

R. H. McCLENAGHAN,

Florence.

Charleston, S.C. Wed. 11-6-46

45b 1946

New Bill Seeks To Halt School Discrimination

P.M. Thursday

Bi-Partisan Measure In Albany Provides Loss Of Tax Exemption

3-7-46

Staff Correspondence

ALBANY, Mar. 7.—Extension of the Ives-Quinn Law to include the field of education seemed assured today following introduction of a bi-partisan measure to give the State Committee Against Discrimination (SCAD) jurisdiction over reported cases of discrimination in all educational institutions.

The bill, which is expected to receive widespread support from all parties, would make religious or racial discrimination by schools unlawful, and specifically provides for various penalties, including the automatic loss of tax exemption privileges.

3-7-46

Widespread hope is held here that passage will go very far toward combating the rampant discriminatory practices which are known to be followed by virtually all the privately owned tax-free education institutions in the State.

P.M.

Ives in Favor

Assemblyman Irving Ives, Chenango Republican, Majority Leader in the Lower House as well as an outstanding spokesman on both educational and anti-discrimination issues, is reported to have given his blessing to the bill. Ives previously had demurred from any extension of the Ives-Quinn Bill, passed last year, on the grounds that it was desirable to give SCAD more time to get under way before increasing its scope.

The bill specifically provides for SCAD methods to determine that discriminatory practices exist in any particular institution. It provides that the SCAD can base its findings on "group data"—that is, the general experience of a large number of persons—rather than on the experience of an individual. This will rule out the frequently heard argument that it is impossible to prove discrimination because of the possibility of an error in judgment in a particular case.

Definition

The bill carries this definition of an "educational institution," for tax exemption purposes:

"An institution which determines the admission of its applicants not solely and exclusively on grounds of their intellectual ability and moral character, but aims, in selecting its students and members of its instruction and research staff, at the satisfaction of racial and religious prejudices, is not devoting its property exclusively to educational purposes and is not an educational institution within the meaning of the law."

Sponsors of the bill are Sen. Walter J. Mahoney, Buffalo Republican, and Assemblyman Bernard Austin, Brooklyn Democrat.

A special exemption is provided for sectarian schools, permitting them to restrict admission to persons of one particular religion. Such schools, however, are specifically enjoined from excluding applicants because of either race or color.

N.Y. Bill Hits Race Hate In Radio Shows

Chicago Defender

NEW YORK—A bill aimed at slashing from radio programs any acts inciting race hate was introduced in the New York State legislature this week by Rep. L. P. Murphy.

2-9-46

If passed, the bill would serve to eliminate race prejudice from virtually every media of information, entertainment and cultural dissemination.

Legal experts state that it is the first bill ever proposed in this country that would make it illegal for any person to use the radio to refer to races in a disparaging manner.

It would affect the majority of the big radio network shows, since most of them originate in New York. The bill covers all programs coming out of the state, and also pertains to books, pictures and pamphlets.

The measure is said to be the most powerful of its kind, and predictions are that it will be used as a model in other states even if it is not passed in New York.

In the New York legislature it has been read once, and referred to the legislature's committee on general laws.

Sat.

Radio industry officials have observed that the bill would be far more effective than the recent Illinois anti-libel bill instituted by Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of "The Chicago Tribune" which owns WGN, the Midwest outlet for Mutual.

The Illinois bill was described as a political maneuver on McCormick's part, but was passed toothless because of compromising points placed on it by the radio industry and McCormick opponents.

Agricultural Economics Unit Hit

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta Ga.

Sat. 3-30-46

WASHINGTON. — (NNPA) — The Bureau of Agricultural Economics, under congressional mandate, must restrict its activities to the gathering and dissemination of statistical data related to agriculture, and not explore and not inquire into the question of race relations in counties in southern states.

Restrictions on the activities of the Agricultural Economics Bureau were invoked after southern members of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the Agriculture Department had browbeaten H. R. Tolley, chief of the bureau, during hearings on the Agriculture Department's 1947 appropriations.

To make its mandate effective, the House lopped off $485,543 of an appropriation recommended by the Budget Bureau for the Agricultural Economics Bureau.

BILL NOW PENDING

The appropriation bill is now pending in the Senate Appropriations committee. The Senate itself after the bill is reported may approve the cut, restore the funds lopped off, or further reduce the appropriation.

The wrath of southern members of the House Appropriations Committee was provoked by a report concerning Coahoma County, Mississippi, made to Dr. Tolley by staff members. It was intended for use by officials of the Agriculture Department in order that they might have before them the situation in the counties studied.

According to Representative Malcolm C. Tarver, of Georgia, chairman of the appropriations subcommittee, about 40 or 50 per cent of the report was devoted to race relations in urban as well as rural areas.

Sat. 3-30-46

The report stated:

"At present the militant Negro leadership in urban centers of the North is making its opinion felt on the rural Negroes of Coahoma County, for a number of them subscribe to northern newspapers which do not hesitate to emphasize injustices done Negroes."

Judge Tarver declared that statement an indictment of the people of Coahoma County.

COMPARES TREATMENT

"I think that the treatment accorded Negroes in industrial centers of the North is much worse than that which is accorded Negroes in the agricultural sections of the South in which they are dealt with, on the whole, with sympathy and understanding," he declared.

Judge Tarver was particularly critical of the report because it stressed "the importance of leadership, so-called militant northern Negro leadership, which, in my judgment, is a most unfortunate thing and which is doing a greater injury to the Negroes of the South than anything else when it comes to the handling of racial problems which exist in the South, problems which in the main are stirred up by these northern agitators, who seem to take every opportunity of stirring up things of this character."

ADMINISTRATION

The Agriculture Department administers:

The free school lunch program toward which the federal government contributes $50,000,000 a year.

The Extension Service, for which a total of $27,233,660 is provided in the 1947 Agriculture Department appropriation bill. These funds are allotted to the States and distributed between the white and colored land-grant colleges. A recent study made by the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association revealed that the seventeen colored land-grant colleges get a disproportionately small share of these funds.

Sat. 3-30-46

The Farm Security Administration, which administers the rural rehabilitation program providing loans for low-income families who are unable to obtain credit on reasonable terms from any other source; the farm tenancy program which lends funds to tenant farmers and veterans for the purchase of small farms.

Colored farmers, to some extent, participate in all of these programs. The data collected on race relations in counties in southern states with large colored populations would enable the Agriculture Department to determine whether these programs are being fairly administered. But the House has told the Agricultural Economics Bureau that it must not collect such information by withholding funds for such studies.

Miss. Solons Get Equal Salary Bill

Chicago Defender

Chicago, Ill.

Negro Teachers May Take Case To Court

Sat 1-19-46

JACKSON, Miss.—(ANP)—A bill to increase and equalize salaries for Negro teachers in public schools will be presented to the Mississippi State Legislature which convened here Tuesday.

The bill is under sponsorship and the result of a state-wide study by the state department of education and the Mississippi Educational association, an organization of white teachers in the state.

Aside from its provisions for increased and equalized salaries the bill will contain also a number of other important provisions seeking to improve education in the state, important among which will be the setting-up of a teacher-training division in the state department of education.

Salary Scale Revised

The salary scale, as recommended, will call for giving teachers with a master's degree, $1,160 of $1,400 yearly, depending on experience, down to $280 to $520 for those with three years' high school or less.

Negro education in general will be the subject of a number of important provisions in the bill among which will be a recommendation for further teacher training facilities for Negro teachers.

Simultaneous with the convening of the state legislature it was revealed that an overwhelming number of Negro teachers are in favor of carrying their fight for equalization of salaries to the courts. The realization that the majority of Negro teachers favored carrying their fight for equalization to the courts came as a result of a poll conducted by Prof. E. S. Bishop, principal of the Corinth Negro high school and president of the Mississippi Association of Teachers in Public schools.

Court Action Favored

The results of the poll were published in the January issue of the Mississippi Educational Journal, official state teachers' journal. The article reveals that some 3,000 questionnaires were sent to a representative cross section of the 6,000 Negro teachers of the state with answers coming from more than 1,500, 95 per cent of whom were in favor of court action.

The poll also showed that of the 1,500 answers some 55 per cent were in favor of waiting until the present state legislature has had a chance to act before filing suit. Fifty-two per cent were not in favor of pressing for action immediately for the equalization of educational opportunities for Negroth of the state.

With respect to the filing of the suit upon the failure of favorable action on the part of the legislature, informed circles in Jackson say that the Negro teachers' organization has already overcome one of its major obstacles in the way of filing suit—that of getting a qualified complainant. According to these quarters, a teacher possessing the very highest qualifications has already volunteered to file the complaint if it is decided to bring suit.

The legislature is expected to take several days before actually getting down to business of enacting bills, but it is generally understood that a vast majority of its members are in favor of a progressive educational program for the state.

OFFER STATE BILL ON COLLEGES' BIAS

New York Times

Bipartisan Sponsors Would Let Ives-Quinn Commission Act Against Offenders

ALBANY, March 6—A bi-partisan proposal to clothe the State Commission Against Discrimination, set up by last year's Ives-Quinn Act, with broad powers to proceed against colleges, professional schools and other educational institutions that were found to practice racial and religious discrimination in the admission of students or selection of faculty was studies made by the Legislature today. Jewish Congress.

Its sponsors are Senator Walter J. Mahoney, Republican, of Erie and Assemblyman Bernard Austin, Democrat, of Brooklyn, both of whom were members of the Ives Commission which was instrumental in enacting last year's legislation.

As the Legislature is scheduled to adjourn in less than three weeks, there appears to be little chance that the bill can be adopted at this session.

Under the bill, racial or religious discrimination by educational institutions would be declared unlawful and violators would be subject to various penalties, including the automatic loss of tax exemptions.

In determining whether an educational institution, against which complaint is made, is practicing discrimination, the commission, under the proposed law, would be directed to "take into account all general data, statistical and other, which shows the race, creed, color, ancestry or national origin of the persons who have sought or ob-

tained admission as students or employment as members of the instruction or research staff by the respondent and which thus may tend to prove the existence of a predetermined pattern of admission of students or employment of members of the instruction or research staffs."

Explaining this provision and the need for it, the sponsors said in a sent statement:

"An educational institution could always find an excuse for the rejection of any individual applicant. 'Lack of personality,' for instance, is an unanswerable subjective judgment. The resulting difficulty of proof account for the fact that so few and insignificant complaints have been lodged in the field of employment with the State Commission against Discrimination in the eight months of its existence. The new bill faces the difficulty squarely by permitting the proof of the existence of a 'general policy' or of a 'quota system' or other device. Thur. 3-7-46

"This bill expressly exempts all sectarian schools by permitting them to restrict admission to persons of a given creed. But it would not permit the exclusion by sectarian schools on account of race or color; or the exclusion on account of religion by schools which hold themselves out as non-sectarian." Thur. 3-7-46

St. Louis Mayor Aids Bill on Bias

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Special to the Daily Worker

ST. LOUIS, April 18.—A bill prohibiting race discrimination in city employment will be introduced in the Board of Aldermen here, Mayor Kaufman has notified the St. Louis Fair Employment Practices committee. Fri 4-19-46

The new bill provides penalties of $100 to $500, or imprisonment up to six months, for violations. The FEPC committee has called a conference for May 5 to support the measure and plan a campaign for extending such a law to all businesses as well. The CIO Industrial Union Council has already endorsed the conference.

NAACP Supports Nat'l Health Bill

Daily Worker Atlanta, Ga.

Thurs 4-11-46

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Dr. W. Montague Cobb, prominent Washington medic, will testify for the NAACP before a Senate Education and Labor Committee holding hearings on the National Health Bill in Washington, D. C.

The measures sponsored by Senators Robert F. Wagner, Democrat, New York; James E. Murray, Democrat, Montana, and Representative John B. Dingle, Democrat, Michigan, would authorize appropriations of about $50,000,000 to finance a comprehensive health program, including branches for public health, maternal and child care, care of needy persons, national compulsory health insurance, and grants to states for medical research and education.

DISCRIMINATION

One of the features of the bill will be the provisions that services and facilities are furnished under the plan and shall be available to all mothers and children in the state or locality who elect to benefit in the program, and that there will be no discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and no residence requirements. Thurs 4-11-46

The bill has the full support of the administration behind it. Moreover, the fact that the co-sponsor of this bill, Senator Jas. E. Murray, is chairman of the Education and Labor Committee to which it was referred, practically assures an early hearing on the measure.

No Constitutional Violation

Times

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

An editorial in the May 28 issue of THE NEW YORK TIMES expressed the opinion that the labor draft feature of the President's proposed emergency strike legislation violates the constitutional provision against involuntary servitude. Similar views have been expressed in the Senate and seem to be widely held among the general public. Without going into the question of the wisdom of the proposed legislation, I should like to point out that this view does not seem to be in accord with the construction given to the Thirteenth Amendment by the courts. 6-9-46

The Supreme Court has stated that the Thirteenth Amendment prohibits only "those forms of compulsory labor akin to African slavery which in practical operation would tend to produce like undesirable results." The courts have consistently taken the position that the Thirteenth Amendment was not intended to destroy effective government by depriving it of essential powers and the rule seems well established that essential services for the Government may be compelled in the public interest without violating the Constitution. Familiar instances of this are service in the armed forces, jury service, and attendance as a witness. The Supreme Court also has upheld State statutes requiring all able-bodied men to work on public roads for a specified number of days each year.

It would thus seem to follow that if an emergency exists which would make it a proper function of the Government to operate the railroads or furnish other essential services to the public, qualified persons may be called upon to assist the Government in the discharge of its functions without violation of the Thirteenth Amendment.

WALTER POND.

CAPITOL SPOTLIGHT

By LOUIS LAUTIER

Blow To FEPC

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 8-14-46

The Seventy-ninth Congress, which was anything but distinguished will be remembered for the lethal blow it dealt the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

That blow was the halving of funds necessary for the operation of the agency in the fiscal year 1946 with the proviso that it should wind up its affairs by June 30 last.

With the termination of the wartime agency definitely fixed, efforts to get the Congress to pass a bill creating a permanent agency were frustrated. Southern Democrats filibustered against the bill in the Senate, while its proponents made only feeble efforts to break the filibuster. In the House the Rules Committee refused to give the measure a special rule in order that it might be brought to the floor for a vote. The Congress thus ignored one of the major recommendations of President Truman.

No Poll Tax Bill

The record of the Seventy-ninth Congress also was marked by its failure to enact anti-poll tax legislation. The House passed the bill, but the Senate shunted aside the measure by refusing to limit debate.

The circumstances under which the bill was brought up in the Senate given credence to the charge that Senator Alben W. Barkley, the Majority Leader, made a deal with opponents of the measure.

Senator Wayne Morse, Republican, of Oregon, gave Senators an opportunity to vote for the anti-poll tax bill. Within two hours of the time fixed under a unanimous consent agreement for the Senate to vote on the oil-rich tidelands quit-claim bill and all amendments, Senator Morse offered the poll tax bill as an amendment to that measure. Senator Barkley and Senator Claude Pepper, Democrat, of Florida, one of the proponents of the poll tax bill, joined by Senator White, the Minority Leader, pleaded with Senator Morse to withdraw the amendment. He refused. Senator Barkley then pledged himself to bring up the anti-poll tax bill and made a motion to table the Morse amendment. The Barkley motion was adopted. Daily World

Cloture Filed

Before he made a motion to take up the anti-poll tax bill Senator Barkley circulated a petition to limit debate on that measure and obtained 28 signatures. Immediately after making the motion to take up the bill Senator Barkley filed the cloture petition. Two days later, as required by the rules, the Senate voted on the cloture petition, which failed to get the two-thirds vote necessary for adoption. The Senate went on with other bussiness. Atlanta, Ga

The results of the November elections will not insure passage of legislation to extend suffrage by enactment of an anti-poll tax law, to give equal job opportunties to people regardless of race, color or religion, or to make mob violence a federal offense. If the Republicans win the House, there will be a change of committee chairmen in that body and Southerners will not be able to block as easily legislation especially benefitting colored people. But as long as Senate rules are as they are, enabling opponents of a measure to talk endlessly, FEPC, anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation has little or no chance of passage. Wed. 8-14-46

In the circumstances, when the Eightieth Congress convenes next January 3, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax and all other organizations and people who favor FEPC, anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation should bend all their energies toward getting Senate rules changed so that a majority may bring to a vote any bill it desires after reasonable debate.

Race Discrimination Ban Sought by Solon

The Times-Union Jacksonville, Florida

WASHINGTON, July 31, (UP) Representative A. Clayton Powell (D-NY) today introduced a bill prohibiting racial discrimination in transportation, theaters, hotels, restaurants and other public places.

The bill would make it both a civil and criminal offense to either undertake such discrimination or to aid or incite in it. Thurs. 8-1-46

The maximum criminal penalty would be a fine of $1,000 and one year imprisonment.

The aggrieved person also could sue for $1,000 in a civil action.

The bill would override state laws requiring any form of racial separation or segregation.

Aldermen Introduce Measure to Outlaw Prejudice in Chicago

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 9-14-46

CHICAGO — (ANP) — A measure was introduced to the City Council here recently to make the practice of racial preju- a misdemeanor in Chicago, with penalties ranging up to $500 fine and a year in jail.

The ordinance, presented by the council's two South Side aldermen, William Harvey, second ward, and Oscar DePriest, third ward, also provides that the victim of racial prejudice may obtain damages from the offender ranging from $25 to $500.

New Congress to Get Fair Housing Bill

The Worker New York, N.Y. Sun. 11-24-46

CHICAGO.—A National Housing Fair Practices Act aimed at illegalizing race discrimination in federally financed housing projects, will be introduced in the forthcoming Congress by Rep. William L. Dawson (D-Ill) the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America here.

Dawson, in discussing the proposed bill, stated he is studying a preliminary draft of the measure before announcing the final form of the bill.

The projected National Housing Fair Practices Act, the veterans' officials stated, grew out of a resolution passed by the veterans' organization's national council at a meeting here Sept. 28. The resolution called for congressional action to stop widespread discrimination against "Negro and other minority veterans in federally financed housing."

The resolution contained the following seven points, which UNAVA officials said they hope to see placed in the bill:

1. Make illegal discrimination because of race, creed or color in housing financed in whole or in part by federal funds.

2. Deny federal financial assistance to any public or private housing project or venture, which so discriminates.

3. Deny federal financial assistance to any state or local or corporations housing program from which per-inatory practices.

4. Establish a federal Housing Fair Practices Commission.

5. Give power to this Commission to order withholding of Gov-ernment funds from individuals or corporations guilty of discrim-ination to any builder or financial institution for an housing project which is discriminatory in character.

6. Deny priority assistance to any privately or publicly financed project which so discriminates.

7. Deny FHA mortgage insurance to any builder or financial institution which is discriminatory in character.

2 Democrats Contend Anderson Jumped Gun On Handbook Bill

The Courier Journal Louisville Ky.

1-24-46

Two Jefferson County legislators, Representatives Michael B. Gilligan and B. J. Bonn, both Democrats, were planning to introduce in the General Assembly bills licensing handbooks when Representative Charles W. Anderson, Jr., Negro attorney, "jumped the gun" and presented his measure Wednesday.

While this trio discussed possible amendments to the bill introduced, other lawmakers expressed doubt that enough support could be mustered to steer it through House and Senate. Leon Shaikun, Democratic senator from the 38th District, questioned the constitutionality of Anderson's proposal.

2 Favor Big License Fee.

Gilligan and Bonn favor a higher tax on handbooks, with Gilligan's measure calling for a $1,500 fee and Bonn setting the license cost at $5,000. Both legislators believe a higher fee than the $500 suggested by Anderson would tend to drive many of the "chiselers" out of business, making the policing problem easier.

Bonn said he favored including a provision in the measure prohibiting handbooks from operating in a building where intoxicating beverages were sold. Violators would have their licenses revoked, he explained.

A clause confining the bill to first-class cities should be inserted, as rural areas are not troubled with handbooks on a scale comparable to larger cities, Bonn added. "If this amendment was made, the bill would stand a better chance of passing," he continued.

Would Ban Street-Level Books.

Fundamentally, Gilligan's proposal embodied the same ideas included in Bonn's, but Gilligan included a point requiring all handbooks to be operated above street level. This would eliminate them from drugstores, barbershops, newsstands and other places where they bother non-patrons, Gilligan explained.

Gilligan favored earmarking all funds derived from a handbook bill for the Welfare Department. "Heaven knows, they need all the help they can get," he remarked.

He said he had his bill ready when Anderson presented his, but illness prevented him from introducing it. He will introduce it this week, he added.

Gilligan Says Trade Favorable.

Gilligan revealed that he had approached "bookies" in Louisville about a bill regulating handbooks, and they indicated a desire to pay a license. "They feel it would eliminate some chiselers in their field and be less botheresome than having to deal with politicians and police," he reported.

1-27-46

All three of the legislators included a clause in their proposals that would require handbook operators to post a bond guaranteeing good conduct in their places and insuring pay-offs.

In questioning the constitutionality of a bill regulating handbooks, Shaikun cited the decision of the Court of Appeals in voting 4 to 3 on the legality of pari-mutuel wagering. There is still question among lawyers concerning the legality of this form of betting, he explained.

Doubts Anderson Bill to Pass.

Anderson's bill stands little chance of passing in the form introduced in the Legislature last week, Shaikun said. Any bill to be successful will have to set a high license fee and create a board to regulate handbooks similar to the Alcohol Beverage Control Board, he added.

"Most of the legislators from rural areas would be reluctant to vote on any measure legalizing betting in the entire state," he predicted. It might possibly become a law if a local option clause were inserted similar to that applied to liquor, he added.

Ralph G. Stone, Democratic representative from the 39th District, declared the chances of the bill passing are remote, although it has much support in Louisville. Support might be gained in the Covington and Lexington areas, but rural lawmakers would not favor it, he said. Stone refused to commit himself on the measure.

1-27-46

Anderson Is Optimistic.

In spite of the attitude of his colleagues in the General Assembly, Anderson was optimistic about the possibilities of his bill. He said he had conferred with men from the Covington and Lexington sections, and he believed the proposal had a 50-50 chance of passing.

"Many legislators feel this a step in the right direction, but will not support the bill because of fear of the voters at home," he stated. They are afraid church and reform groups would charge them with legalizing gambling, he added.

"If the bill is acted on favorably in committee I plan to make some changes, including raising the fee to at least $1,000," Anderson continued.

1-27-46

Gambling-Trial Aide Favorable

W. A. Armstrong, attorney, who was assistant to the Commonwealth's attorney in recent gambling trials in Criminal Court here, wrote Anderson a letter expressing himself in favor of the bill. He wrote he was for such legislation only if the license was set at $2,500 and the bond was high enough to guarantee compliance with the law.

"The higher fee would do away with small-fry operators who prey on 25 and 50-cent bettors and juveniles," he stated.

Vincent J. Hargadon, Democratic senator, joined Shaikun in questioning the legality of such a bill. He said he hadn't had much chance to discuss it with other legislators but planned to approach some of his colleagues for opinions this week. The bill might gain considerable support in areas where heavy gambling is centered and where officials want the condition regulated, he continued.

FEPC and the Poll Tax

Richmond, Va.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Of all the important bills on which Congress has stalled so long, to choose FEPC to toss before those reactionary Southerners whose power there so much exceeds their wisdom was certainly the worst fumble in its history, giving the filibuster its one chance of survival.

It is the one bill for which their opposition has any justification, an unworkable, mischievous bill, as represented to us, that would inevitably be a setback to racial relations anywhere in the United States, but particularly to the great progress made in recent years between Southern whites and Negroes.

2-18-46

Legislation is no solution. The bill would fail of its declared purpose as the prohibition legislation did, and for the same reason—it impinges on the personal, on free opinion. Its extraordinary powers of enforcement are calculated to disrupt business, creating resentment in both parties to thousands of contracts, big and little; to corrupt the courts, and to produce the very evils it professes to cure, as with prohibition.

This bill was never set clearly before the people, and neither party fought for it; both played to the galleries. Its getting past Senator Byrd, chairman of the Rules Committee, to the floor of the Senate was no accident, but is explained by the fact that Southerners who had begun to realize the truth that we are victims of the poll tax, have now been roused by this bill to stronger support of it.

The people of the South, including the Negro, have lost again, lost doubly; freedom from the poll tax recedes, and the filibuster becomes established procdure.

Nobody will stop the demagogues.

2-18-46

Why does not Congress honestly face the truth, that the Federal government cannot be any freer than Virginia's until the poll tax ceases to hold the balance of power there?

ELIZABETH W. STEPTOE.
Charlottesville.

Mrs. Luce Backs Pay Equality

New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31 (U.P.)—Representative Clare Booth Luce of Connecticut introduced a bill today to establish the principle of equal pay for equal work regardless of an employee's sex or color. Mrs. Luce's bill would put Congress on record as believing that wage differentials in industry based on sex or color were "prejudicial to common welfare and without basis in equity or in law or economics."

Fare Safeguard Bill By Davis, Cacchione

Daily Worker New York

1-23-46

By HARRY RAYMOND

City Councilmen Benjamin J. Davis and Peter V. Cacchione, Communists, yesterday introduced joint legislation to make mandatory a public referendum on any bills to increase transit fares.

Hugh Quinn, Queens Democrat previously had called on the Board of Estimate to fix transit fare at 8 cents.

Councilmen Michael J. Quill and Eugene P. Connolly, Laborite, joined with Davis and Cacchione in demanding a Council probe of Consolidated's electric rates.

Other measures, sent to committee, were:

- A bill by Connolly to add to the city charter guarantees against discrimination and protection for city employes in the right of organization.

1-23-46

- A resolution by Davis and Cacchione supporting state measures for financial aid to a state university.
- Resolutions by Davis for appointment of a Negro to the Board of Education, for Feb. 12 as Negro History Week, for Board of Education facilities for war veterans, and for adoption of a State GI Bill of Rights.
- A resolution by Cacchione and Davis for use of state surpluus for city subway construction.
- Resolutions by Cacchione calling for rehabilitation of the Coney Island Creek area, for construction of a subway spur to the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and for replacing the Norton Point Trolley Line with bus transportation.
- Bills by Quill for overtime pay to city employes, for the city to supply uniforms to all uniformed city workers, and to permit temporary patrolmen to become full-fledged members of the Police Department.
- A resolution by Councilman Councilmen Earle, Isaacs and Connolly urging no increase in the price of milk.

Joseph J. Hennessey, retired letter carrier, was named in place of L. Garry Clemente, Democrat from Queens, who was elected but is still in military service.

Former Assemblyman Maurice E. Downing was named to replace William A. Carroll, Manhattan Democrat, who resigned to be deputy city clerk.

Housing, Rules and Buildings Committee sessions will be held Friday.

1-23-46

Next full Council session will be Jan. 29.

Kentucky: Bill Seeks Entrance of Negroes to Grad Schools

came Gettysburg, Pa.

LOUISVILLE—(ANP)—Charles W. Anderson Jr., Louisville attorney and member of the Kentucky Legislature, renewed his fight this week for the admission of Negro students to the University of Kentucky of Louisville upon a graduate and professional level.

Mr. Anderson's bill is for the GRADUATES

purpose of repealing, in part, Kentucky's separate school law and permit Negro students to attend the yard of the professional schools at colleges in Kentucky.

In the 1944 session of the General Assembly he sponsored a similar bill, which passed the Lower House by a vote of 41 to 40, but was defeated in the State Senate when the rules committee failed to change institutions at the present time.

Mr. Anderson stated that the bill introduced by him has the support of the Kentucky Negro Educational Association, Inc., branches of the NAACP, Kentucky, President R. B. Atwood, Kentucky State College; President H. C. Russell, West Kentucky Vocational School; and the National Bar Association, of which he is a former president, Jan. 27, 1939, a motion for cloture against the filibustering of the anti-lynching bill, submitted by Senator Matthew Neely of West Virginia, was defeated, 51 to 37. In the same Congress of Congress a motion for cloture on the anti-poll tax filibuster was introduced by Senator Alben B. Barkley of Kentucky and defeated 41 to 37; in the 78th Congress on May 15, 1944, the motion to limit debate by cloture on the anti-poll tax bill, introduced by Senator Barkley, was defeated by a vote of 44 to 36.

Last 4 Cloture Votes On Negro Bills

Gettysburg, Pa.

WASHINGTON—(ANP) — The last four votes for cloture in the United States senate were on legislation aimed to aid or protect

Bill Would Ban "Quota System"

Afro American Baltimore, Md. Sat.

ALBANY, N.Y.—A new method of combating racial and religious discrimination in educational institutions was proposed on Mar. 6 in a bill presented to the Legislature which would permit proof of the existence of a "general policy" or "quota system" in proceedings before the State Commission Against Discrimination.

Automatic loss of tax exemption would result from adverse rulings by the commission. 3-16-46

The bill was introduced as a bipartisan measure by Senator Walter J. Malhoney, Buffalo Republican, and Assemblyman Bernard Austin, Brooklyn Democrat, who were senior legislative members of the Ives commisison which drafted the 1945 Ives-Quinn act against discrimination in employment. 3-16-46

Emphasis on Groups

It is concerned primarily with the treatment of groups rather than with single individuals, and "recognizes that discrimination can be effectively fought only if it is treated as a pattern of behavior rather than as a series of disconnected individual acts."

"An educational institution," said the sponsors, "could always find an excuse for the rejection of any individual applicant. 'Lack of personality,' for instance, is an unanswerable subjective judgment. 3-16-46

Evidence by Data

"The resulting difficulties, too, account for the fact that so few and insignificant complaints have been lodged in the field of employment with the SCAD in the eight months of its existence."

They said the bill would expressly direct the commission to consider "all general data, statistical or otherwise, which show the race, creed, color, ancestry or national origin of persons admitted or rejected by schools, thus proving existence of a pre-determined pattern of admission.

Sectarian Schools

The bill specifically exempts all sectarian schools by permitting them to restrict their admissions to persons of a given creed.

It would not, however, permit sectarian schools to exclude applicants on account of race or color, or permit schools which hold themselves as non-sectarian to exclude applicants on account of religion.

N.Y. Bill Offered on College Bias

Afro American Baltimore, Md.

ALBANY, N. Y.—A proposal to give the State Commission Against Discrimination power to act against colleges, professional schools and other institutions practicing discrimination was submitted to the Legislature today.

According to its sponsors, Walter J. Mahoney, republican, and Assemblyman Barnard Austin, Democrat, discriminating institutions would be declared unlawful and subject to various penalties, including the automatic loss of tax exemptions. 3-16-46

The bill would exempt all sectarian schools by permitting them to restrict admission to persons of given creed, but it would not permit the exclusion on account of religion in non-sectarian schools.

New Jim Crow Bus Law For Mississippi

Chicago Defender

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) — Among the many bills put into the legislative hopper of the 1946 session of the Mississippi State legislature is one to require bus companies to have separate buses on inter-city lines for Negro and white passengers. Mar. 23-46

It appears doubtful that the present session will get around to consideration of the bill because of the press of more "timely" legislation.

7 Bills Offered to End Racial Discrimination

Courier Journal Louisville, Ky.

Louisville's Negro Representative Anderson Wants Commission Made Permanent

2-2-41

By ROBERT C. DOTY

The Courier-Journal Frankfort Bureau.

Frankfort, Ky., Feb. 1.—An act to create a permanent Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs and six other measures embodying recommendations of the temporary group of that name seeking to eliminate racial discrimination were introduced in the House of Representatives today by Representative Charles W. Anderson, Jr., Louisville Republican and only Negro legislator.

Anderson's other bills called for:

1. Expansion of courses of study at the Kentucky State College for Negroes, provision for financing out-of-state study for Negroes barred by law from Kentucky institutions which offer the courses desired and admission of Negroes to State graduate and professional schools in courses not offered by the College for Negroes.

Would Prohibit Discrimination.

2. Prohibition against discrimination against Negro physicians, nurses and patients in public hospitals.

3. Prohibition against discrimination against Negro citizens in stores.

4. Provision that the State Department of Education shall not approve or accredit as individual schools the separate common schools of any school district and requiring that all schools in one district, both white and Negro, must be accredited together, thus forcing districts containing Negro schools to raise their standards.

5. Employment of a full-time assistant supervisor of Negro education, a Negro qualified in the field of Negro education, by the State Board of Education.

6. Removal of the provision restricting membership on the Kentucky Aeronautics Commission to white persons.

Would Make Group Permanent.

The commission bill would give permanent status to the group of six Negroes and six white persons appointed by Governor Simeon Willis 16 months ago to study and report on "economic, educational, housing, health and other needs of the Negro citizens of Kentucky." 2-2-46

The commission's report in December listed 27 specific recommendations seeking to improve the status of Negroes in the fields studied, and today's bills bring to nine the number of recommendations presented to the General Assembly. Anderson previously introduced measures to prohibit discrimination for race or color by contractors doing business with the State and putting domestic servants and farm laborers under provisions of the State Wage and Hour Law. These bills are now under consideration by the House Labor Committee, which is expected to report them out next week.

The bill calls for the Governor to appoint again the 12-member commission, divided equally by race, with one member of each race as chairman and cochairman and with one member of each race qualified in the fields of education, civil affairs, housing and social welfare, economic affairs and health. The members would serve for four years beginning July 1, 1946, without compensation other than reimbursement for travel expenses.

An appropriation of $7,500 a year is provided for the hiring of research assistants and clerical workers to aid the commission in the preparation of reports and recommendations to the Governor.

In the field of higher education Anderson's second bill would provide for a survey of the facilities, departments of study and curricula at the Kentucky State College for Negroes here with a view to expanding the college program "so that the college will be enabled to do work such as is done in other educational institutions of corresponding rank and kind."

Continues Scholarships.

Pending accomplishment of such an expansion, the bill calls for continuance of out-of-state scholarships for Negroes desiring education not offered at the college, but reduces the residence requirement from five to one year, increases the maximum yearly grant from $175 to $350 and provides that the grants shall continue for a sufficient length of time to permit completion of the course. 2-2-46

Finally, it is provided that, beginning July 1, 1947, any Negro qualified to take graduate or professional work not available at the Negro college may take such courses at "any educational institution in this state."

With reference to medical services, another bill provides that no physician or nurse shall, on account of race, be denied the right to attend his patients in any hospital in the state; that no person shall be discriminated against on account of race in admission to and service in State hospitals; and that no person may be denied the right to receive postgraduate training in medicine, surgery or nursing in hospitals because of color; and that the same provisions should be observed by the Federal Government in the hospitalization and medical treatment of war veterans in Kentucky. Penalty for violation of the act was set at a fine of $50 to $500.

Although the bill, as drawn at present, makes no distinction between public and private institutions, Anderson said it was intended to apply only to the former.

Bill to Outlaw Job Bias Utility Jobs Before Solons

Sat. 3-2-46

ALBANY, March 1. — The long drawn out battle against job discrimination by public utilities is once again before the State Legislature.

Sen. Louis L. Friedman, Brooklyn Democrat, has introduced an amendment so the courts can enforce a 1933 law.

The amendment was prompted by the refusal of Kings County Judge Samuel H. Liebowitz to order a Grand Jury investigation into charges against three Brooklyn utilities.

Judge Liebowitz refused on the ground that it was virtually impossible to prove discrimination sponsors as a result of his failure to make it enforceable. His criticism was directed at both the law and the State FEPC law passed last year.

The Friedman measure is one of several important anti-discrimination proposals. Others include the Falk-Jack bills against restrictive covenants in housing, the Friedman-Pino bills removing tax exemption for educational and religious institutions that discriminated and the Wachtel amendment to the State FEPC law allowing anyone to file complaints of job discrimination instead of only the "aggrieved person."

There are definite signs, however, that the Dewey Administration has turned thumbs down on all anti-discrimination proposals this year, and that they can be passed only by an all-out public fight.

Dewey has been in hot water with his closest GOP associates and sponsors as a result of his failure to block passage of the State FEPC bill last year. He has been mending his fences with them ever since and is expected to avoid any further action that might anger them.

Bill Forbids Changes To Segregate Pupils

Sat. 3-2-46

Albany, N. Y., March 19 (AP)—Creation or alteration of school districts to segregate pupils of one race or religion in one school is prohibited under terms of a bill passed unanimously today by the Assembly. 3-20-46

Introduced by Assemblyman Hulan E. Jack, New York City Democrat, the measure prohibits continuation of school districts for the purpose of maintaining a predominance of pupils of one race or religion. It was sent to the Senate.

Political Trick Unmasked

Afro American Baltimore, Md.

One of the slickest political tricks of recent years was uncovered in the Senate the other day in an amendment which would revise the 14th Amendment by excluding aliens from the population counts by which members of the House of Representatives are apportioned.

The maneuver, almost unnoticed and already approved without opposition by the Senate Judiciary Committee, has been pushed by legislators from rural areas which would stand to gain representation should the measure be passed by Congress and then approved by three-fourths of the State legislatures.

Sat 2-23-46

Heavily populated Northern States, such as New York, New Jersey and Michigan, with a higher percentage of aliens would lose representation while the South gained. Here is an attempt to reduce the strength of metropolitan areas where labor is strong. It is obviously unfair.

If aliens are excluded in the North, how about excluding the thousands of disfranchised colored Americans in the South upon whose backs the Bilbos, Rankins and Eastlands have climbed to power?

When the 14th Amendment was written, the word "persons" was used specifically instead of "citizens" to give protection to colored people. Yet, it is a well-known fact that while these people are counted in the census for the purpose of determining Congressional representation, many of them, by various discriminatory devices, are prevented from casting a ballot in the South.

Authored by Senator Arthur Capper (R., Kans.) the amendment has all of the earmarks of Southern dictatorship. Congress should wisely reject it.

45b 1946

General

Negroes Hit GOP Silence On Their Needs

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
Mon. 12-9-46

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8.—Failure of the Republican leadership to include FEPC, anti-lynch and anti-poll tax legislation in its program for Congress has caused sharp resentment in Negro circles here.

The December issue of the **Republican News**, national GOP organ, emphasizes a three-point legislative program, including tax cuts, cutting out social services through reduction of government expenditures, and anti-labor legislation.

In a letter to GOP chairman B. Carroll Reece, Leslie Perry, of the NAACP Washington office, criticized the omission of the three issues concerned with advancing democracy, as well as of federal aid to education.

"The wave of mob violence which has shocked decent people all over the ever-mounting employment discrimination against Negroes and other minorities, the brazen disenfranchisement of hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the South and the low state of educational opportunity for children in certain sections of the country, make it imperative that the correction of these evils be given top priority by the 80th Congress," Perry wrote Reece.

Folsom Becomes 43rd Head Of State Jan. 20

The News

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 25—James E. Folsom will become Alabama's 43rd governor at noon Jan. 20 during a brief ceremony in front of the Dexter Avenue entrance to the capitol, after a parade in which school students from each of the 67 counties are expected to participate. Birmingham, Ala.

As most of Alabama's governors since 1865 have done, the six-foot, eight-inch chief executive will receive the oath of office while standing on or near the spot where Jefferson Davis stood when he took the oath as president of the Confederacy. Mon. 11-25-46

Chief Justice Lucien D. Gardner will administer the oath following invocation by Folsom's pastor, Dr. J. E. Marion, of the First Baptist Church of Cullman, and the newly installed governor will deliver his inaugural message.

From 9 a.m. until midnight, the inaugural day is to be a round of festivities.

The inaugural parade will form at 9 a.m., and the new governor is expected to follow tradition by riding up Dexter Avenue, in full dress and top hat with the retiring governor, Chauncey Sparks, at the head of the procession.

* * *

UPON REACHING the Capitol Folsom will take his position in the reviewing stand as a lengthy procession of bands, floats and military units passes.

The City of Montgomery will play host to the new governor. Final plans for the inaugural are being worked out by Mayor John L. Goodwyn, and Associate City Commissioners William P. Screws and Willie A. Gayle.

Richard T. Rives, well known Montgomery attorney, will be master of ceremonies.

A short while before Gov.-Elect Folsom takes the oath of office, brief inaugural ceremonies will be held in the Senate chamber for the new lieutenant governor, J. C. Inzer, of Gadsden. Chief Justice Gardner will administer the oath to the Senate's new presiding officer.

Following the inaugural address by the incoming governor, both Folsom and Inzer are to be on hand during an open house reception in the governor's offices, between 1:30 and 3:30 p.m.

A second open house reception will take place at the executive mansion between 3 and 5 p.m.

* * *

TWO DANCES will be features of inaugural night. A formal inaugural ball will take place in Hangar 6 at Maxwell Field, between 9 p.m. and 1 a.m., and a street dance will be staged on spacious Dexter Avenue.

Frank Boswell, a member of the inaugural executive committee, along with Mayor Goodwyn, John P. Kohn, Jr., Gould Beech and Melvin Dawkins, declared today that the official program of the inauguration will be presented in souvenir booklet form.

Every county in the state, Mr. Boswell declared, is expected to present a float, with high school students arranging and designing them. City schools, he declared, will furnish bands. In cases where there is more than one high school in a county, the students will cooperate in presenting joint floats.

* * *

THE THEME OF the inauguration, declared Mr. Boswell, will stress the need for greater educational opportunities.

Arrangements are being completed, he said, to take care of as many school children from other counties as care to attend the inauguration.

Members of the inaugural ceremony include Commissioner Screws, chairman; Howard H. Thames, vice chairman; Howard H. Johnson, L. L. Eads, Damon Scott, D. T. Lowe, L. H. Brassell, Sam Ray, Nix Lane, Carl Lonnigan, Alfred Edgar, Leslie Gwaltney, Jr., B. T. Bradley, J. C. Smith and Dr. L. E. Barton, all of Montgomery.

Commissioner Gayle and W. Cleve Stokes are chairman and vice chairman, respectively, of the inaugural entertainment committee.

Details of the inaugural parade are being worked out by Dr. Austin Meadows and Col. Millard Wescott, chairman and vice chairman, respectively, of the inaugural parade committee.

* * *

OTHER COMMITTEES are headed as follows:

Inaugural publicity committee, Ellis Stewart, chairman, and Charles G. Dobbins, vice chairman; decoration committee, Haygood Paterson, chairman, and T. N. Brown, vice chairman; transportation committee, Van Burer Gilbert, chairman, and R. F. Alley, vice chairman; housing committee, Roy E. Nolen, Jr., chairman, and Alex Kaufman, vice chairman; ball committee, Col. Everett Jackson, chairman, and Col. W. E. Covington, vice chairman; reception committee, Mrs. Francis Johns, chairman, and Mrs. Roy L. Nolen, vice chairman.

Most of the expense of the inauguration will be paid by the City of Montgomery.

Gov. Sparks, however, recently drew a warrant for $5,000, payable to Building Supt. Thames, toward constructing an inaugural reviewing stand and providing decorations. Thames has handled the capitol details during several administrations. He said he expected to use about $3,000 and to return the balance to the state.

EDITOR'S DIGEST

By ROBERT DURR

Governor-Elect Folsom Is Man Of Destiny

The Weekly Review
Birmingham, Ala.
Sat. 11-30-46

For quite some time, I have wanted to have a heart to heart talk with Governor-Elect James Folsom, of Alabama, to thank him personally for having been big enough not to inject the race issue into his campaign for the high office to which he has been elected, and let him in on the "as is" situation in the state, insofar as Alabama's largest minority in concern from the standpoint of ordinary folk like myself.

Well he scheduled me for a conference during the past week. We did have that heart to heart talk. I found that the name "Big Jim Folsom" is just about the only way you can describe Mr. Folsom. And I don't mean physically either. Just as sure as I am black and forty-seven, Mr. Folsom is going to prove to be the greatest governor Alabama has had in many a moon. He has a heart. He believes in the Golden Rule. He is determined to be the governor of all the people. He will insofar as he is able, protect all the people from any of the people who might get the idea of running over some other people, be they black or white, or what have you.

Of course, you know that when you run across a man who likes children, I think we have something there. In the course of our talk, he asked me how many children I had, and when given the number, he said, "You are a man after my own heart". I gathered, he is one of the rare human beings who recognizes that if a man, state or nation, has any immortality, it is in their children. I believe Mr. Folsom will strive to put a lot of money into the very important business of educating the children of Alabama, in order that they may go forth, and build a better Alabama.

I think it most fortunate from the standpoint of the people of Alabama that, Mr. Folsom was elected. Frankly, I think his election will mean more to the state, its people, and the entire South for that matter, than the election of any of he several others who held forth for the office to which Mr. Folsom will ascend on January 20th. Mr. Folsom has a heart. He comes from he people and he is peculiarly equipped to understand—really understand—and to appreciate what government ought mean to the least among the people. This man has not only a heart, but he has convictions. Believe it or not, on vital things, we see eye to eye. Suffice to say I feel much better after having talked with our next governor. I wanted to have this talk with him, because many of us had become greatly perturbed over the terrific drives against our people. Many of us know, that many laws, have been enacted in Alabama, to make it "legal" to assure the existence of the Negro for the state, and white supremacists for exploitation, oppression, humiliation, degradation, and destruction. And without sharing in the making and administration of the laws under which we live, even on the advisory level, we have known that unless the people who are elected to high office are determined to do what's right instead of hiding behind the against God-Negro laws to facilitate total economic strangulation of minorities within the state, we face an impossible and intolerable stuation in Alabama.

I informed Mr. Folsom that, my purpose in coming to see him in Cullman, was two-fold, (1 to express appreciation and (2) to arrange for a meeting with the members of Alabama Press Association ,to lay before him, some suggestions on matters pertaining to civil liberties, the ballot, labor, hospitalization, education, health, housing, and integration. Our committee will as an instrument and voice of the people, collect and lay before Mr. Flosom, our thinking on these matters, after his inauguration. He has asked that I do that. Any reader having any suggestions you would like included in our memorandum to be left with Mr. Folsom, is urged to write same out and forward to Yours Truly, for consideration by the ANA committee, for presentation to the governor.

As Governor of All the people of Alabama, Mr. Folsom will be pleased to see us represented at and in the Inauguration Parade Montgomery, on January 20th. And I think we should be there that day, like white on rice. This is the one time the great bands of A & M, Alabama State Teachers College, Tuskegee Institute, Parker, Rosedale, Fairfield bands and those of every other college, and high school in the state should be there, strutting their stuff with bells on. In the Inauguration Parade, every outstanding fraternal, church, civic and professional organization in the state should have representation. The people ought really be on parade that day, because the peoples man is going to take his scrub brush and bucket into the capitol of Alabama.

"Big Jim" Folsom is what the doctor ordered. I am sure he is headed for big places in the nation's affairs. Thats a lot for me to say. I said it when I first saw Willkie. I was right. My guess about Dewey was right too. Under our next governor, Alabama can go forward by going forward. As she goes forward, she can drag the South forward with her. Failure in Alabama affects the nation and the world. The Weekly Review

Governor-Elect Folsom and I, talked about the so-called race problem. He understands it better than most Alabamians I have talked to. That's saying a lot. One distinct advantage he has over a lot of people I have talked with is that, he does not have as much to unlearn and he aims to learn by talking with the leaders of our people in all walks of life, all over the state. And I think the smallest man in the state, be he white or black, could talk with Mr. Folsom. He is just that big. A man who is willing to listen to and talk with the people, gets to hear the voice of God. Birmingham, Ala.

Your next Governor of Alabama is a man of destiny. He is not going to let you run over anybody, and he is not going to let anybody run over you, and he will do his best to see that you get what is yours, under the Constitution of the United States of America—that you can be sure of, for the next four years, insofar as it is possible for Governor Folsom to assure as Chief Executive of the State of Alabama. Sat. 11-30-46

45c 1946 Alabara (Chauncey Sparks)

Sparks, Folsom In Newslight

News Birmingham Alabama

Former Says He Is Definitely Through With Politics; Latter Promises No Wholesale Purge

Saturday 7-20-46

MONTGOMERY, Ala., July 20—(AP)—Gov. Sparks' announcement that he was retiring from politics when his term expires in January and a visit by Gov.-Nominate James E. Folsom highlighted capitol activities during the last week.

"I do not plan to be a candidate for any office," Gov. Sparks said yesterday, "and I am looking forward with some degree of pleasure to laying down the responsibilities of the governorship."

7-20-46

The state's chief executive, who is 61, said he did not believe he would feel like undertaking another statewide campaign. A veteran legislator before he was elected to the governorship four years ago, Sparks said he planned to return to his Eufaula home to dabble at banking and farming, and practice some law on the side.

7-20-46

Alabama's governors are barred by the state constitution from running for the U. S. Senate or a state office for one year after expiration of the term for which they are elected.

News

In another development, the governor was quoted by The Montgomery Advertiser as saying that a "white party" and a "black party" should never be allowed to exist in Alabama or the South.

The paper quoted the executive as saying in an address yesterday before the Montgomery Council of Federal and State Agencies:

Saturday 7-20-46

"WE NEED HAVE NO FEAR because certain candidates have recently been elected in neighboring states and no state has ever been ruined because of the election of any individual.

7-20-46

"Perhaps it is the best thing that could happen to us, for we have been traveling too fast, in a political sense. It is time to put on the brakes, slow down and stop, look and listen."

News

The article said he called for the South to practice a "realistic tolerance" under which white and Negro would be allowed the privilege of voting when they have become sufficiently educated and properly qualified under election statutes.

To state employes generally the best news of the week was the governor-nominate's declaration that, despite his campaign talk of using his "suds bucket and mop" to clean up the capitol, he does not intend a wholesale purge of non policy-making employes or junking the state merit system.

Non policy makers who have been doing their work satisfactorily and who have not engaged in political activities, he said, need not fear for their jobs.

"I not only want them to stay, but I will insist on it," Folsom said in a press conference. "In addition I hope to make it more attractive for them to stay by raising salaries in the lower wage brackets to keep up with the cost of living."

* * *

THE GOVERNOR-DESIGNATE left a trail of blushing stenographers and other women employes, kissing them right and left on his way in to confer with Gov. Chauncey Sparks and when leaving to start back to his Cullman home.

He said he plans to accept Gov. Sparks offer of an office in the State Capitol which he indicated he might open in September.

News from most state offices was sparse with hot weather and vacations bringing on the annual mid-Summer lull in state government affairs.

Finance Director Hayse Tucker released a financial statement in which he pointed out that some $80,000,000 now listed on the state treasurer's books is tied up in various ways to make it unavailable for general use.

He said a balance of $53,000,000 was shown as cash on hand as of June 1 and $24,417,000 represented sinking funds not included in the total figure.

* * *

THE STATEMENT LISTED $26,586,748 as "necessary for working capital and encumbered funds due to purchases having been authorized." The other funds are earmarked for various purposes or are held in trust for state agencies or departments.

Gov. Sparks wired members of Alabama's congressional delegation to urge support for House Bill 6952 which would allocate federal funds for construction of dormitories, classrooms and laboratories at institutions of higher learning.

Many state officials joined the State Guard encampment at Dauphin Island, near Mobile, to participate in a three-week schedule of military training.

Although the State Public Service Commission called off all hearings this month in transportation cases, Western Union Telegraph Company requested and was granted a 10 per cent increase in intrastate rates.

The increase was authorized for one year effective today.

45c 1946

California

Woman Graduate Of Howard University Gets High Position

Nashville Globe
Nashville, Tennessee
1-18-46

Washington, D. C.—Pauli Murray, LL. D., cum laude 1944, was sworn in as Deputy Attorney General of the State of California on January 2, 1946.

Miss Murray spent the academic year 1944-45 at the University of California School of Jurisprudence where she earned her Master's degree in law. Her thesis entitled "The Right to Equal Opportunity in Employment" was published as a leading article in the California Law Review of September, 1945.

Miss Murray was admitted to the bar of the State of California in October, 1945 on motion of Attorney General Robert Kenny, to whose staff she has now been appointed. Miss Murray is the first Negro to serve as a Deputy Attorney General in California. 1-18-46

The appointment was sanctioned by Gov. Earl Warren, a Republican.

Californians Named To Important Posts

Defender
Chicago, Ill. Sat. 8-31-46

CALIFORNIA — Two Negroes were named last week to important posts here by Gov. Earl Warren.

Walter Gordon, outstanding Negro leader and attorney was appointed chairman of the state parole board. Norman O. Houston was named the first Negro to serve on the state boxing commission.

APPOINTED TO POLICE BOARD OF NATION'S FIFTH RANKING CITY

St. Louis Missouri
Sat. 8-17-46

Los. Angeles Mayor Names Att'y

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 12—(PPS)—This city set something of a precedent during the week when a Negro, Attorney Charles Matthews, 39-year-old former deputy district attorney of Los Angeles county, was appointed to the five-man police commission by Mayor Fletcher Bowron.

Ironically Matthews was named to succeed Van M. Griffith, the commissioner who occasioned the entire shuffle by his battles with the mayor stretching over the last several months.

The appointment of Matthews, subject to approval by the City council, is a signal victory for numerous citizens organizations of the community who have waged a long battle for representation in the city government and particularly the police commission. Sat. 8-16-46

Matthews, a graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, served as a deputy district attorney for this county from 1931-45. He was appointed to this post to succeed Leon Whittaker, first Negro to hold the post, after the death of the latter.

Matthews resigned two years ago on the grounds that the office offered no chance for promotion. He is a registered Republican.

45c 1946 California (Helen Gahagan Douglas)

Congresswoman Douglass Pleads For Equality, Regardless of Race

Journal & Guide Sat 2-23-46

Norfolk, Va.

NORFOLK — Equal opportunity for all, irrespective of race, creed or color, to advance according to ability, was reaffirmed as the very essential of democracy by Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas of California, addressing an audience of several hundred colored and white persons in the auditorium of Blair Junior High School Sunday night.

ALL BROTHERS

Congresswoman Douglas, who appeared here under auspices of the Norfolk Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation, declared "We are all brothers, and equality for all must be practiced even in the market places."

She envisioned a world in which people shall come first, that the principle of human brotherhood shall transcend the motives of profits or politics. In this atomic age, "our only hope is international cooperation of an unprecedented kind," Mrs. Douglas said. S-2-23-46

MUST SHED PREJUDICES

"We must get rid of our old prejudices, and our new prejudices," she observed.

"We are the most powerful nation on earth. We have the greatest natural resources, the greatest force of skilled labor. We ate better even during the war than ever before. Yet none of these is the greatest of our assets. The greatest of our assets is freedom. And our freedom rests on the equality of man," Mrs. Douglas asserted.

"We have just emerged from the greatest of wars. That was fought between the forces that believed in the equality of men. We did not fight to save democracy all over the world. We fought to keep from becoming slaves, and for no other reason, for that is what we would have become had the forces of oppression won. We won the shooting war but the psychological war is still with us."

ATOMIC POWER

The Congresswoman said that scientists are coming and going to and from Washington "to save us" from the frightful potentialities of the atomic power, and declared that our first and compelling duty is harness the "power within us. That is far more important than to harness atomic power."

Congresswoman Gives Views On World Politics

45c Calif.

Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas of California, right, conversing with Mrs. Vivian C. Mason, president of the Norfolk Women's Council on Interracial Cooperation in an anteroom of Blair Junior High School Sunday night just prior to delivering her address there. Clifton L. Williams, city editor of the Journal and Guide, is taking notes on the conversation in which the Congresswoman gave her views on the place of women in world politics.

Helen Douglas Advises:

Elect Progressives To Pass Lynch Bill

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 9-28-46

EDITOR'S NOTE—The Courier has asked Mrs. Douglas, running for re-election on the Democratic ticket to comment on the question: "Will the next Congress pass an anti-lynching bill?" Next week we will publish the comment of Frederick M. Roberts, Republican opponent, on the same question.

By HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS
(Representative, Fourteenth California District)

I was asked a straightforward question, "Will the next Congress enact an anti-lynching law?"

I wish the answer could be as straightforward as the question. I wish I could say "yes," and let it go at that. But I cannot.

The Eightieth Congress will enact an anti-lynching law ONLY if the people of the United States send the proper Representatives to Washington. Sat. 9-28-46

MUST ELECT PROGRESSIVES

The Eightieth Congress will not enact an anti-lynching law if the people of the United States, in this November's election, choose the wrong type of Representatives.

One of the first bills before the last Congress was continuation of the House Un-American Activities Committee—the group known previously as the Dies Committee. It goes without saying that the progressive elements in Congress—both Democratic and Republican—

THERE MUST BE NO LYNCHING

I have seen reports that lynching has decreased in the United States. Such statistics are meaningless to a discussion of a bill to prevent lynching. There must be no lynching.

So long as one American citizen is killed by self-appointed vigilantes, there can be no complete democracy in the United States.

So long as one American citizen is killed because of the pigmentation of his skin, there can be no complete democracy in the United States. The Courier

So long as one American citizen is killed because of his beliefs, there can be no complete democracy in the United States.

Certainly democracy is incomplete where men and women are high-handedly maltreated and assaulted by skulking sadists disdainful of the law.

As Representative of the Fourteenth California District, I assure the readers of The Pittsburgh Courier that the California delegation will, with only one or two exceptions, support anti-lynching legislation, and it will support anti-poll tax legislation. These matters are not even controversial in our delegation. But there are other delegations in the United States that will either fight against such legislation or, at best, whose members will divide their votes. It is these delegations which definitely will need laundering this coming November.

A BIG "IF"

In the Seventy-ninth Congress I introduced both an FEPC bill and a anti-poll tax bill. I hardly have to state that neither became law. Nor do I have to tell why.

Unless the iniquitous conspiracy between the "white supremacy" voted against continuing this witch-hunting committee. More than 180 votes lined up against it.

If the people of the United States re-elect these 180 Representatives without changing the rest of the House, it is safe to say that no anti-lynching bill will be enacted for the simple reason that they will be outnumbered.

WILL ALSO GET FEPC

But if this November enough progressive, patriotic, unprejudiced Americans are sent to Washington to bring this number up to 250, then an anti-lynching bill will be passed and will become a law of the land. Pittsburgh Pa.

Furthermore, if this is done, you will also see an anti-poll tax bill, a fair employment practices act, and a properly devised full employment bill passed by the same Congress.

What is more, with the proper Representatives elected this November, a real housingf program and a genuine price control act will be written on the books.

RECATIONARIES WILL BLOCK LEGISLATION

An anti-lynching bill is as impossible to pass as an anti-poll tax bill in any Congress composed of a vociferous minority who believe in "white supremacy," before they believe in Americanism, and who are willing to filibuster decent, humane legislation to death.

An anti-lynching bill is as impossible to pass as a fair employment practices act in any Congress which includes a coalition of reactionary Republicans and reactionary Democrats determined to block liberal legislation at any cost.

I believe that an anti-lynching bill should be passed and will be passed by Congress and signed by the President. Whether this is done in the Eightieth Congress or in the Eighty-first Congress will depend solely on the wisdom exercised by the people in selecting the makeup of Congress. Sat. 9-28-46

An anti-lynching bill will not be passed IF the wrong men and women are sent to Congress. That's the answer.

My answer, then, must necessarily be "IF." An anti-lynching bill will be passed IF the right men and women are sent to Congress.

45c 1946

Connecticut

Negro Ref Named in Conn.

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y. Wed. 8-21-46

HARTFORD, Conn., Aug. 20 (UP).—George M. Fitch, 29, New Haven, became today the first Negro to be appointed to the State Athletic Commission's staff of referees.

He started his ring career 12 years ago. He has had 65 bouts as a pro, losing only 10.

Fitch was one of heavyweight champion Joe Louis' favorite sparmates. He helped the Bomber prepare for both bouts against Billy Conn. He worked out with Louis at Pompton Lakes, N. J., Sunday as the title holder began to prepare for his go against Tami Mauriello next month.

These Days

By George E. Sokolsky

It seems to me altogether wrong that Clare Luce should be permitted to retire from public life. True, she said that she would not be a candidate again, but that statement was made in circumstances so emotionally tense as to require reconsideration—certainly by her constituents.

Of the ladies of the congress, Clare Luce continues to excite the most interest and attention. I once worked for this lady in the relationship of a free-lance writer to an assistant editor. She was then not as popular or unpopular, depending upon how one approaches the subject. I admired her then for her fine intellect, her ability to get at the heart of a story, her keen and precise mind that grasped ideas, even when actions and events confused them.

Clare Luce is unusual not because she is an interesting woman but because she is a brilliant person. Like Anne O'Hare McCormick and Dorothy Thompson, her power of expression is generated by knowledge and conviction. If women find her repartee ungenteel and overwhelming, they are correct in their judgment because she thinks sharply and precisely and finds the hypocrisies of gentility vulgar. She speaks with sureness of purpose, because when she speaks, she has a purpose. It is never the idle chatter of one who either dines to be seen or sings for her dinner.

These women, Clare and Anne and Dorothy, influence American opinion as few men do because they are incapable of that masculine compromise which goes by the phrase, being a good fellow. They speak with the positiveness of a mother fighting for the character of her own child.

There have been tragedies in Clare Luce's life which have aroused in her dormant spiritual powers and have altered her outlook, making it difficult for her to play the game of politics for personal glory and profit and power. She seeks rather to arouse a flaccid public to the tragedy of their own lives; to the broken families; to prejudices which reject those whom God created for no other reason than that they were made to look different from others; to the heartless betrayal of civilization in the rush for a promised but false security.

It is unpopular and even unprofitable to swim against the tide, as anyone knows who during these last 10 years or more has spoken and written and preached the error of discarding centuries of wisdom for a decade of wisecracks. To such a woman as Clare Luce, unpopularity can mean nothing except a stimulant to a greater activity and a swifter and surer battle for what she believes to be right.

It is as futile as it is impossible to advise such a woman to be practical, for practicality can mean little more than time-serving, than making the best of a bad bargain—the sort of thing that Senator Alben Barkley does in public and Senator Robert Wagner in private. And it has been their practicality that has left us without principles or ideals, while such a person as Clare Luce cuts through the fog of confused thinking and, finding the error, hits it down with a sarcasm so deadly and an aim so sure that the hypocrites flee like shamed creatures.

Yet, were she nothing but a sarcastic, satirical person, she would be a shrew like Harold Ickes, who, soured on life and his own fate, finds no redeeming grace in anything upon earth or in heaven or I presume hell, except those who happen, for a rare moment, to accept his biliousness as philosophy.

Clare Luce is different, for ever she holds high the deep idealism and abiding faith of a traditional Americanism, as embodied in the philosophy of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It may appear that she sometimes quarrels over details that seem to mean nothing; yet they are part of a mosaic of the permanent; put all together they belong to the eternal and objective truth that man is his brother's keeper not only to support him materially but to guide him spiritually aright.

It is not likely that she will be permitted to retire from politics as she has announced. It should not be permitted.

CLARE BOOTHE LUCE ANSWERS

Where Do You Stand on the Race Problem?

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 7-13-46

The following excerpts are taken from an article by Rep. Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.) appearing in the current issue of Today's Woman.

All of us know that of all our domestic derangements, the situation of colored people is the gravest and in many ways the most fundamental problem that will face our nation in the years ahead.

In all the half-million letters I have received, I doubt if a thousand treated exclusively with the problem of what we ought to do about this one-tenth of our population—the one-tenth that is indisputably the worst fed, worst educated, worst housed and the worst treated.

Clare Luce

This silence about colored people — when on every other subject where justice or inequity are involved, average Americans are so talkative and communicative and opinionated—is a tacit admission of guilt.

It does not mean that we are failing utterly "to solve the race problem," but it does mean that we are hiding from ourselves the real extent and meaning of the problem and, therefore, we are incapable of seeing what must be done as clearly as we see what should be done with relation to our other, chiefly less important, domestic problems.

I can see this very plainly from my correspondence. Among the letters I receive are a goodly number of truly disinterested ones—mostly from women, who write me, asking:

"What can I do to make America strong, a better, happier, healthier, safer country for my children to grow up in?" "How can I prove my faith in democracy?"

One Ready Answer

To any woman who asks this question in complete sincerity, I always give one ready answer:

"Do what you can—and you can do much—to destroy that most unChristian and undemocratic of attitudes—in your own country—Racial Discrimination."

Let me talk for twenty minutes with any woman about the colored race, and at the end of the conversation, I will tell you whether or not she is a woman who practices the precepts of Christ, or one who simply professes Christianity.

"The Best Cook"

I know a woman who raved for years that she had the "best cook that was ever born," and who then embarked on a diatribe about racial inferiority when the "best cook" one day asked for the same wages she then had to pay a truly inferior white cook.

I know dozens of white men and women who were nursed all through their helpless infancies at the breasts of black women, who suddenly announce that black women are "incapable of assuming responsibility."

I know, unhappily, thousands of Americans who in their churches every Sunday subscribe to the doctrine that all men are creatures of God; that the only rights are human rights; that every man is to be judged by spiritual standards; that all men enjoy equal privileges in the eyes of God; and who, on the other six days of the week, judge their fellow men in office, factory, kitchen, school and college by purely zoological standards—worse, by a purely visual judgment—is his skin black or white?

Blind Can "See"

Paradoxically enough—if every American were suddenly struck blind—he could see on this question.

So, I believe the sternest and truest test of today's woman, one who calls herself either a Christian or a democrat, is where she stands and what she says—not only in public—but in private—about the colored people.

Ask Innocent, Wise

Ask the innocent, the simple, and the wise in your own community about colored people.

Seek out some children—your own, perhaps. Ask them, in good faith and in the utmost sincerity, "What is the difference between a colored child and a white child?"

If they answer, as they will, "He is black and I am white" (as they might say, "This flower is white and that one is red"), then ask—and wait for the answer, don't give it—"Does this make him smarter, or you smarter? Him a better little boy or you a better little boy?"

The child's bewilderment at the irrelevance of your question will be your answer. If you seek to "enlighten" him with prejudice, you will have revealed yourself to yourself.

Then, if you are a churchgoer, ask your minister, or priest, this question: "What, in the eyes of God, is the difference between me, a white woman, and a black one in similar profession or circumstances?"

Other Fronts for You

Of course, if your mind is made up, your prejudices jelled, your heart closed, your conscience stilled on this most vital question that faces our nation—that is different.

There are other fronts for you to fight on in the name of democracy and Christianity. Good luck to you on them.

For my part, I'd rather be right in the thick of the battle for democracy, where the greatest moral question facing America will be settled—the colored question.

45c 1946 Connecticut (Clare Booth Luce)

Is Clare Booth Luce Disillusioned?

Birmingham, News, Alabama

BY MARQUIS CHILDS

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21.—Long residence in Washington is likely to induce a corrosive cynicism concerning human motives. It may be that this is merely an occupational disease of politicians and those who associate with politicians, accentuated in the Capital, where politics is the chief occupation.

In announcing she had been received into the Catholic church, Clare Boothe Luce apparently felt it necessary to add that she was retiring from political life, lest her action be interpreted in some way as a bid for votes.

Like so many others before her, Mrs. Luce has discovered it is difficult in politics to get one's serious utterances taken seriously. Her final decision to retire may have had some connection with a drama of disillusionment that took place 10 days before the announcement of her religious conversion.

* * *

THE CONGRESSWOMAN FROM CONNECTICUT put a great deal of time and stress on a speech to be delivered at the annual Lincoln Day banquet of the Republican members of the House and the Women's Republican Club of the District of Columbia. The speech dealt with the Negro in America.

Mrs. Luce hit hard at injustice and discrimination. It was a long way from the traditional Lincoln Day speech paying lip service to Republican dogma on the Negro.

Running through the speech was the theme of the brotherhood of man; the profound belief that underlies the Christian faith, more often honored in the breach than in the observance.

"As Christians," said Mrs. Luce, "we know there are no such things as 'Negro rights' or 'white rights.' There are only human rights which Negro and white and brown and yellow all claim equally as members of the human family and children of God. In every way the Christian approach to the problem is the soundest, the truest and the safest."

* * *

MRS. LUCE'S WELL-DRESSED, WELL-FED AUDIENCE WAS STARTLED. They had expected, from her, wit and sarcasm at the expense of the Democrats.

As she warmed to her theme, she went even further. She attacked Sen. Bilbo, of Mississippi, directly by name, a violation of "congressional courtesy."

"It has been said," Mrs. Luce declared, "'if any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar.' Against this supreme charge, Sen. Bilbo must find himself defenseless, now and eternally. Let us try as best we can to stay out of this dreadful docket with him, for unhappily all of us have, to some extent, failed our brothers."

This was calling a U. S. senator a liar, even though it was done by way of the Bible. When Mrs. Luce finished her speech, there was only a faint pitter-patter of perfuctory applause. Several choleric Republicans are said to have left the dining room in the middle of the address.

Thurs 2-21-46

REP. CHARLES LA FOLLETTE, of Indiana, a liberal Republican and one of the few at the dinner who heartily applauded Mrs. Luce's courage, offered to have the speech put in the Congressional Record. It was discovered, however, that this could not be done without deleting the references to Bilbo, in defence to congressional courtesy, and Mrs. Luce refused to permit her remarks to be edited.

The press carried almost no reference to the speech. Altogether, her most earnest effort since she has been in Washington was ignored, leaving her to the unhappy conclusion that, whereas a wisecrack will make Page 1, virtue must be its own reward.

Disillusion was compounded for Mrs. Luce when she learned those who had been annoyed with her speech were explaining it away by saying she was merely bidding for the Negro and the labor vote in her district. This was the unkindest cut of all.

THERE HAS BEEN SO MUCH DOUBLE TALK about the "Negro problem." That may be one reason for the reception given Mrs. Luce's hard-hitting speech.

But this cynical Capital is always looking for hidden motives. The game of political poker, as it is played in Washington, takes nothing for granted.—©.

REP. CLARE BOOTHE LUCE OF CONN.

Nation Has to Complete Its Half-Finished Job

Afro American Baltimore, Md.

Sat 4-6-46

(The following excerpts are taken from the address at the Lincoln Day Banquet of the Republican members of the House made by Clare Boothe Luce, Congresswoman from Connecticut. Mrs. Luce was advised to have her address read into the Congressional Record, but refused when told that her remarks about Senator Bilbo would have to be deleted.)

By CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

There are many times, I am sure, when all Americans, Democrats no less than Republicans, confess to themselves, "Our treatment of colored people is an American hypocrisy which every good citizen must do everything in his power to end." But, the inescapable political fact is that this thought is in the direct line of our great Republican tradition, and is only divergently embraced by a few Northern Democrats.

The Republican party was born in the tradition of freedom for colored people. In the establishment of it, Republican men and women invested their hearts and their minds and their blood. But it cannot be finally ours, as Republicans, until we have, as Republicans, completed the task which was begun by that greatest of all Republicans, Abraham Lincoln.

Either we Republicans must do it, or it will be done for us. For of one thing I am certain: the moral sense of this nation cannot long be denied. We must again have a great Republican President, or we shall have a great revolution—a great President who will solve this greatest of American dilemmas and finish the job that Abraham Lincoln so nobly started.

The colored man who was freed by Abraham Lincoln from the individual master must be freed from his present condition, which is that of being the slave of our whole society. It is our job to free him completely from the economic slavery that is still relatively his lot.

Must Be Republican

That is one of the greatest meanings of the Republican task before us, and one of the main reasons why we must elect a Republican Congress.

If Lincoln and the Republican men and women of his time had the moral courage to roll up their sleeves and wade into the job when it was twice as great, shall it phase Republican men and women of today when the job is only half as great?

How should we as individual Republicans approach the problem?

lem? There are many ways.

1. We can think of it as a Christion problem. The ethics of our Christian morality will not let us rest until our conscience is clear on the so-called color question.

There are no such things as "colored rights" or "white rights"; there are only human rights, which all claim equally as members of the human family and children of God.

Sat 4-6-46

Is Soundest Approach

In every way, the Christian approach to the problem is the soundest, the truest and the safest.

The Bilboes of our Congress evoke many secular authorities, and political and economic principles for their intolerant attack on the colored man. But not even Senator Bilbo has had the impudence to quote Scripture as witness.

Let us quote some Scripture for him. It has been said, "If any man say, 'I love God,' and hateth his brother, he is a liar." Against this supreme charge, Senator Bilbo must find himself defenseless, now and eternally.

2. There is another way we Americans can approach the problem: as patriots. Can we, as patriots, rest easily so long as there is a black blot on the American flag for which America must face the world with shame?

3. The third way to approach the problem is as practical, money-minded men and women, to figure out in dollars and cents what our failure to solve the problem costs us.

How much does it cost us, as taxpayers, when a member of an average colored family falls ill? Or has children? When such contingencies occur in the average impoverished colored family few ever think of calling a doctor.

That is to say, a private doctor. And why? Because such families have had the previous experience of not being able to obtain a doctor.

For doctors, too, must live, and alacrity does not spring spontaneously when the doctor's experience tells him that he almost certainly will not be paid.

But whatever the merits of that may be, do you know what the standard practice is, as every hospital in America can testify? A colored family calls an amublance and either public or private philanthropic funds pay the bill. Those funds come from the community pocket.

Or let us remember the long depression years when colored people constituted a disproportionate

share of the nation's relief load. No practical minded citizen wants to have to lift that kind of load again. It is too costly to the taxpayers when people are on relief. It is cheaper for all that they should be working.

War Program Costly

As a member of the House Military Affairs Committee, I can tell you that the whole nation was forced to pay for it when wartime training programs financed from Federal funds were barred to colored by discriminatory administration of State and local educational officials.

In the 18 Southern and border States where colored constitute 22 per cent of the total population, they constituted only 4 per cent of the total trainees for war industries in January, 1942.

In the State of Texas, where colored persons were 14.3 per cent of the population, they comprised less than 2 per cent of the persons admitted to training for defense production in 1942.

Discrimination weakened the Army's fighting potential and the potential of our production belts. Many a white mother today has sacrificed a white son, on the altars of white prejudice.

In Baltimore colored people comprise 20 per cent of the population and are crammed and jammed into 2 per cent of the residential area. In Chicago a quarter of a million live in units built to house 150,000 people.

Impose a Burden

These conditions impose an insupportable burden on the communities where they exist.

They stack up to health bills, sanitation bills, crime bills, prison bills, police bills, fire bills and a continually lengthening list of costs to the community. These are the price of poverty and the human degradation which poverty breeds.

Hard-headed, practical Republicans know that these are the ways in which we can save money: by making it possible for the colored man to earn a decent living, by freeing him economically so that he may develop all the talents and capabilities the good Lord gave him and by making it possible for him to hold any job for which those capabilities fit him.

No, the personal prejudices of such men as Senator Bilbo are not only a spiritual blot on our civilization, they are an economic drain on the purse of the whole nation.

The monumental size of the national debt requires that every able-bodied man and woman in the United States must produce to his fullest capacity, if we are ever to free ourselves of that staggering burden.

In the face of such a necessity the personal hatreds of the Bilbos are too expensive for the nation to afford any longer. We can no longer pay for such Democratic juvenile delinquencies.

As Mr. Joseph Martin pointed out in a recent debate on the House floor, there were six votes in the House Committee on Rules to bring out the FEPC bill.

Four of them were cast by Republicans—which constituted the entire Republican representation on the Rules Committee.

He further pointed out that if just one Democrat would vote for releasing the bill, the legislation would come before the House.

While the 13,000,00 colored people in America are perhaps the largest single bloc of Americans who suffer the disabilities of prejudice in the competition for jobs, there are many more millions of Americans comprising numerous groups of white Americans who suffer equal disabilities for reasons of prejudices.

There are millions of Americans of foreign birth who cannot get jobs in many parts of this country. There are many places where Catholics find themselves barred from jobs.

Citizens of Italian or Mexican birth find the same difficulties. There is prejudice against Jews and against Poles in many places. The total of prejudice is staggering.

Men of good will have recognized two things at the outset, in their effort to establish a permanent FEPC:

One, that prejudices cannot be legislated out of existence. Legislation merely can penalize them; only education can eradicate them.

Two, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to enforce such legislation. Prejudice is largely a subjective matter of intent in the mind of an individual and therefore is not easily amenable to legal proof, which would be required for successful enforcement.

And these two practical difficulties, it was realized, would preclude the possibility of such a law having an immediate corrective result.

In that event, why have the law? Why expend the great effort and energy it would require to pass such a law?

Republicans of good will and vision believe that despite the practical obstacles, such a law is desirable because it would constitute a constructive step in changing the moral attitudes of any community where prejudices might exist.

'White Artists' Clause Before D. A. R. Session

Birmingham News
Birmingham Ala.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 21 —(AP)—The daughters of the American Revolution has agreed to study rental contracts which bar Negro entertainers from the D. A. R. Constitution Hall at Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, of Athens, Ga., president-general of the D. A. R., announced last night a special committee has been appointed "to go thoroughly into the matter of leases" which contain the words "white artists only."

A spokesman for a 17-woman committee, headed by Rep. Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.) said the group's activities in the past few months caused numerous D. A. R. chapters to petition Mrs. Talmadge to have the "white artists only" clause deleted from the contracts.

The 17-woman committee took the step to permit Negro entertainers to appear in commercial programs at the D. A. R.'s famous hall. They had submitted to the resolutions committee a recommendation that the words "white artists only," instituted in 1932, be deleted in future leases. Jue. 5-21-46

The showdown was expected today or tomorrow.

Rep. Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn)., a member of the committee submitting the resolution, is not a delegate to the congress. Six of the 17 on the committee are delegates.

There has been much controversy over the clause. At one time Marian Anderson, the Negro contralto, had been banned from appearing in Constitution Hall. In 1943, however, at the invitation of the D. A. R. she gave a benefit performance in the hall. An official of the congress said the Negro Tuskegee Institute choir was scheduled to sing at the Hall next month.

Recently Hazel Scott, Negro pianist, was refused permission to present a concert in the hall. After government seizure of Washington buildings for wartime purposes only Constitutional Hall was left in the city for accommodation of large crowds. Jue. 5-21-46

DAR Head Reprimands Clare B. Luce

Richmond Times Dispatch
Richmond Va

Constitution Hall Issue Is Revised

Jue. 5-21-46

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 20 —(AP)—Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, of Athens, Ga., president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, charged tonight that Rep. Clare Boothe Luce (R.-Conn.) was the leader of a "rebellious group seeking to force a change in our rules governing Constitution Hall at Washington, D. C."

"This little band of women, who style themselves 'loyal members of the DAR,' formed an unconstitutional committee calling itself a 'DAR Committee against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall,' and is, therefore, misrepresenting itself both to the general public and to the membership of the society," Mrs. Talmadge said in an address opening the DAR's 55th continental congress.

The committee, composed of 17 women, including Mrs. Luce, has submitted a recommendation to the DAR resolutions committee calling for elimination of the words "white artists only" in rental contracts for Constitution Hall. Jue. 5-21-46

Last Fall Hazel Scott, Negro pianist, was refused permission to rent the hall for a concert and her husband; Rep. Adam C. Powell (D. R. ALP-N. Y.), brought the matter to the floor of the House of Representatives.

Mrs. Talmadge told the 2,000 delegates to the congress that the DAR national board of management last October "reaffirmed the well-known decision regarding use of Constitution Hall—based upon conformity with the prevailing customs in the District of Columbia."

She said the DAR "has been accused of being un-Christian" and that "there have been personal attacks upon me, the principal reason—seemingly being—that I am a daughter of the South and their purpose is to stir up sectional and racial discord."

Mrs. Talmadge said a special committee was named at a board meeting last Saturday to study the Hall's leases and contracts and that the committee would make a report later.

A DAR spokesman said that in view of appointment of the board committee, the resolution calling for elimination of the "white artists only" clause probably would not be reported out for action by the congress. Jue. 5-21-46

"Be it stated here and now," Mrs. Talmadge said, "that pressure groups and non-active members, who express themselves through the press, the radio and other media, are very much mistaken if they think they exert any influence whatsoever upon the members of the national board."

Of the 17-woman committee, one is not a DAR member and only six are delegates to the congress. Mrs. Luce is not a delegate.

Before the opening of the congress, Major-General Ray E. Porter, director of the War Department's Special Planning Division, declared the only way to have a strong standing army and adequate reserve forces would be to establish compulsory peace time military training.

Mrs. Luce Disregards DAR Order

The Call
Kansas City, Mo.

Says Committee Will Not Be Dissolved

5-31-46

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

Representative Clare Boothe Luce of Connecticut, in a telegram to Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, national president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, said that the committee against racial discrimination in the use of Constitution hall will not be dissolved and will continue its efforts to have persons of any race perform in the Washington auditorium. Friday

This statement was in answer to action made by the 55th continental congress of the DAR, meeting in this city, ordering dissolution of the 17-woman committee after it had sought deletion of the "white artists only" clause in the hall's rental contracts.

Blames Luce for Row

Blaming Mrs. Luce for starting a row at the DAR meeting, Mrs. Grace L. Brosseau, national chairman of the DAR resolution committee, said:

"If Clare Luce had not injected herself into this, it would have been settled long ago. The board would have acted quietly on it, if it had come from a veteran member, but the national board is not going to be dictated to by a woman who has not even attended a DAR meeting."

Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann, floor spokesman, pointed out that Negroes are not the only ones barred from the Constitutional hall by the rental contract. She said that the organization had carried out programs to aid Indians and yet a talented Indian could not appear on the hall's program. The contract also refuses Filipinos, some South Americans, and others the right to appear at the hall, she emphasized.

5-31-46

Ban Madam Kai Shek

"The dirtiest stevedore would be welcome, but not Madam Chiang Kai-shek," she said.

Mrs. Brosseau said: "We have had rows in the DAR before, but this isn't a racial discrimination issue—it's a matter of DAR policy." Friday

Mrs. Luce's committee has sought deletion of the rental contract phrase after the DAR refused Hazel Scott permission to use the hall for a concert last fall.

Wilmington Pharmacist Elected GOP Treasurer

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Dr. A. Roland Milburn Served for 20 Years as Republican Ward Chairman: Held Co. Post

Sat. 12-28-46

WILMINGTON, Del.—Dr. A. Roland Milburn, Sixth Ward Republican chairman for the past 20 years, was elected treasurer of the Republican City Committee last week to become the first colored citizen to be given so much responsibility in local politics.

Election of the popular pharmacist, who is a brother-in-law of Marian Anderson, was expected because of his outstanding work among minority group voters here. He succeeds Ellwood S. Leach who was elected chairman of the Committee.

Operates Pharmacy

Dr. Milburn, proprietor of the Ninth Street Pharmacy, was born in Philadelphia, attended the public schools there, but has been a local resident for 40 years.

He is a graduate of Howard University, Washington, where he was elected to membership in the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. He obtained his pharmacist's degree from Philadelphia College of Pharmacy in 1917.

The new treasurer got his start in politics through his uncle, the late Dr. Samuel G. Elbert, for whom a Wilmington elementary school is named. As political leader he has never lost the Sixth Ward either in city or in general elections.

Held County Post

Dr. Milburn served for several years, starting in 1921, as a Deputy County Treasurer and Tax Receiver for New Castle County. He is married to the former Miss Pauline C. Fisher, whose brother, Orpheus Fisher, is the husband of Miss Anderson.

He also is a brother-in-law of John O. Hopkins, owner of the National Theatre, who served 16 two-year terms as a member of City Council from the Sixth Ward, a record in local history.

Dr. Milburn, who lives at 922 French St., is a member of the Pyramid and Commissioners Clubs of Philadelphia, Monday Club, the Sixth Ward Republican Club, the Elks and Ezion Methodist Church.

45c 1946

Appointed Aide To Patterson

Army Photo

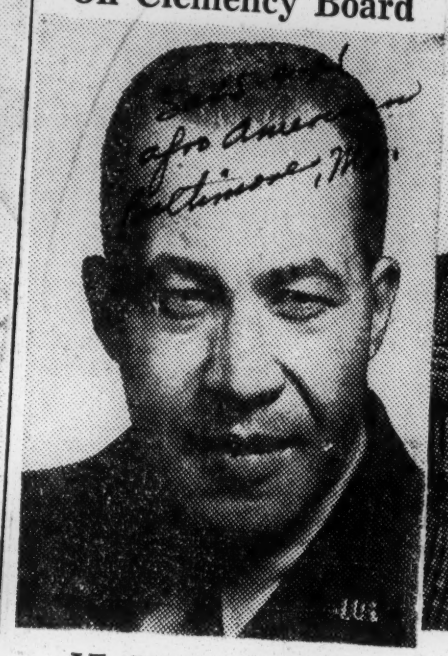
LIEUT. COL. MARCUS H. RAY, former commanding officer of the 600th Artillery Battalion, who has been appointed civilian aide to Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson. When ordered to active duty in 1941 Colonel Ray was director of the South Central Clinical Laboratory

1-19-46 Louisiana Weekly

NEW CIVILIAN AIDE—Lieutenant Colonel Marcus H. Ray, Chicago, Illinois, formerly commanding officer of the 600th Field Artillery Battalion of the 92nd Infantry ("Buffalo") Division was appointed Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War on January 2, 1946. Colonel Ray succeeds Mr. Truman K. Gibson, Jr., who held the post for three years before resigning on November 19, 1945. Colonel Ray's service in the Mediterranean Theater of Operations won him the Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal, and the Italian honor, Cross of Merit of War. (U. S. Army photo from Bureau of Public Relations. 1-7-46.) New Orleans

D. C.

On Clemency Board



LT. COL. T. M. MANN of Chicago, who is a member of the special clemency board in the office of the Undersecretary of War in Washington. A former commanding officer of the 795th Tank Destroyer Battalion and the 236th QM Battalion, he saw service in England, France and Belgium. Colonel Mann is a graduate of Ohio State University and a law graduate of the University of Illinois.

SAMUEL R. PIERCE

Assign Col. Mann To Clemency Board

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va.

By ANPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Lt. Col. Theophilus Mann of Chicago, who recently returned from the European theatre of operations has been assigned to the War Department clemency board which recently began to review the cases of all of the 34,260 military prisoners serving general court martial sentences. 2-2-46

This board, of which Owen J. Roberts, former associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, is chairman, will effect such reduction in sentences as may be warranted on the basis of the individual records in each case.

Assignment of Col. Mann to this board is regarded as a guarantee that the highest standards of fairness will be maintained in this postwar review and that clemency will be granted, wherever it is warranted. A large number of the cases to be reviewed involve colored military prisoners.

Only Colored Investigator in Africa and Italy Returns

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. 2-2-46

By MAX JOHNSON
AFRO Foreign Correspondent
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NAPLES, Italy (By Cable) — Among the thousands of soldiers of both races who left here aboard the SS Richardson, which was scheduled to dock in New York last week was Special Agent Samuel R. Pierce, Jr., 24, of Ocean Cove, Long Island.

Pierce, it has been revealed, was the only member of the colored race to serve as an agent with America's Criminal Investigation Department throughout the North African and Italian campaigns.

Previous mention might have drawn added personal danger to his perilous job as well as perhaps hampered his efficiency.

A 1943 Cornell University graduate and former football star, there, Pierce is returning after having chalked up an enviable efficiency record with the CID here, which resulted in his receiving six citations.

He plans to continue his law studies at Harvard University, where he was studying when he entered service.

While here, he worked indiscriminately rather than solely among members of the colored race, helping to crack some of the largest CID cases here.

Typical was that of the Lane gang in Rome a few months ago, which involved a million-dollar counterfeiting ring.

Escaped Without Scratch

While his department lost some 27 men alone in Italy in skirmishes with lawbreakers, Pierce managed to escape without a scratch.

His closest shave, he says, came in Casablanca over a year ago, when, disguised as a native and hot on the trail of some enemy espionage agents, he had to fight and shoot his way out of a trap set with half dozen paid Arab assailants. 2-2-46

Cracking cases overseas has led him to assume at various times, the roles of a member of different types of Army units, an AWOL GI, a Frenchman and the whatever else occasion demanded.

Life Valued Lightly

"The war is over, but life over here is, if anything, cheaper than it was during combat. Murder is one of the biggest things with which investigators are faced daily.

However, MTO officials choose to be close-mouthed and refuse to divulge any figures on the major crime record for this theater.

Although Pierce is a fond collector of guns, he carried one only on the most dangerous assignments. Instead, the 6-foot 190-pound investigator relies on his wits to handle difficult situations.

Preparation for Job

Pierce, it has been revealed, after regular college hours, busied himself studying a number of subjects related to intelligence work long before the CID job was offered, because he thought it would help greatly his study and broaden his understanding of law.

As a result, when the opportunity did present itself, he was ready and qualified. His record attests to the fact that he was very well qualified to move in that circle of veteran crime-busters that the CID usually employs.

TWO NEGRO OFFICERS ASSUME DUTIES IN WAR DEPARTMENT

Pittsburgh Courier Pa.

WASHINGTON — Two Negro officers, both combat veterans of World War II, assumed their new duties in the War Department this week.

Lieut. Col. James H. Robinson, Washington, began sitting on the Secretary of War's Discharge Review Board, while Maj. Steve G. Davis, Chicago, reported for duty with the planning section of G-1 (Personnel Division). 2-2-46, Sat

Resignation of Harold Ickes Takes Friend From Cabinet

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat 2-23-46

WASHINGTON — (AFRO Bureau) — The resignation of Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes from President Truman's cabinet while expected for many months came as a surprise to the Capital, Wednesday.

With the exception of Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Commerce, none of the men who surrounded the late President Roosevelt and set the pace for the liberal trends which were introduced with the New Deal remain in the Truman administration.

Ickes, long the butt of attack by both Republican opponents and reactionary Democratic elements, has a long record as a progressive and a liberal. As Secretary of the Interior he has consistently opposed all efforts of Southerners to extend the pattern of segregation both within the department and in the parks, grounds and recreational facilities operating on Government property under his jurisdiction.

Opposed DAR Action

He was one of the leaders in by its own admission couldn't the fight against the Daughters of the American Revolution when they banned Marian Anderson from Constitution Hall and he was directly responsible for Miss Anderson's appearance in her Easter concert at the Lincoln Memorial.

With the departure of Ickes the appointment of Judge William Hastie as governor of the Virgin Islands also hangs in the balance. Judge Hastie was Ickes's choice

HAROLD ICKES

for the post and with Hastie still unconfirmed speculation is rife as to how much influence Ickes can now wield in consummating the appointment in face of the bitter opposition being hatched up by friends of deposed Governor Harrington. Sat 2-23-46

Ickes, an old Teddy Roosevelt Bull Mooser, has been involved in many fights both before and since coming into the cabinet three years ago in which the race issue has been paramount.

Some idea of the extent of his convictions on these matters is reflected in the case last year when he fired one of his top policy making assistants when it was called to his attention that the latter had in his audience a colored woman elevator operator.

Enemy of Bigotry

Ickes took the position that he was no place in his department if he would have to serve Bomar, recently appointed assistant advisor to the postmaster general, made an "Uncle Tom" speech on "how to get along with bosses." His remarks followed those of Joseph F. Gartlin, white postal executive, who said that Negroes should "demand rights and privileges, which justly belong to them."

BOMAR MAKES WEAK SPEECH

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Some of his audience is reported to have walked out in disgust

Chicago, Ill. Sat. 11-2-46

Ickes Will Be Missed

Afro American Baltimore, Md

The resignation of Harold L. (Old Curmudgeon) Ickes as Secretary of the Interior removes one of our few remaining friends-at-court in the nation's government.

It was no surprise that this man, hailed by many as the greatest Secretary of the Interior this country has known—and longest in office—should resign. The surprise is that Honest Harold stood it as long as he did.

Mr. Ickes, who before his election was once president of the Chicago branch NAACP, time and again demonstrated his understanding of interracial problems and his firm belief in equality for all.

Sat 2-23-46

He will probably be remembered best by many people for the unequivocal stand which he took in 1939 when he rebuked the DAR by placing the Lincoln Memorial at the disposal of Marian Anderson after she had been denied the use of Constitution Hall for a concert.

On other occasions he lashed out at the Dies Committee which was seeking to Red-bait prominent Americans and he called the Ku Klux Klan a menace to the entire world.

He frequently struck out against inequalities in educational opportunities and championed academic freedom and tolerance. He had nothing for "professional patriots" to do and once rebuked a delegation of Southern women seeking to introduce segregation in the Interior Department's cafeteria by going to the cafeteria and eating with the darkest persons he could find.

On another occasion he issued an order that the District's municipal parks are open to all citizens following a complaint that golfers playing at Potomac Park had been intimidated and needed police protection.

He was one of the squarest shooters the country has known and had the courage to speak his mind against injustice, dishonesty and crooked dealings. We'll certainly miss him.

Like Father, Like Son?

Afro American Baltimore, Md

Opposition to the nomination of Commodore James K. Vardaman Jr., Naval aide to President Truman, for membership on the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System, raises the question of whether the nominee is anything like his late father.

The elder Vardaman, once governor of Mississippi (1904) and later U.S. Senator (1913-1918) was undoubtedly one of the worst Negro-haters and Negro-baiters we have ever had. If anything, he was worse than Bilbo.

Vardaman Sr., appealed to the poor white man by saying that the political superiority of the white race was being endangered by the education of colored people. He was one of the six wilful senators who opposed our entry into the League of Nations and defeated Woodrow Wilson on this issue.

Sat 3-9-46

As a member of the Federal Reserve System, it may be assumed that Vardaman Jr., is removed from any sphere of influence affecting colored Americans. Yet, his relationship with President Truman has been of such a nature as to make him a possible continued source of counsel.

There is an old saying: "Like father, like son." On this basis, if no other, Vardaman Jr., is open to intense scrutiny.

What Is It You All Want to Know?

SIX GOVERNMENT agencies hire Negroes as information specialists. Write and ask them tough questions. That's what we fought to get them there for.

Veterans—Joseph Albright, Information Specialist, Room 133, Veterans' Administration, Washington 25, D. C.

Navy—Lt. Sylvester White, Office of Public Information, U.S. Navy Department, Navy Building, Washington 25, D. C.

Army—Maj. Daniel Day, Negro Interest Section, Press Bureau, War Department, Room 2-D-875, Pentagon Building, Washington 25, D. C.

Housing—James Baker, Information Specialist, Room 519, Federal Housing Administration Building, Vermont and K streets, N.W., Washington 25, D. C.

OPA—William Clark, Information Specialist, Press Section, Office of Price Administration, Washington 25, D. C.

Agriculture — Sherman Briscoe, Information Specialist, Office of Information, Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C. Alvin White is also an Information Specialist in the Produce and Marketing Administration of Agriculture.

Wed. 4-24-46

NEW APPOINTEE AT THE PENTAGON, Washington, D. C.—Mrs. Nancy Merritt Lovell, 3200 16th St., N. E., Washington, D. C., has been appointed administrative assistant to Mr. Marcus H. Ray, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War. In Government employ since graduating from Howard University in 1940, Mrs. Lovell will be responsible in the main for grievances arising among the Negro civilian employes of the War Department. She was formerly an employe counselor in the Office of the Chief of Finance and is the wife of First Lieutenant John Lovell, Medical Administrative Corps, who is assigned to the Counseling Branch of the Separation Center at Fort Dix, New Jersey.—(U. S. Army Signal Corps photo from Bureau off Public Relations.)

Thomasina Johnson

GETS HIGH U. S. POST

Pittsburg, Pa.

Sat Courier 5-4-46

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—Mrs. Thomasina Johnson, lobbyist for the Alpha Kappa Alpha Non-Partisan Council, has been appointed chief of the minority groups section in the United States Employment Service, the Labor Department announced last Wednesday.

The post pays a salary of $7,175 a year, which makes Mrs. Johnson the highest paid colored woman holding a Federal Government job.

A graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Johnson was a field representative of the Boston Housing Authority from 1940 to 1942 and worked in the Democratic headquarters in New York City in the Presidential election of 1944.

She succeeds Benjamin Wilson of Indiana, who resigned April 1 to resume his law practice.

Adjutant Aide Cited for Work

Afro American Sat 4-13-46 Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

Roy K. Davenport, civilian advisor in the Adjutant General's Office, received official commendation and the Emblem for Meritorious Civilian Service during ceremonies at the Pentagon Mar. 29, the War Department has announced.

He was cited for his readjustment work in helping soldiers returning to civilian life. He has acted as civilian advisor to the Chief, Classification and Replacement Branch, Operations and Training Division, Adjutant's Office since Jan. 1943.

Work in Europe

Sent to Europe in the summer of 1945, he assisted in working out a vocational guidance programed for soldiers. A native of Oakland, Cal., he attended public schools in Springfield, Mass., and is a graduate of Fisk and Columbia Universities. Sat 4-13-46

The citation, in part, states he "demonstrated unusual ability, forcefulness, fairness and integrity and has been of inestimable value to the Adjutant office."

He lives at 3724 Hayes St. with his wife, Mrs. Ruby Davenport, his daughter, Helen and son, Roy, a student.

Cited for Work

Afro American Baltimore, Md

ROY K. DAVENPORT,

of 3724 Hayes St., N.E., Washington, who has received a War Department commendation for meritorious work rendered by his post as civilian advisor in the Adjutant General's Office. Mr. Davenport, a graduate of Fisk and Columbia Universities, was formerly instructor at S.C. State College and Langston University, Oklahoma.

District Shakeup

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Weaver Fired By Recorder

Sat. 9-7-46

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The Rev. Marshall L. Shepard, Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia, last Friday summarily dismissed his first deputy recorder, Frederick S. Weaver.

The dismissal, effective at the close of business Aug. 30, is likely to have repercussions. Whether Mr. Weaver will carry his fight against his dismissal to the White House, Congress, the Democratic national committee, or all three could not be learned last Friday.

The dismissal of Weaver followed an exchange of notes Aug. 28, between him and Shepard and a personal conference. Mr. Shepard's first note informed Mr. Weaver that his usefulness as first deputy recorder had come to an end and demanded his resignation forthwith.

FOLLOWED FBI PROBE

Whether the dismissal of Mr. Weaver was an outgrowth of the investigation into the office of the Recorder of Deeds by the Federal Bureau of Investigation could not be learned. The FBI completed their investigation in the Recorder's office on Aug. 16, but continued to interview former employes.

Mr. Weaver has been an employe of the Recorder's office for eleven years. He has worked in various capacities from messenger to first deputy recorder.

WASHINGTON—The first Negro appointee in a Secretariat. Implementation of certain recommendations of the second West Indian Conference last February is also underway.

Robert Marsden was sponsored for this appointment by Sen. Harley Kilgore and Congressman Hedrick of the 6th Congressional District, both West Virginia democrats.

Hannegan appointed Marsden W. Cabell special assistant to the first assistant postmaster general of the United States, J. M. Donaldson.

The native West Virginian took oath of office in a simple ceremony Monday in Donaldson's office.

Sat 7-13-46

Hannegan Appoints First Negro To High P.O. Job

Afro American Baltimore, Md.

Dr. Bunche U.S. Delegate at Caribbean Session

Sat. The Afro-American

WASHINGTON (NNPA).—Dr. Ralph Bunche of the State Department is among American representatives attending a meeting here this week of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission

45c 1946 D. C. (Advisory Commission on Militar Training)

Gibson Named to Training Group

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

Truman K. Gibson Jr., of Chicago and former civil aide to the Secretary of War, was one of the nine persons selected by President Truman last Thursday to serve on his advisory commission on universal training.

Meeting at the White House on Friday, the President asked the commission to make a careful study of methods for aiding the physical and mental development of young citizens with an eye to building up in them a sense of responsibility toward the republic.

Sat. 12-28-46

They were instructed to obtain ideas of Cabinet members and Congressional leaders before submitting their report to him. The Chief Executive explained that he wanted the group known as a commission on universal training with the word military left out.

Peace, Production

Explaining that the United States doesn't want more territory, he said he is most interested in peace in the world and production at home. He added that the U.S. doesn't want to hog world trade, but wants an interchange of ideas and merchandise.

The commission elected Dr. Karl T. Compton, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, as chairman; Joseph E. Daves, former Ambassador to Russia, vice chairman, and Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, a labor adviser to the late President Roosevelt, secretary.

Text of His Remarks

"Through the draft board records, it was found that 30 per cent of our young people who were called up for military training, were unfit physically or mentally. That is a terrible reflection on a free country," Mr. Truman said.

"I want our young people to be informed on what this Government stands for. I think the best way to do this is through a universal training program, giving them a background in the disciplinary approach of getting along with one another."

mission on military training.

Named with seven others to work on a broad universal training program designed to stress physical and spiritual as well as military training, Gibson conferred with members of the commission after the newly-appointed advisers had consulted with the President.

The commission, which includes churchmen, educators and others, selected Dr. Karl T. Compton, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, as president, and Joseph E. Davis, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, as vice-chairman.

The commission, meeting with the President for the first time on Friday of last week, was told by the Chief Executive that the national training project would not be military in the strictest application of the term, but would place equal stress on physical, religious, and moral training.

Truman told members of the commission he would like to omit the word "military" from the commission's name, and call it a universal training program.

The commission went immediately to work on plans which include contacting labor leaders and heads of governmental agencies. Compton said they hope to make recommendations for training by March.

Universal military training has been proposed by the War Department as a means of building the National Guard and Organized Reserves, also as a trainee reserve pool, unorganized, but available to fill units in case of mobilization.

Gibson Leaves For Capital Post

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

Truman K. Gibson Jr., Chicago attorney and former civilian aide to the Secretary of War, left Chicago for Washington last week shortly after his appointment to President Truman's new advisory com-

Sat. 12-28-46

45c 1946

D. C. (Citizens' Federal Committee on Education)

3 Named Consultants In Education

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va. Sat 3-2-46

By Associated Negro Press

WASHINGTON — The Citizens' Federal Committee on Education, organized recently to aid the United States Office of Education to improve its service to American education, has named Mrs. Estelle Massey Riddle, J. L. Horace, and P. B. Young Sr., as consultants for Negro groups.

The names were announced by Federal Security Administrator Watson B. Miller last week.

Mrs. Riddle, representing the National Council of Negro Women, J. L. Horace, National Fraternal Council of Negro churches, and P. B. Young Sr., National Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association, will serve three-year terms with the committee. First meeting of the newly organized group will be held in Washington in March.

In confirming appointments, U. S. Commissioner of Education John W. Studebaker pointed out that the committee would represent "the people throughout the country who establish and support schools and colleges."

REPRESENTATIVE CITIZENS ADVISE WITH U. S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION— Left to right are members of the Citizens' Federal Committee on Education who attended the initial meeting of that group in Washington, April 8-9, 1946.

Memphis Tennessee 3-5-1946

Don Parel, representing Edward A. O'Neal, President American Farm Bureau Federation; John T. Corbett, National Legislative representative, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Everette S. Lee, Chairman, Engineers' Council for Professional Development; Albert J. Harno, Dean, College of Law, University of Illinois, representing American Bar Association P. B. Young, Sr., National Negro Publishers Association; Miss Margaret A. Hickey, National President, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; John W. Studebaker, U. S Commissioner of Education, who presided until the election of a permanent chairman; Walter D. Fuller, President, Curtis Publishing Co., representing the National Association of Manufacturers, and Kermit Eby, Director, Department of Education and Research, Congress of Industrial Organizations (to the left of Dr.Studebaker); Roland B. Woodward, member of Committee on Education, Chamber of Commerce of the United States; Rev. W. E. McManus, representing the Very Rev. Mzgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt, Director Department of Education, National Catholic Welfare Conference Dr. F. Ernest Johnson Ex. Secretary, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Dr. Victor Johnson, Secretary, Council on Medical Education and Hospitals American Medical Association; Robert S. Wilson, Vice President, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, representing the National Association of Manufacturers; Walter G. Ingalls, American Legion; Mrs. Estelle Massey Riddle, National Council of Negro Women; and Mrs. William A. Hastings, president, National Congress of Parents and teachers.

3-5-1946

3 Named on Group To Plan Reports

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Teachers' Exodus Seen as Threat to Nation

ACTION HELD URGENT

Inadequate Salaries Basis of Situation

Sat. 11-16-46

WASHINGTON

J. L. Horace, National Fraternal Council of Churches; Mrs. Estelle Massey Riddle, National Council of Negro Women, and P. B. Young Sr., National Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, were recently named on a sub-committee to plan reports to the Nation on the critical teacher shortage.

Members of the Citizens Federal Committee on Education, which recently concluded its semi-annual meeting, here, they will co-operate with leading white educators, business and civic leaders on the committee in issuing a series of reports on the situation during 1947.

The CFC, which acts in an advisory relationship to the U. S. Office of Education, believes that the present crisis affecting the teaching profession throughout the country is of such gravity as to threaten the future of the American way of life.

National Tragedy Hinted

"In recent years there has been a mass exodus of hundreds of thousands away from the teaching profession," Thomas C. Boushall, hairman of the CFC, pointed out.

"Completely inadequate teacher salaries, the lack of public esteem, and the lack of other factors that make for job satisfaction, make this understandable," he asserted. "Only vigorous and statesmanlike action on a scale commensurate with the urgent need can avert a serious national tragedy," he warned, before setting up the sub-committee to plan the reports to the Nation.

45c 1946 D. C. (Educational Commission to Japan)

Charles S. Johnson Named To Educational Commission

The Informer Houston Texas

NASHVILLE—Charles S. Johnson, director of the Department of Social Science at Fisk university, has been appointed to the educational commission named by the State and War Departments to go to Japan, at the request of General Douglas MacArthur. Dr. Johnson is the only Negro on the commission which is composed of 20 top-flight American educators.

DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON,

Sat 2-23-46

One of this country's foremost sociologists, Dr. Johnson has served the national government in many capacities during the past 10 years. In 1930, he was appointed by President Hoover as the American member of an international commission to study forced labor in Liberia. He was named by President Roosevelt to be a public member of the panel on wages and hours in the railroad industry. For the NRA, he directed a study of the tobacco industry. Dr Johnson sat with the committee which drafted plans for the Farm Security Administration which was devised to aid small farmers. His interest in agricultural problems has taken him to Ireland and the Scandinavian countries where he studied systems of tenure and farm operation.

Sat 2-23-46

In addition to his duties as Director of Social Sciences at Fisk university, where he has been since 1928, Dr. Johnson is director of Race Relations for the Julius Rosenwald Fund and serves as director of the Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association.

It seems fitting that Dr. Johnson should serve on the commission to Japan on the basis of his studies in race and culture in which field he is regarded as a competent authority.

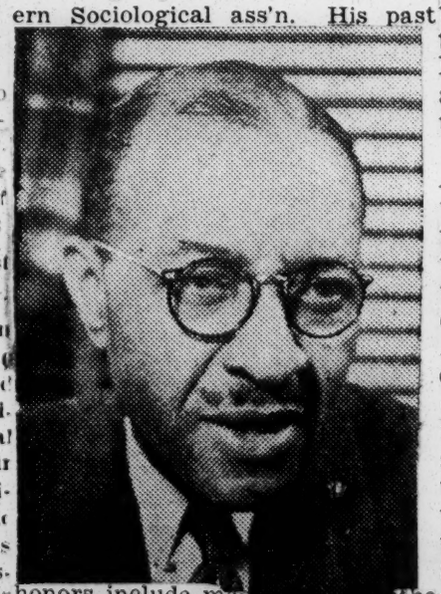
Dr. C. Johnson flies to Japan to change educational plan

Los Angeles Tribune, California

Sat 3-2-46

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Dr. Charles S. Johnson, head of Fisk university's social science department, was one of the 20 distinguished educators who left this country by plane Feb. 20 for Japan where they will formulate the new plan of education. This American Commission, appointed at the request of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, includes Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, of Barnard college.

On the Fisk faculty for 17 years, Dr. Johnson is at present a trustee of the Rosenwald Fund; director of the American Missionary ass'n's race relations program; and first Negro president of the Southern Sociological ass'n. His past



honors include men[illegible] the League of Nation[illegible]n investigating forced labor in Liberia in 1930 and service on President Hoover's conference on home building and home ownership in 1931.

Dr. Johnson is also recognized for his numerous articles and books, as a world authority on race and culture. His books include "The Negro College Graduate" and "Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties", both published by the University of North Carolina Press; and "Patterns of Negro Segregation", published by Harper bros. in 1943. He also holds a merit citation from the Alumni ass'n of the University of Chicago.

Dr. Johnson Back From Tokyo Trip

Black Dispatch Oklahoma

NASHVILLE. — (ANP) — Dr. Charles S. Johnson, director of the department of social sciences, Fisk university, and one of the members of a commission appointed by the state and war departments, at the request of Gen. Douglas McArthur, to study and make proposals for the redirection of the education of the Japanese, has returned to this country after spending March in Japan studying various aspects of that country's educational and cultural systems.

The commission consisting of 27 American educators and working with a group of Japanese educators of about the same number as the American body, had an opportunity to investigate all types of educational institutions in Japan. Attention was given primarily to questions concerning the teaching of state religion in schools, the use of the imperial rescript in schools, the provision of materials to replace school subjects overweighted with nationalism and the religious issue of Buddhism, Shintoism, Confucianism and Christianity. the last problem has arisen through the competition of the four types of religion for ascendancy in the schools with the advent of religious freedom in Japan.

Sat 4-27-46

Recommendations of the mission's report were submitted to Gen. MacArthur following the completion of the mission's study in Japan. The commission urged the change in Japan's written language in order to eliminate "the difficult time-consuming medium of expression and communication." It recommended among other things, the substitution of Roman letters for picture-characters in written Japanese and urged drastic reform of Japan's "bureaucratic" school system. It urged compulsory high school education free from mythological indoctrination.

In an audience with Emperer Hirohito, Dr. Johnson said that the emperor declared he desired an American educator for his sons, and was placing one of them in the peers school, a public school for the upper classes in Tokyo. The members of the mission also had conference with Gen. MacArthur, Baron Shidehara, premier of Japan; and Japanese minister of education, Y. Abe.

In regard to the Japanese people, Dr. Johnson declared they seem on the whole "remarkably cooperative giving evidence of tremendous psychological defeat throughout the country, but are naturally an industrious people and have set about trying to rebuild destroyed cities. The military occupation, while stern and exacting, struck me as being accepted by the Japanese people as just, although rigorous, and they have respect for it."

The mission spent most of its time in Tokyo; however, visits were made to Hokohama, Kyoto, Nara and Osaka.

Sat 4-27-46

The American commission was headed by Dr. George D. Stoddard, president elect of the University of Illinois. Chairman of the Japanese committee was Dr. Shigeru Nanbara, president of Tokyo Imperial university. Some of the other members of the American commission were: Dr. William M. Compton, president, Washington State college; Virginia C. Gildersleve, dean, Barnard college; Ernest R. Hilgrad, Stanford university; David H. Stevens, Rockefeller foundation; Mrs. Douglas Horton, president, Wellesley; Harold Benjamin, U. S. Office of Education, and Gordon Bowles, department of state.

Johnson Back From Japan After Study of Schools

afro American Baltimore Md

Fisk Sociologist Has Audience With Emperor, Finds Japanese Busy Rebuilding Their Cities

4-20-46

NASHVILLE (ANP) — Dr. Charles S. Johnson, of Fish University, one of the members of a commission appointed by the State and War Departments to make proposals for the redircetion of Japanese education and cultural systems.

The commission consisting of 27 American educators working with Japanese educators gave primary attention to questions concerning the teaching of State religion in schools, the use of the imperial rescript in schools.

The provision of materials to replace school subjects overweighted with nationalism and militarism, and the religious issue of Buddhism, Shintoism. Confucianism and Christianity, were other issues.

Compulsory Education Suggested

Recommendations submitted to General MacArthur following the completion of the study urged the change in Japan's written language to eliminate "the difficult time-consuming medium of expression and communication," and urged compulsory high school education free from mythological indoctrination.

4-20-46

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4-20-46

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 11-9-46

TO NATIONAL STAFF—Miss Ann Mason has been appointed to the staff of the Racial Relations Service of the National Housing Agency, Administrator Wilson W. Wyatt announced this week. This service, under the direction of Dr. Frank S. Horne, seeks to assure equitable participation of minority groups in all phases of the Veterans Emergency Housing program. Thurs. 8-29-46

Miss Mason until recently was on the staff of the Community Service Division of the Office of Price Administration where she worked for the past 18 months as a consumer relations officer.

Before coming to Washington, she had been a public school teacher in her native city of Cincinnati, Ohio, a newspaper worker with the Ohio edition of the Pittsburgh Courier and a field representative of the National Political Action Committee, CIO.

Newspaper Man Appointed Deputy Recorder Of Deeds

Defender Chicago, Ill.

ST. LOUIS—A. Oliver Thornton, advertising manager, St. Louis editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, has been appointed Deputy Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, it was announced this week by Congressman John B. Sullivan (Dem. 11th district, Mo.).

Recommended by Congressman Sullivan, Thornton will assume his post Dec. 15. The position, under civil service, has a responsibility almost equal to that of Recorder of Deeds, held by Rev. Marshall Sheppard of Philadelphia. The job carries a base pay of $5,905.20, increasing to $6,144.60 after 18 months, and $6,384 after 36 months.

Born in St. Louis, the 39-year-old appointee attended Lewis Institute in Chicago, and majored in business and commerce at Northwestern University.

At present senior interviewer for the U. S. Employment Service, he is former assistant director of personnel of the United States Cartridge Co.

R. E. Hannegan Appoints Assistant

The Call Kansas City, Mo.

Post to West Virginia Man

Gazette 10-11-46

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA)— Postmaster General Robert E. Hannegan last Monday appointed Marsden W. Cabell, 34, of Charleston, W. Va., as a confidential assistant to Jesse M. Donaldson, first assistant postmaster general.

Mr. Cabell was sworn in by Mr. Hannegan in ceremonies in the Postmaster General's office attended by Representative E. H. Hendrick, Democrat, of West Virginia, and ranking officials of the Post Office Department and other government agencies.

MARSDEN W. CABELL

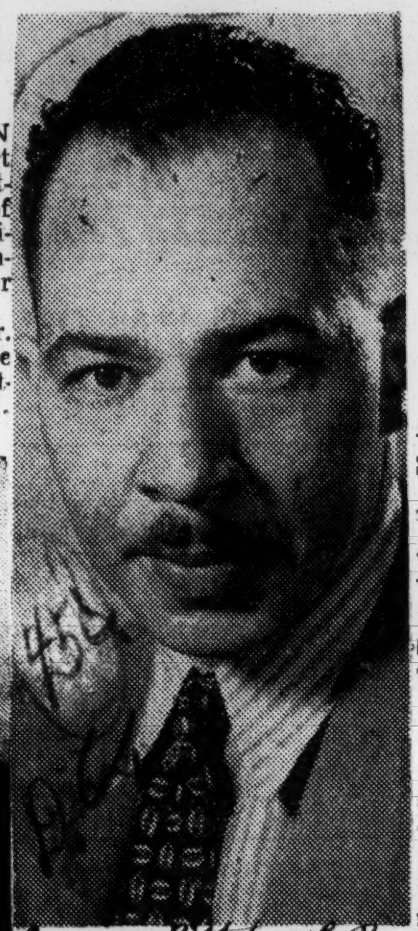
Mr. Donaldson said Mr. Cabell's experience with people "eminently qualified" him for the job.

He said he had no intention of using Mr. Cabell to work solely on problems dealing with colored people but would use him on any assignment that he might need him for.

Postmaster General Hannegan said Mr. Cabell will be an excellent addition to the entire postal service.

Mr. Cabell graduated from West Virginia State college in 1933, studied Italian at La Scoula D'Italia, Portugese at Morris Harvey college, and attended Social Workers' Institute in Charleston.

He has been active in education and business fields and in Democratic politics in West Virgina. He is married and has three children. He credits Senator Harley M. Kilgore and Representative Hedrick, Democrats, of West Virginia, with his Post Office Department appointment. The job pays $6,000 a year.



Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

TECH ADVISER—Kenneth E. Banks, former War Manpower Commission Minority Groups supervisor for the State of Ohio, has been named technical adviser in the Minority Groups section of the U. S. Employment Service. Mr. Banks, who joined the national staff of USES last January as consultant, is now attached to the office of Mrs. Thomasina Walker Johnson, chief of the Minority Groups section. Sat. 10-19-46

Consultant

The Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

DR. ROSCOE C. GILES, who has been appointed consultant to the Secretary of War through the Surgeon General's Office. He hails from Chicago. Sat. 11-2-46

Pittsburgh Courier Sat.

DEPUTY RECORDER — A. Oliver Thornton, advertising manager of the St. Louis (Mo.) edition of The Pittsburgh Courier and a USES employe, has been appointed deputy recorder of deeds, District of Columbia. Mr. Thornton is due to take over his new post Dec. 15. He was recommended by Congressman John B. Sullivan of Missouri. 11-2-46

The Courier

experts chosen from 39 applicants of German and French in the United States for work in special studies, Miss Diggs planed to Uruguay last go to Bogota, Colombia. Wednesday to begin her study.

A research assistant for nine years to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in the special research department of the NAACP, Miss Diggs said she would apply herself primarily to the history of the descendants of African slaves brought into Montevideo by slave ships. The assignment presents a research problem, she declared, because records have been neglected and none are available in English.

Was F.D.R. Fellow

A native of Monmouth, Ill., Miss Diggs is a graduate of the University of Minnesota, Atlanta University, and the University of Havana. She was a Franklin D. Roosevelt Fellow of the Institute of International Education at the Cuban institution from 1943 to 1945, and received a doctorate in philosophy and letters. Sat. 9-7-46

One other woman is a member of the State Department group. She is Miss Fonio Karsen, teacher

Ray's Philippine Mission Branded Complete Failure

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 9-28-46

MANILA, P.I. — (ANP) — Because Marcus H. Ray, civilian aide to the Secretary of War, did not visit here long enough, nor meet persons who could have given him first-hand knowledge of conditions, the more progressive elements here believe that his recent visit was a complete failure.

Mr. Ray made an unannounced week's visit to survey and establish grounds for better relationships among colored Americans and Filipinos, but many believed his mission also was to check on reports of a civil clash between progressive and reactionary Filipino groups.

The Chronicle, a Manila newspaper, quoted Mr. Ray as confirming anti-colored propaganda directed against colored troops by vicious white elements. Other sources criticized him for not having met the "right people," nor remained in the country long enough to get a clear picture of conditions here.

Miss Ellen Diggs Gets Probe Post

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK—(ANP) — Miss Ellen Irene Diggs last week became assigned by the State Department to make social investigations in South America. One of nine

Minority Chief Orders Misconduct Charges Filed

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 10-26-46

Dispute Over Rating Said to Be Basis of Long-Standing Friction Between Pair

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Friction, which has existed between Mrs. Thomasina C. Johnson, chief of the minority groups section of the United States Employment Service, and Lawrence A. Oxley, senior technician in that office, has broken out into an open fight, it was learned last Friday.

Mrs. Johnson, asked about Misler, Labor Department attorney, to prepare formal charges of misconduct against Mr. Oxley.

Charge of Wastage Made

The charges against Mr. Oxley grew out of his having a woman employee perform some personal work for him on government time and equipment.

The woman employee concerned claims that the work was performed during her lunch period and that she had the permission of her supervisor to do it.

Misler Reveals Action

Mr. Misler, on Friday, was asked to comment on a report that he had given a USES woman employee a "good going over," while questioning her about the personal work she is reported to have performed for Mr. Oxley.

Mr. Misler said that in questioning the woman, he was acting in his official capacity as a Labor Department attorney; and that he had been instructed to gather informaion concerning Mr. Oxley and prepare charges against him.

He denied that he had used "third degree' methods in questioning the woman employee involved, stating that he told her he was merely seeking information concerning someone else.

Mr. Fletcher changed Oxley's efficiency rating from "fair" to "satisfactory."

Bating Starts Friction

Friction between Mrs. Johnson and Mr. Oxley dates back to the latter part of last April, when she concurred in a rating of "fair" given him by Benjamin Wilson, Mrs. Johnson's predecessor, for the rating period which ended March 31, after Mr. Wilson resigned.

Four days after Mrs. Johnson took office in April, is reported to have notified Richard Fletcher, chief of the standards and methods division of the USES, that she concurred in the rating of "fair" given Mr. Oxley.

Mr. Oxley has been an employee of the Labor Department for 14 years and has had several ratings of "excellent" and none below "very good."

Mrs. Johnson Rebuffed

Immediately after Mr. Oxley was given the "fair" rating, United Public Workers of America, Local No. 10, announced it would take up his case. Its first move was a rebuff to Mrs. Johnson.

When she appeared at a conference at which the rating was to be discussed, union officials refused to begin the discussion until she left.

According to reports, the union contends that Mrs. Johnson was incompetent to rate Mr. Oxley, because he was never under her supervision during the rating period from April 1, 1945, to March 31, last.

Oxley's Rating Adjusted

Mr. Wilson's rating is said to have been based on poor work performance, but was given Mr. Oxley on the ground that he was non-co-operative and had sought to disrupt the program of the minority groups section.

When USES officials met with the union heads two weeks ago to discuss Mr. Oxley's rating, the officials asked the union to give them two weeks to gather additional information in the case.

Vets' Training Program

The Afro-American

One meeting where the race questions never got an airing was at the conference of State Veterans re-training and re-employment representatives, who meet here Wednesday and Thursday.

Not even Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach, who made such a forthright speech in which he reiterated his record as a liberal before the National Council of Negro Women, who were meeting in an adjoining room, mentioned the problem of the darker brother.

The reason for all this was explained by Col. William A. Clarke, consultant on veterans' problems. Colonel Clarke, formerly of Tuskegee, was the only colored person in attendance. He along with Dr. F. D. Patterson, Dr. Ambrose Caliver of Washington and Julius Thomas of the National Urban League are advisors on the Vets Training program.

Advce Unsatisfactory

So far a lot of people are not satisfied with the advice they have been giving, if any, because to date there is not one colored worker assigned to the 13 regions employing 90 high salaried employees.

Baltimore, Md.

"We do not consider the problem as a racial problem, but we are covering all veterans regardless of race, creed or color," declared Colonel Clarke.

Prior to the cessation of hostilities, Colonel Clarke served as a specialist in charge of the welfare of colored soldiers in the South. Prior to that he was dean of the Echool of Education at Tuskegee for 21 years.

He expressed deep disappointment at the rate at which discharged veterans are returning to theSouth. During the training period, he said as he travelo among the draftees in the varoius camps he heard thousands of youths saying they would never come back to the old conditions of the South.

Sat. 11-23-46

Employment Mounting

But with war's end, they are flocking back even more disillusioned and maladjusted than ever. As a result unemployment is mounting and race relations aggravated by the economic situation, are becoming more strained.

This is not equally true of civilian workers who migrated northward and westward. Having had a chance to put down their roots in industrial centers, they seem more inclined to stick it out than the ex-soldiers even though many war plants have shut down.

This, Colonel Clarke attributes to the fact that matters not how bad things apparently get up north ,it's just as good if not better than what they left. There is nothing to lure them back.

APPOINTED

DR. CHANNING TOBIAS

Noted civic leader, and official of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, appointed recently to President Truman's Civil Rights Committee.

Executive Order Creates Civil Board To Study Weaknesses In United States' Laws

The Defender

Chicago, Ill. Sat. 12-14-46

By VENICE SPRAGGS

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—Strongly acknowledging the responsibility of the federal government to guarantee individual liberties and equal protection under the law, President Truman has established a 15-man committee to recommend legislation for the more effective protection of the civil rights of the people.

The committee which shall be known as the "President's Committee on Civil Rights" was created by executive order, and has been authorized "to inquire into and to determine whether and in what respect current law-enforcement measures and the authority and means possessed by federal, state, and local governments may be strengthened and improved to safeguard the civil rights of the people."

12-14-46

Composed of some of the nation's outstanding crusaders for justice and equality, the committee will function under the chairmanship of Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric company and formerly executive vice chairman of the War Production board.

In establishing the committee, the president said the Federal government is presently hampered in meeting its responsibility for protecting individual liberties because of an "inadequate" federal law. He said this move was aimed "to provide the Department of Justice with the tools to do the job."

"The preservation of civil liberties is a duty of every government — state, federal, and local. Wherever the law enforcement measures and the authority of federal, state and local governments are inadequate to discharge this primary function of government, these measures and this authority should be strengthened and improved," he declared.

Mr. Truman's move was motivated by petitions from numerous organizations throughout the country, calling for presidential intervention in the mass brutal lynchings which swept the country earlier this year. It was timed to coincide with a federal grand jury investigation of the atrocious murder of four innocent victims at Monroe, Ga.

The President had indicated to a delegation which called on him at the White House, headed by NAACP secretary, Walter White, that he intended to take some positive action to bring lynchings under control. It had been expected the committee would have been named earlier. A White House spokesman told the Defender Mr. Truman had refrained naming the committee prior to November 5, lest his action be interpreted as politically intended to attract the Negro vote.

Two Negro members, Mrs. Sadie M. Alexander, lawyer, of Philadelphia, and Dr. Channing H. Tobias of New York City, director of the Phelp-Stokes Fund; formerly senior secretary of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian association.

Defender

In a statement accompanying his order, President Truman noted that "Freedom from Fear" is more fully realized in our country than in any other on the face of the earth. "Yet all parts of our population are not equally free from fear," he stated.

"Today, Freedom from Fear, and the democratic institutions which sustain it, are again under attack. In some places, from time to time, the local enforcement of law and order has broken down, and individuals — sometimes ex-servicemen, even women — have been killed, maimed, or intimidated," the Chief Executive reminded.

The President in his order instructed all departments and agencies of government to cooperate with the committee in its work and to furnish the committee such information or the service of such persons as it may require in the performance of its duties.

He directed, that when requested by the committee to do so, persons employed in any of the executive departments and agencies of the Federal government shall testify before the committee and shall make available for the use of the committee such documents and other information as the committee may require.

Chicago, Ill.

The committee's findings and recommendations for action will be made to the President in a report, and will serve as the basis for legislative action.

12-14-46

It has been known for some time that the Civil Rights division of the Department of Justice, under the direction of Attorney General Tom Clark has been working on a document of justification for a stronger civil rights law which it plans to present to the 80th Congress when it convenes on January 3. Other members of the committee are:

JAMES B. CARNEY of Washington, D. C.; secretary-treasurer, Congress of Industrial Organizations; chairman, CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination.

JOHN S. DICKEY, president of Dartmouth college; formerly special assistant to the Secretary of State.

MORRIS L. ERNST, lawyer and author, of New York City.

RABBI ROLAND G. GITTELSOHN of New York City; spiritual leader of the Central Synagogue at Rockville, Long Island; recipient of the Navy Commendation Medal for his services as the Jewish chaplain of the Fifth Marine Division at Iwo Jima.

DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM, president of the University of North Carolina; formerly member of the War Labor board.

THE MOST PEVEREND FRANCIS J. HAAS, bishop of Grand Rapids, Michigan; formerly chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

CHARLES LUCKMAN of Cambridge, Mass.; president of Lever Brothers; formerly consultant to the War Loan Division, United States Treasury.

FRANCIS P. MATTHEWS of Omaha, Neb.; former Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus; vice president of the National War fund; designated Papal Chamberlain by Pope Pius XII.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT JR., lawyer of New York City; chairman of the Housing Committee of the American Veterans committee.

THE RIGHT REVEREND HENRY KNOX SHERRILL of Boston, Mass., presiding bishop of the Episcopal church; member of the Governor of Massachusetts' Committee on Racial and Religious Understanding.

BORIS SHISKIN of Alexandria, Va., economist for the American Federation of Labor; formerly a member of the President's Committee On Fair Employment Practice.

MRS. M. E. TILLEY of Atlanta, Ga.; secretary, Department of Social Relations, Women's Society of Christian Service, Methodist church.

45c 1946 D. C. (General)

THE HORIZON

Pittsburgh Courier

By P. L. PRATTIS

Pittsburgh Pa.

A Peep Behind the Scenes at the Work of Dr. Ralph Bunche

YOU know all about Matthew Henson, who accompanied Commodore Peary to the North Pole in 1909, so I propose to conduct a minor exploration into the burgeoning career of another black (really, high yellow) man this week. My man, like Henson, is making headway over a treacherous, weather-beaten terrain uncharted heretofore for the likes of him. My man is Dr. Ralph Bunche, erstwhile professor of political science at Howard University, now on leave for service with the State Department. I think the boys and girls ought to study up on Dr. Bunche. This little piece is being written to kindle their interest, to stimulate them to find out more. If they learn how Dr. Bunche has moved ahead in his field, they may come to understand that there is a chance and a future for them.

Mr. Prattis

I don't know how Dr. Bunche went into the State Department under Cordell Hull. But I am confident he did not start at the top. When I began to know about him, he was doing a journeyman job in the Division of Dependent Areas. That is, he was in that division of the department which concerns itself with political, social and economic relations in colonies and other exploited areas. You know, of course, that millions and millions of the people in dependent areas are black and brown people. You would hope that the leadership in our own division of Dependent Areas would work to promote the welfare, in every way, of the people in such areas. You would feel a bit encouraged when you learned that a black man was put into a position where he could see what was going on. You would feel very much encouraged if the heart of that black man was in the right place.

Sat. 35-20-46

WELL, from journeyman Dr. Bunche moved right up in his division. He became associate director of the Division, then acting director which he has been for almost a year. Simply, a black man has been running the Division of Dependent Areas in our State Department ever since James F. Byrnes became Secretary of State. Strange things happen, don't they?

They don't hide Dr. Bunche in the State Department like they do many of our bright boys in the post office. He occupied a big office in the Fairmount Hotel, San Francisco, during the Conference there and served as technical advisor to the American delegation. Prior to that, he had helped the American delegation at Dumbarton Oaks draw up the preliminary draft for a United Nations Charter. From San Francisco, he went to Paris to participate in the conference of the International Labor Organization. Miss Frances Perkins, former Secretary of Labor, was chief of the American delegation. Miss Perkins was so struck by the work of Dr. Bunche, by a Negro playing a major role in such affairs, that she wrote a lengthy article commending him and noting the significance of a Negro performing such intellectual chores. From Paris, Dr. Bunche went to London for the first meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations. At the conclusion of its sessions, he flew from London to St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, to participate in the second West Indies Conference as an American member of the Caribbean Commission.

It ought to be mentioned that Dr. Bunche's staff accompanies him to all these places and that no color line is drawn in providing him with staff. He is thoroughly respected by all those who work for him and under him. When he reached Miami (on the way to the Virgin Islands), he was whisked away (by whites in Miami) to a special function given in his honor.

* * *

TWO FINAL words. Dr. Bunche is dead set against imperialism of all kinds. He wants to see all people politically free. He is uncompromisingly FOR the peoples of the dependent areas, behind the pleasant, youthful smile he carries. Sometimes, you think he is too much for freedom or for too much freedom. He writes with a wonderully fine Italian hand. He did yeoman work with Gunnar Myrdal in compiling "An American Dilemma. He has an extraordinary facility for "loading" a paragraph with what he believes in and making a superior belie/e that the thought came to him first. He is not selfish. He is not one of those Negroes who gets in on a choice spot and becomes wary against other Negroes moving in and sharing the spotlight with him. After his return from London, he said to this writer:

"Prattis, Negroes ought to get busy and prepare to obtain some of the jobs in the United Nations' set-up. There are going to be all kinds of jobs and Negroes should attempt to get jobs on all levels. Some organization should be working on this now."

Of course, I thought he was right. I told him I thought the task ought to be undertaken by one of the fraternities or sororities. Qualified men and women, wher ever they can be found, should be pointed for United Nations service. Dr. Bunche could have such a job but he prefers to stay where he is. He wants to see others move ahead.

I hope he will pardon this little mention of him. He is a behind-the-scene worker. But sometimes the curtain has to be lifted for the benefit of others.

Albright Named Assistant To Gen'l Bradley

Atlanta Daily World

Appointment Follows Demand By Veterans

Atlanta Ga.

Wed. 5-15-46

WASHINGTON,—(ANP)— Negro executive representation in the powerful Veterans Administration improved last week through the precedent-shattering appointment of Joseph Francis Albright, Associated Negro Press columnist and veteran public relations man, as assistant to Gen. Omar Bradley, VA chairman. Albright had served as liaison officer and information specialist for the Veterans administration since last November.

His latest appointment is said to have been pending since last December, following a growing demand by Negro veterans for VA executive representation. Albright's appointment is credited to Rep. William L. Dawson, Illinois congressman, and other influential Negro and white leaders.

GOODWILL AMBASSADOR

A native of Minnesota, he has been in public life for more than 20 years. He served on the public relatelons staff of a large industrial firm before the war. After entering the army, he served as public relations specialist of the Army Air forces and by his interracial civilian military activities earned the title of "goodwill ambassador of the air corps."

Albright was the first Negro in air corps history to officially deliver orientation lectures to the entire white personnel civilians and military, at army air bases. He has been frequently credited with laying the foundation for current army racial reforms, partly projected in the highly publicized Gillem report on wider utilization of Negro troops. James C. Evans, assistant civilian aide to the secretary of war, predicted that Albright's military orientation lectures would be "a pattern for post-war interracial conduct."

Complete details on his duties have not been released, but it is assumed his recommendations will represent the wishes and demands of Negro veterans.

Recorder of Deeds Office Among Few Jobs Given Minority for Party Vote

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 5-21-46

By LOUIS LAUTIER

(For the NNPA News Service)

The office of the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia is one of a handful of Presidential appointments given to colored persons in recognition of their political contribution to the victory of the party in power.

The governorship of the Virgin Islands, a federal judgeship in the same islands, a judgeship of the United States Court of Customs Appeals, a judgeship of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia, and the ministership to Liberia about complete the list.

Upheaval Minor

Comparatively, so far as can be learned, the upheaval that has recently taken place in the Recorder's office appears to be minor.

The charges range from unbecoming conduct to favoritism and inefficiency, with a staggering backlog of work that is embarrassing financial institutions lending money on property in the District of Columbia.

Nine of these charges are verified. The Rev. Marshall Shepard, the Recorder of Deeds, is not talking until the Federal Bureau of Investigation submits its report of the inquiry it conducted into his office.

Fred Weaver, the deposed first deputy Recorder of Deeds, also is not talking until he has exhausted his means of vindication within the Truman Administration and the Democratic party.

FBI Silent Still

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is not commenting. As a matter of fact, a spokesman for that agency said it wished newspapers would not comment upon pending cases because very often the charges made are proved unfounded and "the defense never catches up with the prosecution."

In the circumstances, the charges, the FBI investigation, and the arbitrary dismissal of Mr. Weaver are unfortunate.

This case will not be cited as another example of bad bureaucratic administration; it will be used to further the campaign of the commissioners of the District of Columbia for control of this office, on the ground that colored persons cannot capably administer it.

One of the difficulties, in which Mr. Shepard now finds himself involved, stems from the fact that positions under the Recorder of Deeds are excepted from the civil service laws.

Not Federal Employees

General speaking, the officers and employeess of the District of Columbia are not within the classified service because they are not officers and employees of the federal government but of a munipal corporation.

But positions under the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation and the Public Welfare Boards have been made subject to the civil service act and rules, and employees of the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia are required to be appointed from eligible lists of the Civil Service Commission.

The District of Columbia Employment Center is part of the federal government rather than of the District of Columbia government, and positions in the center are in the classified civil service.

Positions in the police and fire departments of the District of Columbia, although not in the classified service, are filled under the civil service rules by virtue of statutes.

If appointments made by the Recorder of Deeds were subject to the civil service rules, the charges of favoritism among employees would not have been brought against Mr. Shepard.

No Civil Service Protection

Appointments, promotions and removals would have been made in accordance with civil service rules and regulations, and employees of his office would have the benefits of the civil service acts and rules with respect to tenure.

A basic rule of the Civil Service Commission provides that no person in the classified service of the United States shall be removed therefrom, except for such cause as will promote the efficiency of the service and for reasons given in writing.

The person whose removal is sought shall have notice of the same and of any charges preferred against him and be furnished with a copy thereof, and also be allowed reasonable time for personally answering the same in writing.

Inasmuch as employees of the Recorder's office are not subject to the provisions of the civil service act, they enjoy none of the benefit under the civil service act and regulations that other federal or District employees, who are not excepted, enjoy.

The benefits of the civil service laws should be extended to all persons engaged in the legitimate service of the government, whether such persons are or are not technically in the employment of the United States.

One other thing: Taxpayers are entitled to have, as the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia, a man, who for the salary of approximatly $9,000 a year, will devote his full time to the duties of the office.

Negro Wins U.S. Patent

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 6-22-46

Examiner Post

WASHINGTON—Samuel F. Coleman is a veteran of the European campaign in which he won two battle stars. He holds a degree in engineerig from the City College of New York.

The appointment is in accord with an announcement made last March by Caspar Olmes, commissioner of patents for the Commerce department, informing Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace that he became the only Negro patent examiner in the United States Commerce department Patent office.

Additional appointments to similar positions will be made after Judge Cole-ly, according to patent office officials.

'Army in Pacific Performs Difficult Task Well,' War Aide Tells Patterson

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 9-28-46

Ray Reports Troop Morale Generally High Following Inspection of Oriental Bases

WASHINGTON—(NNPA)— In the Pacific area, the Army has performed a difficult task well, despite the additional burdens brought about by the too hasty redeployment program and the loss of large numbers of disciplined and battle-tried veterans.

Marcus H. Ray, his civilian aide, so officially reported to Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson, at the conclusion of his recent tour of Army installations in the Pacific area.

Mr. Ray said he found on Oahu, the most important of the Hawaiian islands, 51 colored officers. Recreational facilities were adequate and were used by all military personnel without regard to race or color, he stated.

Morale Generally High

Morale was generally high and mess facilities were generally from very good to excellent, with the exception of the Army port and service command, commanded by Brigadier General Roy E. Blount, Mr. Ray disclosed.

"Here I found adverse morale conditions," he reported to Mr. Patterson. "The men were quartered in the deck area of Sand Island, recovered tideland," he said.

The area was depressingly unsightly, and the appearance of the quarters and mess facilities was not conducive to the development of morale," he stated.

Investigation Promised

Mr. Ray added that the colored officers, seven in number, had been directed not to use the facilities of the officers' club.

The conditions were brought to the attention of the commanding general of the Army Forces in the Western Pacific, who promised to investigate, Mr. Ray reported.

At Schofield Barracks, commanded by Brigadier General Wayne C. Smith, Mr. Ray said he found the most effective implementation of War Department policy regarding effective utilization of colored personnel.

There were stationed at these barracks two quartermaster truck companies, one quartermaster laundry company, one quartermaster service company and an Army Ground Forces band.

He said there were 18 colored officers assigned to these units, of whom seven were performing essential staff duties.

Mr. Ray added that quarters on the post were assigned without regard to race or color and General Smith reported no incidents of friction. Morale, discipline and training were at a high level, he reported.

Whites at Hawaii Biased

At the Hawaiian Air Depot, Mr. Ray had to request corrective action in eliminating race discrimination in housing and work assignments among civilian employees, he said.

Mr. Ray found seven colored officers assigned on Guam, where he said mess, housing and recreational facilities were very good. He also reported that morale was very good.

At Okinawa Mr. Ray found three colored officers and the Twenty-fourth Infantry Regiment among other units. The regiment, Mr. Ray reported, has been selected for intensive training which will fit it for trans-shipment to Japan for occupation duty in the near future.

Mrs. Edmonia Grant Chosen To Education Post In Washington

Globe and Independent Nashville, Tenn. Fri. 11-8-46

Mrs. Edmonia W. Grant, director of education for the American Missionary Association, has been appointed by the U. S. Office of Education to be assistant director of the project for the Adult Education of Negroes. Mrs. Grant, who left today for Washington, will be away on a three months leave of absence from her A. M. A. headquarters on the Fisk University campus.

Perhaps best known for the series of posters on "The Races of Mankind," which she originated and popularized, Mrs. Grant goes to her new post, she said in an interview this morning, "to aid in the preparation of simple, dramatic material for adult education, and in the adoption of army literacy programs for civilians use."

The adult education project sponsored by the U. S. Office of Education and financed by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation was recently inaugurated at a number of Negro university centers, following a meeting of government and educational leaders at Hampton Institute in September. Mrs. Grant attended the conference as a consultant. Tennessee A. and I. State College and Fisk University are jointly supervising evening classes at special centers in the Nashville and Memphis areas. The program's primary concern is with 'functional illiterates'—those adults who have not completed the 5th grade. 41 Per cent of America's colored population are in this category.

Mrs. Grant, who received the B. A. degree from Howard University and the M. A. from Fisk, was supervisor of adult education for WPA in western North Carolina from 1935 to 1937. Following a period as research assistant at Fisk, she was given a Rosenwald Fellowship at Columbia University's Teachers' College for a two years study of adult education. In 1945 she came to the A. M. A. staff in Nashville from a position as program secretary of the National YWCA's student division.

War Dept. Aide Ends 30-Day Tour

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

Winding up a 30-day tour of Army installations in the Western Pacific with a visit to Korea, Marcus H. Ray, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, is en route to Washington aboard a C-54 transport plane, the War Department announced last week.

Mr. Ray toured the Pacific area to inquire into the welfare and utilization of military and War Department civilian personnel.

His itinerary included brief visits to Oahu, Territory of Hawaii; Guam in the Marianas; Manila and the Province of Pampanga on the island of Luzon; Okinawa; Tokyo, Kobe, Kyoto, and Yokahama in Japan, and areas in Korea.

Lunched With MacArthur

Arriving in Tokyo on Aug. 23, Mr. Ray was luncheon guest of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Allied Commander in the Pacific, at the American Embassy, and on Aug. 25, attended a briefing session at headquarters of AFPAC (American Forces in the Pacific) in the Da-Ichi Building in Tokyo.

While in Manila, Mr. Ray was luncheon guest at Malacanan Palace of President Manual Roxas of the Philippine Republic, where he met Paul V. McNutt, American ambassador, Elpidio Quirino, vice-president of the Philippines, and Maj. Gen. James G. Christiansen.

Mr. Ray is accompanied by Maj. Judson W. Wark, War Department General Staff, and 1st Lt. George E. Norford, War Department Public Relations Division. Sat. 9-13-46

New D.C. Deputy Recorder Named; Rumors Not Proved

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 9-14-46

WASHINGTON

First claiming the headlines when FBI investigators moved in two weeks ago and began quizzing employees, then thrown into high gear last week when First Deputy Frederick S. Weaver was ousted the fireworks in the District Recorder of Deeds Office were about doused Tuesday with the announcement that William O. Woodson has been appointed to succeed Weaver.

Clarence A. Dockens, administrative assistant to Dr. Marshall Shepard, made the announcement in absence of the head of the office who is attending the National Baptist Convention in Atlanta this week.

Pittsburgher Appointed

Mr. Woodson, a Pittsburgher, who has been in Washington since 1935, is currently a member of the District Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, and is not expected to assume his new duties for a month.

He is a graduate of Terrell Law School and has served as court bailiff but, otherwise, has no startlingly impressive local record save that he is generally considered a good citizen.

During the two weeks preceding Woodson's appointment, however, speculation on reasons for the FBI probe, attempts to connect the probe with requests for Weaver's resignation and rumors of a dozen kinds have been rife in governmental and civic circles.

Federal Officials Mum

At first reluctant to comment on the FBI investigation, officials have since gone completely mum on what J. Edgar Hoover's men were seeking; but reliable sources have revealed that they may have been looking for any one of a number of things.

While some less imaginative commenters have been satisfied with the explanation that the FBI was checking compliants about policy and operation of the agency, a few more morbid souls have added spice to the incident.

Juiciest of all rumors is one that an unidentified guard told of having admitted a couple to the office on a Sunday and subsequent having seen them indulging in alcoholics and other conduct unbecoming in an office building. The Afro-American

Rumor Scotched

This was scotched, however, when the man denied the statement to a probing AFRO reporter.

Next most interesting yarn, as far as the public has been concerned, is that both the investigation and the firing of Weaver stem from Weaver's political ambitions.

It is an accepted fact that Weaver had more than a decade of service in the agency and had hoped to get the appointment at the time of the death of Dr. William J. Thompkins, under whom he had worked for nine years.

Has Influential Friends

Weaver claims personal friendships with President Truman, Chairman Bob Hannegan of the Democratic National Committee and Countless Congressman on the District of Columbia Committee. His political pull was reportedly exerted before the appointment of Dr. Marshall Shepard, a Philadelphia minister; but it is said that he doesn't command enough votes for the satisfaction of Democratic big-wigs. Baltimore, Md.

Dr. Shepard, with the Baptist Convention behind him, seemed a better choice to the Democrats.

After his selection, though it is alleged that he knew of Weaver's efforts to get the appointment, he kept Weaver on as first deputy.

Great Lag in Work

Some commenters insist, though, that Weaver was disgruntled and while often boasting of "running the office" while Dr. Shepard was either in or out of town, the administration of the agency was really in the hands of Administrative Assistant Dockens.

Other commenters contend that Weaver really did "run the office," which would normally be no more than his duty when Dr. Shepard was not in.

These Weaver rooters have some difficulty explaining an alleged backlog of 14,000 pieces of work, but argue that a property boom in the District tripling the work has come about while personnel remained approximately the same.

Summarily Dismissed

Weaver's dismissal followed an exchange of notes with Dr. Shepard and a brief personal conference. No specific sharges were levied against him; so he refused to resign and was summarily dismissed. Sat. 9-14-46

It is reported that office officials insist that there is no connection between his dismissal and the FBI probe.

Speculators, however, insist that it may have been that Weaver "talked too freely" when being questioned about alleged improper employer-employee relations.

Probe Results Untold

Dr. Shepard has said for publication that he had previously planned to ask for Weaver's resignation and observers point out that the FBI's findings have not been released and questioning of some former employees is still underway.

Whatever the case, there is a new first deputy in the Recorder of Deeds' office this week and the only repercussions expected by those reputedly "in the know" are that Weaver is not yet out of the picture, altogether.

The Boards, charged with reviewing cases of all military prisoners now serving general court-martial sentences, are set up under the Under Secretary of War's office with a view of effecting such reduction in sentences as may be warranted on the basis of individual records in each case.

Colonel Moses, who has a total of 22 years' military service, served as Special Clemency Boards in Hawaii, Australia, New Guinea and the Philippine Islands during World War II.

At the same time, it is said that the findings of the FBI probe be released everything from moral misconduct to expressions of racial prejudice among some white workers might be disclosed.

Office Political Plum

The records show that the recorders' office has been a political plum reserved for colored ever since its inception before the turn of the century, except for one period during the term of President Woodrow Wilson.

Even those handling the incidents most viciously express the hope that whatever changes have been made will serve to remove any onus on the office.

They fervently pray that the office will not be snatched away because of the shortsightedness or misconduct of a few

Col. Moses To Clemency Board

The Afro-American Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON — Lt. Col. Maurice Moses, Coast Artillery officer and former lawyer of New York City, has been appointed to a total of 22 years' military service, served as Special Clemency Boards here, the War Department announced last week. Sat. 9-14-46

Off to White House Dinner

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

(45c) D. C.

Sat. JUDGE AND MRS. ARMOND SCOTT, 12-21-46 shown as they left their home for the White House where they attended the dinner given by President and Mrs. Truman for members of the judiciary and their wives. Judge Scott presides in the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.

Scotts Renew Acquaintances at President's Judiciary Reception

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

"It was just like renewing old acquaintances," said Mrs. Armond W. Scott, who accompanied her husband, Judge Scott, on their first postwar visit to the White House Tuesday nigh as the guests of President and Mrs. Truman, at the Judiciary Reception.

This is the first of the once colorful annual affairs held at the Executive Mansion since Dec. 17, 1940, the Scott's fifth trip to the White House. Sat. 12-21-46

Wears Moss Green Creatioin

Mrs. Scott wore a warm moss green crepe gown, designed and fashioned by Nora Higley.

The back was completely bare to midsection of her back, and caught at the neckline by a loop which supported the "V" shape front. Instead of sleeves, there were bands fitted to hug her arms directly above the elbow.

Appliqued bunches of multi-colored flowers in sequins were at the shoulder, hip and bottom of the draped skirt. Her accessories were of dawn gold.

Greeted Cordially

On her platinum tresses fashioned with a center part to the back and pompadour sides, she wore a black mantilla of lace. Her evening coat was of black velvet on which she wore an emerald and gold pin with matching earrings.

Mrs. Scott said that Mrs. Truman greeted her very cordially and she received the same hospitality as she did in previous years.

Among the new acquaintances she made was Judge Alan T. Goldsborough, who recently rendered the verdict against John L. Lewis, AFL Union leader.

Sworn In As Deputy Recorder

The Call Kansas City, Mo.

(45c) D. C.

Oath of Office Administered To Oliver Thornton

WASHINGTON. — (NNPA) — Oliver Thornton of St. Louis, was sworn in Thursday afternoon Dec. 19, as deputy recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia, succeeding Frederick S. Weaver, whose forced resignation took place in August.

The oath of office was administered to Mr. Oliver by Judge Armond W. Scott of the District of Columbia Municipal court. The ceremony took place in the library room.

Present at the swearing in were the Rev. Marshall Shepard, Recorder of Deeds; Mrs. Oliver, and employes of the office of the Recorder of Deeds. Dr. Shepard stood on one side of Mr. Oliver during the ceremonies.

Last Of New Dealers Leaves Cabinet

The Informer Houston Texas

Sat. 9-28-46

Henry A. Wallace, last of the Roosevelt New Dealers in the executive branch of the national government, walked the plank last Saturday. He joined Harold L. Ickes, Henry Morgenthau, and others of Franklin Roosevelt's official family in exile. Speculation is still rife on what the meaning and significance of Wallace's leaving the cabinet will have on the November elections. Reports are that he will speak in each of the 48 states before the November elections.

Representative John J. Sparkman of Alabama, chairman of the Democratic speakers bureau, announced that neither Wallace nor Senator Claude Pepper of Florida would speak officially for the Democrats. Only those who are not critical of what James Byrnes of South Carolina is doing with American foreign policy will be allowed to speak in the name of the administration and the Democratic party.

Mr Wallace is not the president of the United States today because the southern democrats under Mr. Bilbo's leadership refused to have him. James Byrnes is not president today because the northern Democrats refused to have him. So Harry Truman became vice president and succeeded to the presidency.

Henry Wallace took the compromise pleasantly. He took the stump and covered the United States talking to people and working speeches for the election of Roosevelt and Truman. In New York City one day in 1944, Mr. Wallace and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell walked ten blocks through Harlem's streets. Negroes swarmed in windows and doorways to see the two men just walk along. Mr. Powell is reported to have said, "This walk means 50,000 votes for Mr. Roosevelt." Mr. Wallace replied, "If I thought that, I'd walk to the Canadian border."

In 1944, Mr. Wallace covered a lot of territory, not always walking. One day he came to Prairie View college campus. Finding Dr. W. R. Banks away from the campus, he walked down to the principal's house and sat on the porch and talked to Mrs. Banks.

On Thursday, July 11 1946, in a speech at a Madison Square Garden anti-Dewey, anti-Republican rally sponnsored jointly by the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts and Sciences and Professions and the National Citizens Political Action committee, Henry Wallace in the following statement took an unequivocal stand that racial hatred was an insuperable barrier to national as well as international peace.

"The price of peace—for us and for every nation in the world—is the price of giving up prejudice, hatred, fear and ignorance.

"Let's get down to cases here at home.

"First we have prejudice, hatred, fear, and ignorance of certain races. The mass lynching in Monroe, Ga., July 13, were not the most unwarranted, brutal act of mob violence in the United States in recent years; it was also an illustration of the kind of prejudice that makes war inevitable.

"'Hatred breeds hatred. The doctrine of racial superiority produces a desire to get even on the part of its victims. If we are to work for peace in the rest of the world, we, here in the United States, must eliminate racism from our unions, our business organizations, our educational institutions, and our employment practices. Merit alone must be the measure of men.

"Second, in payment for peace, we must give up prejudice, hatred, fear and ignorance in the economic world. This means working earnestly, and after day, for a large volume of world trade. It means helping undeveloped areas of the world to industrialize themselves with the help of American technical assistance and loans.'

The junking of Mr. Wallace by President Truman will have serious results on the fate of the Democratic party in 1946 and in 1948. The most important issue now is the peace. Can this peace endure or must there come another war before there can be peace is the issue.

Henry Morgenthau, who was one of the late President Roosevelt's closest advisors as well as dearest friends, published a blueprint for peace. He was one of the first cabinet members Harry Truman disposed of. Almost forgotten, and completely ignored now, is Morgenthau's plan. Sat. 9-28-46

Critics of Mr. Wallace rest their case and the supposition that James Byrnes speaks for this country's foreign policy and that being in such a position he should be supported. Henry Wallace denies him the privilege to carry us to new wars when we can have peace.

Henry Wallace insists that he wants the peace that the forgotten man, whose remains rest in a rose garden on the banks of the Hudson, wanted. The man who won the wars had a blueprint of peace. Jimmy Byrnes ignored all but his own plans and ideas. Wallace says that the people of these United States will know more of these things before the November elections.

Supremacists Condemned by Wallace

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 9-21-46

By RICHARD DIER
AFRO Staff Correspondent

NEW YORK — Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace made a speech that bore the approval of President Truman, Thursday night severely lashed America's foreign policy as fostered by Secretary of State Byrnes and his aides, Senators Connally and Vandenburg.

The address keynoted a political rally sponsored by the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and the National Citizens' Political Action Committee and held at Madison Square Garden. More than 20,000 attended.

Linking Byrnes's "get tough" policy with race prejudice and the white supremacy doctrine, Mr. Wallace asserted: "The price of peace for us and for every nation in the world is the price of giving up prejudice, hatred, fear and ignorance.

Mentions Lynching

"Let's get down to cases here at home. First, we have prejudice, hatred, fear and ignorance in certain races. The recent mass lynching in Georgia was not merely the most unwarranted, brutal act of mob violence in the United States in recent years, it was also an illustration of the kind of prejudice that makes war inevitable.

"Hatred breeds hatred. The doctrine of racial superiority produces a desire to get even on the part of its victims. If we are to work for peace in the rest of the world, we here in the United States must eliminate racism from our unions, our business organizations, our educational institutions, and our employment practices. Merit alone must be the measure of man. The Afro-American

"How we meet this issue will determine whether we live not in 'one world' or 'two worlds'—but whether we live at all," he declared.

Others Speak

Other speakers heard included Senator Claude Pepper (Dem., Fla.), Paul Robeson, Dr. Frank Kingdon, radio commentator, and Mrs. Frederic March, wife of the screen actor.

Mr. March spoke out for freedom, equality and opportunity for people of all races and religions, translated into living things "like housing and fair employment practices." Baltimore, Md.

Dr. Kingdon called the election of Bilbo "Mississippi mud thrown into the eyes of the American people."

"The wave of lynch terror and mob assault against colored men and women represents the ultimate limit of bestial brutality to which the enemies of democracy, whether Nazis or Ku Kluxers, are ready to go," declared Mr. Robeson. Sat. 9-21-46

FBI Is Helpless

"Yet, today in the face of this vicious assault there is general silence," he continued. "To date, not a single arrest, indictment or conviction has been made. The Department of Justice, with all of the vast power at its command, has indicated no progress in apprehending and punishing the criminals involved."

The singer explained that colored voters know that it is the help always given to Southern poll-taxers like Rankin and Bilbo by Northern Republicans of the Taft and Vandenburg type which accounts for the repeated death of anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, FEPC and other nationally needed legislation.

Mr. Robeson sang "Go Down Moses" and three other selections. was an implied realization in the committee's report that the membership in many instances would be more familiar with local situations. The Afro-American

Local awareness would be further implemented, however, by a clarification of issues affecting minorities by experts in the national office.

The national office was cautioned to limit itself to merely giving the voting records of Senators and Representatives with particular emphasis on issues affecting members of the NAACP.

Six Recommendations

The following resolutions were voted as recommendations to the board of directors by the committee: Baltimore, Md.

1. That the association go on record as not endorsing any political party or any individual because of party connections or affiliation.
2. That the policy of the NAACP shall be that branches are urged to examine proposals, purely non-partisan in character as listed below, affecting local or State public issues and which require electorate approval; to take a position for or against such proposals within the constitutional limits of the association, unless good cause be presented why a position should not be taken; and give active support to a position taken thereon. To include such issues as:
   (a) Proposals arising locally or State-wide by and through initiative and referendum.
   (b) Bond issues. Sat. 9-21-
   (c) Charter and constitutional amendments.

   Where proposal is State-wide, State conferences of branches, where they exist, are urged to determine and announce a position to be binding on all branches. Otherwise, some workable intra-State method should be devised for unified coordinated action after consultation with the national office.
3. That the national board call a meeting of all representative colored organizations to consider the question of focusing attention on issues that will come up for decision in the election of candidates in the fall and the importance of colored citizens participating actively by registering and voting. Further recommended that advertisements and other material be carried in the press.
4. That the board call upon every branch to conduct a registration and voting drive.
5. That an entire issue of the *Bulletin* be devoted to registration and voting.
6. That the board consider the use of staff assistants and preparation of material that would be of assistance to the local branches in the conducting of registration and turning-out-the-vote drives.

Poll Shows Minority for Wallace's Policy

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

ST. LOUIS (ANP)—Preference for ex-Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace's foreign policy was revealed by Frederick W. Bond, editor of Negro Magazine, as the result of a poll conducted for the December issue among its 1000 readers, here recently.

According to Bond, the opinion of colored people is that Wallace's policy far overshadows that of Secretary of State Byrnes. Out of 801 persons interviewed, 551 were for Wallace, with Byrnes receiving 151, and the remaining 99 being neutral. Sat. 11-23-46

HENRY A. WALLACE

The Defender Chicago, Ill

Intimate View Of A Great Man

45

HENRY A. WALLACE

Sat. 10-12-46

By SALMON H. GARFIELD
(Defender News Editor)

There is an evangelical zeal about those devoted to Henry A. Wallace and his principles, unlike that attached to any political figure in the history of the United States, with the possible exception of Abraham Lincoln.

So declared the lean, dark-haired man, one of Wallace's intimate associates, whom I met soon after the sensation of the former Commerce secretary's resignation. Although his name cannot be used, since he remains in government service, my informant can be identified as one of those, devoted to Wallace, who aided his chief in preparation for his international tour of several years ago. Since he dines with Wallace weekly, his words can be considered authoritative.

Counterbalancing the fervor of Wallace followers, my informant told me, is the mass of the opposi-

So the people
but nd without fear.
not so large in numbers, who recognize their own interest
tion, not important in terms of financial power and position, who love him. The huge vested interest
very power and position, who love him. The huge vested interest
hate the spokesman for peace with by discord and
an equalizing venom. by a people kept in fear and subservience hate him."

"No Middleground"

"There is no middleground for Wallace," said Wallace's friend. "He is either hated or loved. And this is perfectly natural. He is here he comes to speaks for the common man and for the economic security and international accord essential for the common man to live in decency

Wallace lives a life, amazing only for its simplicity, he said. His major dissipation is his garden on his sister's farm in upper New York. It is here he comes to escape the terrific strains of Washington. A scientific farmer by training, Wallace raises strawberries the size of small peaches, and

equally exotic produce. In the earth, which he loves, Wallace is truly at peace. Were he to live his life as he pleases, instead of as he feels he must, my informant said, Wallace would doubtlessly devote his time mainly to experimental farming.

Must Carry On

"But he feels he must carry on his fight, and he will," he continued. "Of course, no man comes as close to the presidency as Wallace did without having presidential aspirations," he added. "However, there is no consideration of that now, nor of a third party."

The man, who devoted the last 13 years of his life to public service seeks now only to have elected a Congress truly representing the people, and to give the people what he feels is the only road to enduring peace, a friendly accord between the world's two greatest powers, the United States and Russia, based on mutual understanding and respect for the rights of each other.

Wallace is an amazingly simple man, his admirer emphasized, for a person of his brilliant intellectual stature. He would as readily dine with the waitress, who serves him as with the great potentates of the world. And this is not an ostentatious display of democracy. It is genuine, and some feel this man of the people actually prefers the plain talk of simple folk.

Dignity of Man

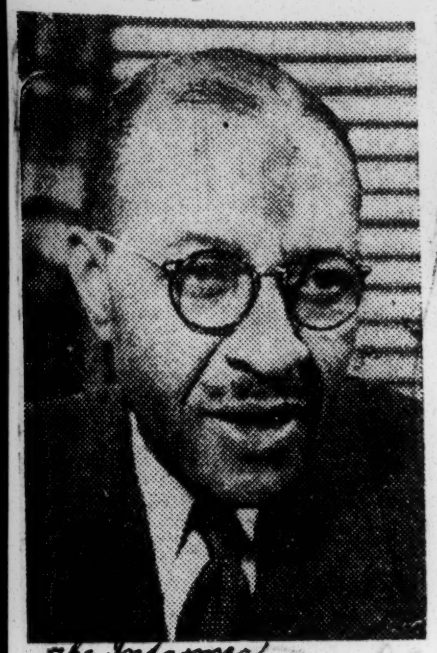
This deep rooted respect for the dignity of all human beings is the root of the whole Wallace philosophy. It is the basis of his deep repugnance for persecution and abuse of any racial and religious minorities. Regardless of color or creed, Wallace is literally incapable of viewing any man as other than just a man, in his own right.

His basic simplicity, part of a deeply religious nature, extends into the personal Wallace habits, I was told. His usual lunch is a cheese sandwich and milk. He neither smokes, nor drinks. These simple habits have handicapped him somewhat in the "hail fellow" atmosphere of Washington, where every senator and congressman keeps a refrigerator packed with beer, a decanter in a drawer, and cigars in pocket.

But it leaves him with a single minded devotion to the people and their cause, for which he lives. This remarkable figure who has been labelled variously a Communist and a dreamer, a vicious demagogue and a rosy idealist, is actually nothing more than a great lovely man with a great purpose, who has no time for the petty bickerings and machinations that currently infest Washington.

He is an intelligent realist to whom the forward moving forces of our country look to unite the people in a great mass to wrest their government from the selfish self-seeking, and to win it back for themselves.

45c 1946 D. C. (National Commission advising State Department on UNESCO)



DR. CHAS. JOHNSON

Dr. Charlles S. Johnson of Fisk university, recently appointed by the State Department to be one of the 40 members of the National Commission advising the Department on United States participation in UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization). The first meeting of the Commission was held Monday (September 23, in Washington. Houston, Texas Sat

The Informer 10-5-46

Fisk President Leaves For Paris General Confab

Houston, Texas

NASVILLE, Tenn.—Dr. Charles S. Johnson, newly elected president of Fisk, left November 12, for Paris, where he will be delegate to the first general conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural organization. Following the announcement of Dr. Johnson's acceptance of the Fisk university presidency, students and faculty spontaneously honored the president-elect with a special program in Memorial Chapel, Monday night, November 4, followed by an informal reception in historic Jubilee hall. Sat. 11-16-46

Greetings were presented on behalf of the faculty by Dr. Clarence E. Van Horn, mathematics department head; student council, by President Robert E. Lee (2822 Dayton street, St. Louis, Missouri); alumni, by Dr. St. Elmo Brady, chairman of the General Alumni association's executive committee, and chemistry department head; inter-fraternity council, by President Bernice Merriweather (3445 31st Avenue North, Birmingham, Alabama); and on behalf of the students at large, by Mary Louise Milner (166 Roosevelt St., Battle Creek, Michigan).

Congratulatory messages to Dr. Johnson from prominent individuals and organizations throughout the country were read by Dean A. A. Taylor.

Johnson on 10-man body

Tribune Los Angeles, Calif.

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Dr. Charles S. Johnson, of Fisk university here, has been appointed by President Truman as one of 10 American delegates to the general conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, meeting in Paris Nov. 19.

Dr. Johnson, head of Fisk's department of social sciences, was a member of the commission sent to Japan earlier this year to help organize a new educational program for that country. There are 43 delegates in all from the United Nations to the Paris meeting. Each has one vote. The 9 other Americans selected by Truman are: Sat. 10-26-46

Archibald MacLeish, head of the Library of Congress; Arthur H. Compton, chancellor of Washington university, St. Louis; William Benton, assistant secretary of state; President George D. Stoddard, of the University of Illinois; Chester Bowles, former OPA administrator; Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick, member of the editorial board of the New York Times; Milton S. Eisenhower, president of Kansas State college and brother of General Dwight Eisenhower; George Shuster, president of Hunter college; and Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, member of the OWMR Advisory Board.

Subjects to be taken up at the Paris and at later meetings will begin with text books and extend to the atomic bomb. However, only the social and economic implications of the bomb will be dealt with, according to Dr. Johnson.

UNESCO, organized by the United Nations a year ago in London, is, according to Dr. Johnson, "an attempt to raise the level of literary and mutual understanding among people of the world and hence make easier their more direct participation in the affairs of their country and of all mankind."

45c 1946 D. C. (Returning and Remployment Administration)

Clark, Caliver And Thomas To RRA Positions

FCS 10-11-46

The Call Kansas City Mo.

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Lt. Col. W. A. Clark, dean of the graduate school at Tuskegee institute; Dr. Ambrose Caliver specialist in Negro education; and Julian A. Thomas, director, industrial relations, National Urban league, were named last Wednesday as consultants to the Returning and Reemployment administration by Maj. Gen. Graves B. Erskine, RRA administrator.

The three men were named as consultants on the recommendation of Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee institute, who is himself a special consultant to General Erskine having been named to that post last July 29.

To Study Data

The newly named consultants, along with Dr. Patterson, will make studies and submit data and recommendations which will assist RRA in the formulation of policies and programs of benefit to minority groups in the carrying out of its post-war reconversion functions.

Col. Clark, a former field adviser to the commanding general of the 7th Army headquarters in Atlanta during the war, will be adviser to Robert K. Salyers, assistant administrator in charge of field service for RRA.

Dr. Caliver, nationally known for his work in Negro education with the U. S. Office of Education, will act as advisor to George L. Glasheen, assistant administrator in charge of retraining and vocational education.

Mr. Thomas, a recognized specialist on industrial relations, will advise Shane MacCarthy, assistant RRA administrator in charge of the reemployment branch.

In announcing the appointments General Erskine said:

"In our haste to replace the chaos of war with the tranquility of peace, we must not overlook the welfare and well being of those minority groups who constitute a substantial segment of our population.

Miss Objectives

"Any program of peacetime reconversion which does not do this will have missed the objectives for which many of our people gave their lives on the field of battle in two great wars of our generation, namely to preserve our way of life, and to assure for us all complete freedom of thought and action."

Stating that activities in retraining, reemployment, vocational education, and vocational rehabilitation should be of benefit to all people General Erskine continued:

"Accordingly, through the designation of these four consultants, who possess the very highest degree of ability and intelligence, and who, I am sure, can assist us materially in the execution of our responsibility to the people of their race, the RRA feels that it will be in a better position to further the attainment of the goals of human reconversion which congress had in mind in enactment of the general program of peacetime readjustment." Ind.

New Diplomat Arrives in Capital

Baltimore, Md. Afro-American

WASHINGTON

Recently appointed by Emperor Haile Selassie as Minister Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States, Ras H. S. Imru arrived in Washington on Wednesday to assume his duties as representative of the Ethiopian Government. 5-11-46

The former Governor General of the Province of Begemder, Ras Imru succeeds the previous Minister, Blatta Ephrem T. Medhen by order of his Imperial Majesty.

Ras Imru, who speaks only French, was interviewed at the Ethiopian Legation on Thursday by the AFRO through an interpreter, G. Tesemnia, First Secretary.

Silent About Mission

Ras Imru would not divulge last week any official information regarding his mission to the United States because he had not yet presented his credentials to President Truman.

However, he reported that Ethiopia is recuperating slowly from the ravages of the war and that an UNRRA mission is now working in the country to aid in rehabilitation. Sat 5-11-46

Ras Imru was accompanied to this country by his wife, Madame S. M. Imru and two daughters, Hirut Imru, 19, and Yodit Imru, 17.

The secretary at the Legation said the daughters would probably attend school in the U.S. at some institution to be announced later

45c 1946 Florida (Claude D. Pepper)

Pepper Stands For Progress

The Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 11-2-46

By VERNON JARRETT

What manner of man is a Southern senator who becomes one of the nation's chief spokesmen for progressive issues—while reelected each term from a state with a record of 281 lynchings, a revived Ku Klux Klan and a relatively weak labor movement?

Claude Denson Pepper, 46, an ex-Dudleyville, Ala., farm boy could not answer that question in one sentence. But during an exclusive Defender interview at the Morrison hotel last Saturday morning the answer became self evident. The stocky black-haired Florida senator stopped packing his luggage and reflected a second before declaring:

"It costs me votes every time I make a liberal utterance, because my enemies distort my statements. However, I still have a sense of appreciation for the dignity and welfare of all human beings."

Pepper, who has played a hard-hitting left end on the Democrat's Senate team for 10 years, revealed for the first time that he and Clark Foreman, head of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare were working on a general bill to be presented in the 80th Congress that would cover the poll tax, lynching, and make it a criminal offence to deprive persons of civil liberties. The three measures are combined to block repeated filibustering, he explained.

The Phi Beta Kappa Senator was reminded that in 1944 he was accused of preaching liberalism in northern banquet halls while supporting bigotry during his Florida campaign speeches.

"That is a distortion of facts," Pepper answered sharply. "It all started when I was questioned as to whether or not the Supreme Court decision outlawing white primaries would enforce 'social equality' and end 'white supremacy,' and I said it would not, which is a matter of fact."

Triumphs Over Bigotry

In that election, pictures were circulated showing Pepper shaking hands with Negroes in a Los Angeles Baptist church along with being called "nigger lover." He won by a 10,000 majority.

This Southerner, who has incurred the wrath of Bilbo, Rankin and others of the Wall Street-dominated clique, points out that he has no "special love" for any single minority. And his attitude is simply that "prosperity for white men cannot be divorced from that of the Negro. "Furthermore, Negroes are human and are entitled to human rights," he continued.

Liberalism a Necessity

Liberalism to Pepper is a necessity — not an accessory. There were no singular incidents that turned him into rabid "radical." He never took the road to Damascus. But during his years as a student working his way through the University of Tuscaloosa, through Harvard, and as a teacher at the University of Arkansas, he evidenced the ability to spot trends—forces coming into being as well as the dying away.

Moving to Florida during the height of the Hoover era, he became a vigorous labor spokesman when organized labor there was negligible. Like Roosevelt, Pepper works closely with a core of able young men, many of which are in the state legislature. In 1937 these young progressives in the Florida assembly kicked the poll tax off the books.

Speaks for "Poor" Man

Probably his greatest strength lies in a continued fight for the "poor white man in the South" rather than big northern interest who exploit cheap Southern Negro and poor white labor. In the last election 35,000 Negroes voted for the first time.

At this point we hustled out of the hotel down to a waiting taxi, and during the five-minute ride to his train, Pepper advised:

"We all—especially those who have suffered long and are impatient—must treat life in regard to facts. Pessimism and vengeance do not remake the world. There are forces working for the best interest of the Negro people and all people. They must be supported."

Confidence in Soviets

While worming our way through the Polk and Dearborn Street station, Pepper expressed a deep concern over international peace. However, he said that he was highly confident that Stalin and the Soviet people were not designing a third World War. But Pepper is not a Marxist, in spite of suspicions. During our chat he refused to recommend public ownership of even a few basic industries. He felt that enforced government controls should be tried much longer.

Will Continue Fight

This grandson of Alabama confederates in a genial and warm but very serious man. During our entire conversation, he never wasted a smile. However, as he boarded his train, the Senator clasped my hand very firmly and made one request:

"Tell Defender readers that I will continue to fight for the decent protection of civil liberties of all people—regardless of the consequence to me personally."

Perhaps a Pepper Party

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C. Sat. 9-28-46

Naturally, inevitably, Senator Pepper, while saying that those whom he describes as "reactionaries" should be left at home, should, if they be office-holders, be kicked downstairs, declares that he and Secretary Wallace (Mr. Wallace when a member of the cabinet was an "adviser of the man in the White House") are opposed to a third party, that "a third party would be doomed to failure." In Florida, the "reactionaries" might gain power and "doom to failure". Mr. Pepper. Mr. Pepper has supported the measures of the Harlemites and the Liberalites of New York and other cities. The colored voters are informed that he advocates the FEPC the repeal of the poll tax, the so-called "anti-lynching" bill which was defeated when Senator Byrnes and other Southerners filibustered against it. Were the "reactionaries" about to defeat Mr. Pepper for the senate, in a white man's primary, would he remain in the party with them? As an independent candidate in the general election he would probably receive the votes of a solid negro bloc, as Mr. Carmichael received it as a candidate for governor in Georgia. As long as Mr. Pepper shall regard himself safe in Florida's Democratic party it will be his wish and contention that reactionaries driven out of office in Florida shall remain in the party and cast votes for Pepper. Perhaps we shall some day have a Pepper party in the South.

45c 1946

General

Earl Conrad

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 10-5-46

Yesterday And Today

Danger Of Patronage

ONE OF THE evils against which Negroes must guard is the habit of the major political parties to make individual appointments of Negroes to governmental jobs—in place of passing broad legislation which will help the Negro mass. It is a fine thing and good thing for individual Negroes to get jobs as judges, governors, department heads, and the naming of individuals to such offices should be something that Negroes and white allies should strive to see continued. But it is altogether another thing when Republicans and Democrats make deals with Negro leaders that, in return for marshaling votes or other support, so-and-so gets a job—while the same parties wink at handling anti-lynch, or anti-poll tax legislation which would benefit the Negro millions.

The history of recent major party politics is filled with this type of thing and I think that the Man in the Street needs to know about this.

This practice has been one of the more notorious approaches of Governor Thomas E. Dewey in New York State. In the Spring of 1944, when Dewey wanted to be President and feared to pass Anti-Discrimination Law legislation at that time, and ditched such legislation until after the 1944 Presidential elections, he hastened to recoup his lost prestige by naming a number of individual Negroes to jobs in New York State. This did not much help 500,000 Negroes in that area who remained unprotected in job legislation.

Nice Gesture

IT IS A GREAT and wonderful thing to have Judge Mollison named to a federal judgeship, as occurred last year, and it is a fine thing that William Hastie was named Governor of the Virgin Islands, but the Democrats certainly do not fulfill their obligation to the Negro group by such appointments alone. This does not exempt them from responsibility for passing FEPC legislation, for repealing Jim Crow legislation—but they believe that it does take care of their obligations.

As a matter of fact the policy of appointing a few individual Negroes to important jobs can have deleterious effects too. Once Irvin Mollison was known as a valiant fighter against the restrictive covenant in Chicago. When he was named to a federal judgeship he won a life job, the court won a fine man, and the Negro people lost a great battler. He may never be heard of again.

One of the outstanding evils of our national political life has been that of "compromise." This means: the making of deals. Always the Negro has been the victim of such compromise, always he has been the piece of cheese in the deal between the mouse and mousetrap. Negro politicians have been drawn into this practice. They must learn to aim for the biggest deals, however, the passage of a National Civil Rights Bill, the making of FEPC into law, and kindred broad legislation which will strike at fundamentals and help 13,000,000 black citizens and at the same time enhance the whole democratic picture. The naming of a Negro to a generalship in World War II didn't help segregated Negro troops.

Leads To Catastrophe

I MENTION all this because, in the new period, when political lines are so uncertain, when nobody, white or Negro, knows just what the immediate political future will bring, it would be a damned shame if Negro politicians, editors and publishers, business men and others having influence with the major party machines were to be prepared, mentally, to turn over the great Negro vote of 1948—a decisive vote—in exchange for a few jobs for individuals while the great mass of their people don't know whether to join the breadlines or the souplines.

The Democrats and Republicans will have more respect for Negro leadership and Negro political chiefs if they take a firmer stand in demanding passage of broad political legislation that will strengthen democracy for all. The Negro should not underestimate his voting strength, nor his influence as an economic factor in national life. He should place a higher stake on his political relationship to the community. He must demand of the major parties that they come through with real advance for millions—and the devil take the crumbs.

Negro Woman Elected

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Thurs. 1-9-47

A recent issue of the Alabama Baptist contained some interesting political information that most Alabamians might want to consider. This column is quoting the Alabama Baptist verbatim:

"In the elections of November 5, two Negroes, W. L. Dawson and A. Clayton Powell, Jr., were returned to Congress, and 38 were elected to the legislatures of Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Marrachusetts, Michigan Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Vermont and West Virginia. In addition, three legislative incumbents held over, making a total of 43 who in 1947 will occupy legislative seats, state and national.

"Of those elected this year twenty-four were Republicans and sixteen (including the two congressmen) were Democrats. Six will occupy seats in the Pennsylvania legislature, six in that of Illinois, five (including one woman) in that of New York, four each in those of Indiana, Missouri, and Ohio, and two in that of Colorado. Several other states, including Kentucky, will have one each." Thurs 1-9-47

THREE LEADING PUBLIC OFFICIALS

The Plain Dealer Kansas City, Kansas

General

3-29-46

Reading from left to right is seen County Commissioner Fred White, who holds the highest ranking elective office held by a Negro west of Chicago, Congressman A. Clayton Powell Jr., and Hon. William H. Towers, Kansas State Legislator and Deputy City Attorney of Kansas City, Kansas. In the background is seen—Garland Williams, local civic and business leader and attorney Elmer Jackson. Friday

Commissioner White represents the second commissioner district in Kansas City, Kansas, and is the first Negro elected to the office. . . Mr. Towers is representative of the Eighth Legislative District in Kansas City, Kansas. . . . Congressman Powell represents one of the largest districts in New York. He was the first Negro elected to Congress in New York. . . While he ran on the Democratic ticket, he won the nomination on three tickets . . . the Republican, the Labor and Democratic tickets.

Bilbo's Speech

I do not know how accurate are Senator Bilbo's statistics concerning the relative numerical proportions of Government jobs held by Negroes and Whites, as the Senator gave the figures in a speech in the Senate on December 21, which was reported only in part in The Post.

His figures purported to show that Negroes have 10 per cent more jobs than their proportion of the national population entitles them to. This he thinks is unfair to the whites.

But, granting the full accuracy of the Senator's figures, there still remains to be considered the important matter of the relative proportions of the total wages as salaries received by the two groups compared with their population ratios.

Perhaps someone will give us light on this phase of the matter which will assist in determining whether the Senator's charge of unfairness is justified and, if so, which group is actually victimized.

F. H. M. MURRAY.

Alexandria, Va., Dec. 22.

Senator Bilbo says Negroes hold 19 per cent of the 300,000 Federal jobs in Washington. He suggests that they should be cut to nine per cent which he claims is their relative strength in the population. He does not mention that Negroes count 28 per cent of the population of Washington.

Mr. Bilbo neglects to say that it is because private employment refuses to give Negroes jobs in many areas of work that causes them and some other minority groups to look for jobs under the Federal Government. Negroes are barred because of their race and the local pattern of prejudice from holding any but the menial jobs in the utilities, the Capital Transit Co. and our great stores, although as consumers in many of these areas they support them.

Although still believing it will be possible—or should be—in a democracy to eventually see this unfairness eliminated, this writer wishes that we might have an administration which would do in America what MacArthur has done in Japan. It is possible that we are witnessing more of democracy there—through the abolition of absentee landlordism, and the other social reforms taking place in Japan—than we have right here in the Capital.

E. B. HENDERSON.

Falls Church, Va., Dec. 24.

Negro Digest Poll

NEGRO WANTS WALLACE OR DEWEY FOR NEXT PRESIDENT

Los Angeles

Dawson Absent, Powell Votes No On Anti-Labor Bill

WASHINGTON—Rep. William L. Dawson (D., Ill.), did not vote, and Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr., (D., N. Y.), voted "nay" on the vicious anti-labor Case bill before the House last week.

On a roll call vote on the House took a resolution accepting the Senate amendments to the "strike-control" bill and sent the measure to the White House by a vote of 230 to 106 vote.

Under the law unions working in industries affecting interstate commerce could be required to "cool of" for 60 days after asking a collective bargaining conference, before they could strike or engage in a "concerted slowdown."

Violation of this provision would mean the loss by the striking union of their status as employees and their protection under the Wagner Act.

Solons Salaries

Daily Worker

The salaries of Representatives William L. Dawson, of Chicago and Adam C. Powell, Jr., of New York, both Democrats, would be upped from $10,000 a year to $20,000 a year, if Congress carries out the recommendations of President Truman for revision of salary in the legislative, judicial and executive branches of the Government.

Atlanta, Ga

Mr. Truman believes that the wage scales of federal employees, with few exceptions, are obsolete and inadequate, particularly those of the federal judiciary.

At the same time he recommended a salary of $20,000 a year for members of Congress, Mr. Truman also recommended the repeal of the provision now applicable to the House of Representatives for an additional expense allowance.

Wed 3-6-46

In accordance with the President's program, the salary of Judge Irvin C. Mollison of the United States Customs Court would be doubled from $10,000 to $20,000 a year, if congress approves a recommendation of Arthur S. Flemming, a member of the Civil Service Commission.

But Judge Herman E. Moore of the United States Court for the Virgin Islands would not benefit under the salary schedule proposed by Mr. Flemming for United States judges. Mr. Flemming recommended a salary of $20,000 a year for each judge of district courts, including the associates judges of the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, and the judges in Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and Alaska exercising federal jurisdiction, and each judge of the United States Customs Court.

According to Mr. Flemming, the revision he recommended in the salary scales for judges would result in the maintenance of the same dollar relationship between the salaries of judges and the salaries of members of Congress. But why the omission of the judgeship of the Virgin Islands?

Raphael O'Hara Lanier receives $10,000 a year as Minister to Liberia. The pay of Judge Arnold W. Scott of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia is $8,750 a year. The Rev. Marshall L. Shepard, Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia, also receives $8,750 a year. Dean William H. Hastie will receive a salary of $8,750 a year after he is confirmed by the Senate and takes the oath of office as governor of the Virgin Islands.

Wed 3-6-46

All of these jobs represent mere crumbs from a heavily-laden patronage table. The right to hold office is a prerogative of citizenship. But the appointment of colored people to office has not been made in proportion to their advancement, their importace as a political factor, and the increase in bureaucracy.

As a matter of fact, in offices requiring Senate confirmation ground has been lost since the Taft Administration. In the lower and middle brackets, in relative numbers, there also was a decrease in clerical jobs held by colored persons between the Taft Administration and the outbreak of World War II. The requirement of photographs of applicants for civil service jobs and the discretion allowed appointing officers to choose one of three persons certified for a job accounted for this decline.

Cal.

CHICAGO—If the American Democrat would vote in the 1948 presidential elections, either Commerce Secretary Henry Wallace or New York governor Thomas E. Dewey will probably be land in the White House.

The Negro Digest poll for May shows a cross-section of the Negro population, of both Republican and Democratic parties, still fast in these two selections of two years ago. The poll also discloses a widespread distrust of President Truman, whose southern origin is held against him.

Democrats were asked, "What Democrat would you like to see nominated for President in 1948?" and furnished with a list of 10 candidates. Results favor- overwhelmingly (91%) Ickes got 4%; Truman, 1%; and Eisenhower and Guardia, 1%; and Edwards, James F. Byrnes, Alben Barkley, and Douglas received no Warren; and 1%, Eric Johnston and Leverett Saltonstall. There was no support for either Dwight Green or Robert Taft.

5-25-46

Sixty-two percent of the Republicans asked a similar question of Dewey. 19 per cent chose Dewey, 6% to the enactment of the Ives-Quinn law against discrimination in New York, while Stassen's poor showing is believed due to his failure to commit himself on racial issues.

Harold Stassen; 6%, Douglas MacArthur; 4%, John Bricker; 2%, Earl Warren; 3%, John Vandenburg and Arthur Vandenburg.

Congressmen Leave D.C But Secretaries Work

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md. Sat. 9-7-46

Duties Just as Heavy When Sessions End as When Both Houses Hold Deliberations

WASHINGTON — (AFRO National Bureau) — Did you ever wonder what happens in a Congressman's office when Congress is not in session?

Well, if you think that representatives have, quiet, protracted vacations and that their secretarial staff sit around and knit sweaters or darn their hubbies' socks, you're all wet.

Things are humming just as fast whether Congress is in session or out on vacation.

Girls Keep Busy

Mrs. Phoebe Nelson, secretary to Congressman Adam Powell (Dem., N.Y.), and Mrs. Christine Hughes, secretary to Congressman Willaim L. Dawson (Dem., Ill.), follow the same routine that they do the year round.

They report at 9 a.m., attend to the volume of correspondence, visit the libraries and archives and keep in constant contact with their bosses, wherever they happen to be.

Politics is a year-round business. Most of the letters flowing in are from people demanding favors of all kinds.

Some Voters Importunate

While some voters look upon their franchise as a privilege and a duty, there are thousands of others who consider their vote a form of barter to improve their personal fortunes.

It is these voters who give their Congressman no peace. With thousands of employees facing loss of Government jobs, requests for assistance are growing in volume.

Many of the letters urge the representative to speed up their applications for transfers or to use his influence to help them keep the jobs they have.

Ask for Jobs

Some of them, however, are in the following vein:

"Dear Congressman:

"I have been given notice of dismissal. I voted for you during the last election. Will you please find me another job at once?"

Both the Congressmen and their secretaries "burn" at letters like these. They find it easier when the person has made some effort to locate a new position for himself and just needs a friendly word to help expedite consideration.

War Complicates Duties

To expect the Congressman to find the job and then use pressure, too, is asking a little too much of him.

The war has also added to the Congressmen's load.

Parents deluge the office with requests for help in speeding their boys' discharge; or if there are no civilian jobs available at home to help keep their boy in the armed service.

Repair Political Fences

The GI Bill of Rights, with its educational provisions, also requires a lot of attention. Veterans, both sick and well, are constantly sending in SOS calls.

Then there is the job of keeping "political fences" in repair at home.

Failure to answer a letter may cost plenty of votes where one might least expect, because people are never quite as zealous in putting somebody in office as they are to vote him out if they are offended, even though unintentionally.

Yes, a Congressman leads a busy life, and so do his secretaries.

Dustin' off the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

The Chicago Defender

HOW HISTORIANS HAVE PLAYED TRICKS WITH NEGRO HISTORY

Chicago, Ill. Sat. 7-27-46

IT WAS a well-studied, if not an organized, plan by early white historians to paint the Negro unfit and incapable of being a voter and not eligible to hold elective office after he was driven out of politics by the aid of President Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, who "sold the Negro down the river" in that notable Tilden-Hayes political controversy in 1876. Samuel Tilden, governor of New York, a Democrat, had been actually elected president of the United States, and he went to bed on election night thinking so. When he awakened the next morning, he had another thought: two Southern states, Florida and Louisiana were in doubt, and upon their decision rested the presidency.

Lucius C. Harper

Hayes proved to be the better business man. He made a deal with the South that if these states gave him their electoral vote he would withdraw federal troops, guarding the election boxes to insure safe counting of the Negro vote, and let the white Southerners govern their elections as they deemed fit. President Grant had placed troops in the South to protect the Negroes against ballot stealing and raids of the Klan. When Florida and Louisiana agreed to Hayes' bargain and gave him the one vote necessary to election, it spelled the doom of the black man in politics below the Mason-Dixon line. The Negro was actually disfranchised by a Republican, not a Democrat. The Defender

* * *

WHERE Hayes left off, the historians of the South took on. Ever since that date, and up to the present time, their busy pens have been alert despoiling the record and achievement of the leading Negro politicians of the Reconstruction period. Surely, there were faults aplenty in the economic and political situation after the Civil War. After every war this is natural. From the Revolutionary to the present war political readjustments had to be accomplished, and in the turnover many mistakes were made. At present Congress has before it a case of outright thievery of big men in office, involving millions of taxpayers' money squandered by agreement with Representative May of Kentucky. This, of course, is just the beginning of smoking out the thieves who profited through political connections when young America was sacrificing its life on the battlefield. The Negroes, be it said to their credit, after the Civil War elected their best men to Congress, not their worst, as these historians would have us believe. Chicago, Ill.

The Negroes sent to the Senate and House of Representatives ten college graduates, and 12 others having secondary school training. Dr. Carter Woodson, who made a comparative study in this field, tells us that most of the Negro congressmen had more formal education than Warren G. Harding who became president. When the Mississippi state senate met in January 1870 and decided to select a senator to replace the traitor, Jefferson Davis, who had shot holes through the Stars and Stripes, two white men, Flournoy and Eggleston were considered. But the Negroes and whites that made up the body decided that these white men did not possess the intellectual qualifications to represent them or the state and the Rev. Hiram Rhoades Revels, a Negro college graduate, was sent to Washington to fill out the short senatorial term, Feb. 23, 1870 to March 3, 1871. In referring to Revels' presence in the U. S. Senate, Senator Morton obtained the floor and declared that the Senate, in getting Revels in Jeff Davis' place "had lost nothing in intelligence while it had gained much in patriotism and loyalty." Sat. 7-27-46

IT IS well to compare what the Negro voters of Mississippi sent to the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives to represent their state shortly after the Civil War and what the white voters of that state are sending there now. Senator Eastland, the junior senator, is a backwoods lawyer who practically operates a peonage farm. He attacked the draft law because it began to take poorly paid Negroes off his plantation. Rankin is still delivering Memorial Day speeches in Mississippi praising the acts of traitors, the Confederates, who put bullet holes in the American flag. He is a sourpuss and fascist of the worst type. He is crude and uncouth, and a deliberate muckraker. You know Bilbo. The term "perfect rascal" describes him. Every paper in Mississippi agrees on this. These men are sent to represent "white Mississippi." Let's turn the pages back and see what the Negroes sent to represent "colored Mississippi."

Hiram Rhoades Revels, who the Negroes elected to represent them as their first Senator, was born in Fayettesville, N. C., Sept. 27, 1827. He attended the Quaker Seminary, Union county, Indiana, and Drake County Seminary, Ohio. He graduated from Knox College, Bloomington, Ill., and was ordained a minister in the AME church at Baltimore, Md., in 1845. He lectured and preached in Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri. At the early stages of the Civil War he assisted in organizing the first two colored regiments in Maryland to help serve the Union and served himself at Vicksburg, during Grants' raid, as chaplain to these outfits. He settled in Natchez, became alderman in that city in 1868, and was later elected to the state senate. He founded a school in St. Louis. He helped organize the Freedmen's Bureau, which was a sort of WPA to former slaves. He was elected U. S. senator. After his retirement, he returned to his state and was appointed Secretary of State ad-interim in 1873. He was made president of Alcorn Agricultural College, 1876-1882. He was District Superintendent of the AME church. He died in Aberdeen, Miss., Jan. 16, 1901, while attending a church conference. Both white and colored attended his funeral; yes, in Mississippi. We don't know where Bilbo will die, but judging from his wife's record of him, it will probably be in a tavern or worse.

* * *

NOWHERE can be found among the legends of white historians the marvelous records of Senators Blanche K. Bruce or Hiram R. Revels. It was Bruce, the Negro senator, who first introduced in the U. S. Senate a national prohibition law. It did not pass. That was in 1879. Mr. Volstead came with his law many, many years later than the Negro senator. It was Senator Revels who fought for the improvement of the Mississippi levees and the cotton farmers. A Southern senator remarked from the floor in praise of the dignity of Revels said this: "Although it seems the popular thing for congressmen to abuse Jefferson Davis, it is pleasant, my colleagues, to note that Senator Revels does not join in this practice."

When the better elements of Negroes and whites throughout the South begin to join hands for a better government, and the days of Talmadge and Bilbo are at end, these smothered facts of Negro political history will see the light of dawn. But not until the Southern Negro takes his pen in hand and becomes the historian of his own race. So far, public school historians have been a fraud insofar as the black man is concerned.

National GRAPEVINE

By CHARLEY CHEROKEE

The Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 8-3-46

On the Job

UNRRA CROWS about good jobs held by colored workers — Blanchard Baker, Deputy Team Director in Germany; Ernest Dawson, Principal Welfare Officer in Germany; Herman Washington, ditto; Dr. Jerome Peterson, teacher in China. But it apparently doesn't know yet that J. Jerome Robinson, who has long held top "colored" job, has been promoted to Chief of Employment Program for Germany, putting him in charge of hundreds of white workers.

In Liberia, U.S. Minister R. O'Hara Lanier, having already gotten Frank Pinder job as Agriculture Attache, has persuaded State to create a Public Relations job on the Diplomatic Staff. Constance Daniel, one of three names suggested, has turned it down. Search is still on for right person. Salary $4,900 plus $1,500 maintenance.

In Agriculture, Ernest Norris' resignation from the personnel spot formerly held by Tom Roberts, leaves Sherman Briscoe (Ag. Info.) considered and Reuben Simmons wanting it. Herb Henegan who shares the Negro Adviser spot in Farm Security (now Farmers' Home Admin) with Simmons, looks the best qualified inasmuch as he is actually doing personnel work now. He can get it if he pushes and his friends aid.

Otherwise—Cornelius King, long-time Asst. to Farm Credit Chief (Henry Hunt's old job) has been reduced from CAF 12 salary to CAF 9, and his assistant Hovey Washington crowded out entirely in economy move . . . Ralph Bunche who could have any one of three State jobs is presently Director of Division of Trusteeship with United Nations at Hunter College.

Dixie Dominated!

Courier

Worst in Years, Congress Record

Pittsburgh, Pa.

45c Sat. 8-10-46

The worst Congress in recent years, in respect to the rights and interest of Negroes and other minorities, ended last Friday. It was the first Congress dominated by a coalition of Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats.

Nominally, the Democratic Party is in control of both branches of Congress. In the Senate there are fifty-six Democrats and thirty-nine Republicans. In the House there are 242 Democrats and 190 Republicans.

Actually, twenty Democratic Senators and sixty Democratic Congressmen of the deep South consistently voted with the Republican Party on all measures affecting the rights of Negroes and liberal legislation. This has put this Republican - Southern Democratic coalition in charge of the Congress. This is particularly true because these Southern Democrats also hold most of the committee chairmanships, and in Congress a committee chairman is the most important figure in matters referred to his committee.

This coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans has also had the majority of votes in the various committees and have used its influence to stifle and suppress liberal and race legislation. The responsibility for the legislative debacle of the Seventy-ninth Congress, therefore, must be borne by the Republicans and Southern Democrats.

Courier

RACIAL MEASURES

The most important legislative casualty which Negroes suffered during the last Congress was the death of the FEPC bill. Discrimination against Negro employes has been rampant ever since FEPC was wiped out, and this discrimination is now as great at is was prior to the war. In almost every metropolitan center Negroes have again been reduced to unskilled laborers.

The anti-poll tax bill was blocked by a Southern Democratic filibuster with the connivance of both the Republican and Democratic Parties. This bill passed the House but was talked to death in the Senate. These party leaders refused to limit debate by imposing cloture and made it as easy as possible for the filibuster to succeed. Early adjournments of the Senate were allowed while the filibuster continued and there was no effort made to confine the filibusters to the issues under discussion. The presiding officer of the Senate during this travesty was Senator McKellar of Tennessee, who violated every Senate rule to favor the filibusters.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

ANTI-LYNCH BILL PIGEON-HOLED

The anti-lynch bill, which provided fines and imprisonment for members of lynch mobs, also passed the House but was pigeon-holed in the Senate Judiciary Committee when a threat of filibuster was made against this bill.

These three racial measures apparently have no chance of enactment by any future Congress which is dominated by a similar coalition or by a Congress whose important chairmanships are held by Southern Democrats.

Sat. 8-10-46

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

The last Congress killed other legislation which was not racial but was just as important to the well-being of Negro people. The Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing Bill which called for an annual construction of one million 250 thousand homes for the next ten years, with emphasis on low-rental units, was permitted to die in the committee of the House. There is probably no legislation which more vitally affects Negroes than that which is calculated to improve the housing conditions of persons in low-income groups.

A bill providing for pre-paid medical care and a comprehensive health program was also stranded in committee. This bill was designed to improve medical facilities for the poor and needy and would have greatly aided Negro health.

A bill providing a 65-cent minimum wage was also permitted to die in committee. The chief objection against this bill came from Southern Democrats who refused to permit a 65-cent minimum to be given Negro workers of the South. Southern Negroes are now paid as low as 20 cents an hour.

A bill which provided for supplementary unemployment insurance benefits met a similar fate. Here again Negroes would have been among the chief beneficiaries, as there are proportionately more Negroes unemployed than any other racial group. Negroes are more subject to the vaccilations of the labor market than any other elements, ast hey are the last hired and the first fired.

MR. TRUMAN FRIENDLY

The hostile attitude of Congress to Negroes and liberal legislation certainly cannot be attributed to President Truman who has been forthright in his support of all liberal legislation and bills affecting the interest of Negroes. He was for a permanent FEPC, an anti-lynch bill, and anti-poll tax legislation. It was his liberal program which was recommended to the Congress that was either killed or emasculated. Negroes are beginning to put more faith in the President than in Congress.

A DILEMMA

The Negro people face a dilemma in this year's election when the control of Congress will be decided by the voters. If the Republican Party is voted in power, there is indication that the liberal domestic program which involves the interest of Negroes, will be suppressed and that racial legislation will fare no better if entrusted to the control of the Republicans than when controlled by a Republican and Southern Democratic coalition.

It does, however, seem absolutely necessary to oust Southern Democrats from control of chairmanships in the House and Senate. This can only be done by giving the Republican majorities in the House and Senate. It would therefore appear that Negroes must vote for Northern Republicans and take the risk of Republican indifference and hostility. This would seem warranted, because it is certain no racial or liberal legislation can be enacted so long as Southern Democrats control the committees to which this legislation is referred.

It is conceivable that if the Republican Party had full responsibility of national legislation that racial pressure may change the attitude of the Republican leaders, but there is no foreseeable power that can change the racial attitude of Southern legislators.

"Jim Crow" in Congress

The News and Courier, Charleston, S.C.

A reason leading The News and Courier to rest in the happy conclusion that the common men have come into their own and that they are masters in the United States is that they address one another in letters, public documents too, as "Harry", "Clint", "Jimmy", "Izzy", 'Gene, "Sammy" and so on with the abbreviations of first names. The great men in the United States have adopted the manners of speech to one another that Senator Bilbo has long ago practiced in mingling with such of his constituents in Mississippi as would let him mingle. Bilbonian manners are now popular and prevalent in the North and the West. Next thing we know, statesmen will be taking liberties with Henry Wallace, Esq., and Colonel James Roosevelt by writing to them, "Dear Hank" and "Dear Jeems."

Mon. 9-23-46

It appears that in congress "Jim Crow" is still practiced, as we have not heard of either of the two colored congressman, both "Democrats", addressing the president, a member of the cabinet, representative, or senator, by their first names. We suspect that most of the white "Democrats" are guilty of "race discrimination" as to them.

Talmadge, DuPonts Are Old Friends

By Harold Mehling

Daily Worker

Ten and a half years ago, Gene Talmadge, then Governor, now Govenor-elect, of Georgia, figured in another attempt to impose the lynch brand of fascism on the United States.

That was in 1936, the year picked by the openly fascist representatives of American Big Business for their ill-fated putsch, via Alf Landon, Herbert Hoover, Al Smith, the Liberty League—

Jus. 8-6-46

And gallus-snapping Gene Talmadge.

For it was in January of that year that Talmadge stood at the helm of a movement that sent chills down the spines of Americans who realized what fascism meant. It can happen here, they decided, when they saw the lineup alongside the Georgian. New York

There was Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, who said of the anti-lynching bill then up in Congress (Yes, they were trying to pass an anti-lynching bill long, long ago): **"I denounce this bill as an infamous outrage."**

There was Thomas L. Dixon, of New York and South Carolina, author of **The Klansman**, who said of the anti-lynch bill: **"Infamous tyranny."** There was Col. Henry Beckinridge, America Firster Charles A. Lindbergh's attorney.

But these, just as Talmadge, were only the irrepressibles—the native American fascists who writhe when they think of Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Italians, and how many others, living within our borders.

More interesting are the real captains of the campaign, those who financed Talmadge's "grass roots" convention held in Macon, Ga., Jan. 29, 1936, where Talmadge was implored by some 3,500 delegates to run for President against Franklin Roosevelt. Jus. 8-6-46

Pierre duPont sent $5,000. John J. Raskob, one of the U. S.'s biggest capitalists, sent his $5,000. And the rest of the moneyed backers of American fascism.

Lamont and Irenee duPont; O. C. Huffman, president, Continental Can Co.; Odgen L. Mills, Secretary of the Treasury under Hoover; Alfred P. Sloan and Alvan Macauley, Liberty Leaguers; Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State under Coolidge; W. E. Smith, Standard Oil Co.; John F. Neylan, general counsel of the Hearst newspapers, and H. C. Hopson, head of the huge power trust, the Associated Gas & Electric Co.

They were the men behind the scenes of the formation, in July, 1935, of the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution. Chairman was John Henry Kirby, wealthy Texas oil and lumberman, past president of the National Association of Manufacturers. Kirby's assistant was Vance Muse, Ku Klux Klansman. Jus. Day 8-6-46

TALMADGE

When Muse distributed, at the "grass roots" convention, copies of the Georgia **Woman's World**, showing Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt being escorted to an automobile by Negro members of the ROTC at Howard University, Kirby said, this distribution **"is not to be condemned in Dixieland."**

They were ready to take over—to send anti-Roosevelt delegates to the 1936 national Democratic convention—or not to hold a state preferential primary at all. Kirby said if things went wrong in Texas and pro-Roosevelt forces were elected, he would gather "those who hold similar views" to contest their seats in Philadelphia later that year. He had 50 hotel rooms reserved in Philadelphia for the occasion.

The committee's counterpart in the North, the Liberty League, had a similar list of financial backers. Talmadge told "delegates" to his conference people in the North who held views similar to his could find a leader in men like Al Smith. Smith's Liberty League received $924,974.84 from these: New York.

DuPont Family	$204,045.00
DuPont Associates	152,622.68
Pitcairn Family	100,250.00
J. P. Morgan Associates	68,226.00
Mellon Associates	60,752.55
Rockefeller Associates	49,852.56
Hutton, E. F. Associates	40,671.28
Sun Oil Associates	37,260.00
Banks and Brokers	184,224.83
Utility Companies	27,069.94

Most of this material was uncovered by the Hugo Black Senate Committee in hearings in the spring of 1936. It leads the Daily Worker to wonder what light might be shed on the inner workings of Talmadge lynchdom today if the Department of Justice were to dig down and have a look today. Jus. 8-6-46

Dustin' off the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

The Defender, Chicago, Ill.

GEORGIA HAS ALWAYS HONORED ITS SCOUNDRELS

Savannah, Ga.

THE Massacre at Monroe, Ga., is the natural outcropping of what has been brewing in Georgia ever since 1936, to be exact. The minds of the people of that state had begun, in a manner, to accept the liberalism of Franklin Roosevelt, and to follow the program of the New Deal. Mr. Edward Rivers, then governor of Georgia, had labeled his administration the "Little New Deal." Eugene Talmadge, the "cuspidor-spitting expert" was out of power, and was barking commands at his poorly paid Negro farm workers who were laboring in the hot sun on the plantation he had inherited from a well-to-do widow near McRea. Talmadge was seeking for some event to take place along interracial lines that he could fan into the flame of race hatred and thereby regain his previous popularity. President Roosevelt, unknowingly supplied the spark. Over 20,000 Georgians flocked to hear him at Gainesville at the dedication of a square honoring his part in rehabilitating the mill city after it had been devastated by a tornado in April 1936. He utilized the occasion to make a plea for enactment of the wage-hour law, through which lowly paid Negroes and poor whites would profit, and he also set the stage for the coming Georgia primary. This is what he said:

Sat. 8-10-46

Lucius C. Harper

Defender

"I speak to you of conditions in this, my other state," began the President, alluding to Warm Springs as his "second home" for 14 years. "The buying power of the people of Georgia and that of the people of many other States is still so low that the people of these States cannot purchase the products of industry . . . Let us remember that buying power means many other kinds of better things — better schools, better health, better hospitals, better highways, etc. These things will not come to us in the South if we oppose progress, if we believe in our hearts that the feudal system is still the best system . . . When you come down to it, there is little difference between the feudal system and the Fascist system. If you believe in the one, you lean to the other." That was all that Talmade and his crowd needed to stir the hillbilly red-necks into action. He was the first to refer to the President's affliction, saying: "President Roosevelt is so that he can't walk around and get first-hand information; he has to take his from his secretaries. If he thinks he's gonna destroy our so-called feudal system, and elevate the N - - - - to the plane of a white man, he's sadly mistaken, and we'll show'm." Defender

* * *

TALMADGE communicated with all the known enemies of the New Deal in the North. They sent him contributions. Then he announced that he would run for the U. S. Senate against the incumbent, Walter F. George, who sadly is not one whit better and has fought the anti-lynch bill along with other Southern demagogues. Talmadge called a "Grass Root Convention of Southern Democrats" at Macon with the object of lining up Dixie in a solid anti-Roosevelt bloc. John Henry Kirby, wealthy Texas lumberman and friend of Vice President Garner joined in. Talmadge sent to Louisiana for the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, a master at stirring up race hatred, and added to the list every known race-baiter in the state. For a week this crowd revelled in denouncing the Negro and whites who were friendly to him. They issued a propaganda newssheet known as the Georgia Woman's World, and the prize exhibit flaunted by this scurrilious paper was a picture of Mrs. Roosevelt being escorted to her car by a Negro faculty member and a Negro student of Howard University. And as Talmadge described it: "It is the great Mrs. Roosevelt, our president's wife, who wants to tell us how to run Georgia, going to some N - - - - meeting with two escorts, N- - - -s on each arm." And the crowd booed in scorn. Talmadge was here making fertile the ground that finally produced its crop in the Massacre at Monroe.

In this campaign of race hatred Talmadge was aided and abetted by Northern industrial leaders who had a heavy financial interest in the defeat of the New Deal. The Georgia Power Company is practically Northern-owned and has powerful influence in Georgia politics. Kirby, the Talmadge business agent, later admitted that John J. Raskob gave $5,000 to the Macon race-baiting committee; Pierre S. duPont, the Delaware powder manufacturer, gave $5,000. Other Northerners on the list of contributors were Lamont, Henry and Irene duPont; Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, who gave $1,000, and who is notoriously anti-union; L. S. Mudge of Weirton Steel; General Mills, the International Milling Company, and many Southern industrialists and mill owners whose financial well-being is tied to Wall Street. These Northerners paid for this hatred to be preached throughout the South for the purpose of stemming the tide of liberalism that Roosevelt had launched. Hatred of the Negroes and every form of progress was the keynote of the Macon meeting. Hamilton Basso, Southern novelist and journalist, wrote in the New Republic: "Talmadge's Macon convention is one of those things that every decent man and woman in the South would like to forget." Yet, it was paid for by Northerners.

Chicago, Ill.

THE Negro is the football of Georgia politics; more so now that he has the right to vote. Ever since the coming of Gov. Hoke Smith around 1904 and 1906, he has been indiscriminately burned alive, murdered and lynched during or after every hot political campaign. Georgia was the first to burn Negroes at the stake. On Aug. 16, 1904 it shocked the world by burning Paul Reed and Will Cato alive in the public square at Statesboro. A photographer made a picture of the mob at its work; showed clearly the faces of the lynchers, but they never were arrested or brought to trial. One of the lynchers gathered up a few charred remnants of bones of the burned men and actually gave them to the judge who presided at the trial of Cato and Reed. He accepted them as a souvenir. The two men had been accused, but not convicted, of murdering a well-to-do farmer named Henry Hodges. Two years after this Hoke Smith, running for the governorship, so enraged the people of Georgia over the race issue that the Atlanta Riot broke out in September 1906. Before the year ended, Georgia had lynched nine Negroes in remote counties. In 1907 when Smith got a little ashamed of its lynching record, it decreased the number to six. Sat. 8-11-46

The lynch record took an upgrade when Thomas W. Hardwick, a race-baiting Sandersville lawyer, beat Smith for the governorship. Hardwick said once: "I don't talk to these Georgians on the tariff; they'd go to sleep. I keep'm awake on the Negro." He finally went to the United States Senate, but was lost in its intellectual environment. He died just recently, practically unnoticed. Georgia, however, has always rewarded those politicians who have caused the state to be bathed in and disgraced by crime. It has, likewise, punished those who have sought to be fair and liberal. It once ran a governor from office for commuting the sentence of Leo Frank, a Jewish manufacturer, who had been convicted of murdering a white girl, Mary Phagan. It was the rabble-rouser, Tom Watson, who caused Frank to be taken from a Milledgeville prison and lynched in a nearby town. Watson called the lynchers the "Vigilante" and so glorified them for their act that the voters of Georgia later elected him to the United States Senate. It was he who caused the mob to go to the state capitol to lynch Gov. Slaton, who had to flee north to save his life.

I who had issued North that wants to keep Negroes them cannot read nor write, and
Gov. Ellis Arnall, who had South, will and poor whites in the South "in Talmadge keeps them that way.
Hugh M. Dorsey, and the prevalence of peonage in Day in a New
came in the chair. He was a lib- every ambitious politician in Geor- probably suffer the same
eral and catered little to race gia and his plea for fairness to the Dorsey, unless, himself
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and stated a few plain facts gen- in Georgia's race-hating politics. such a Fuehrer that those
erally known to the public re- He cared to go no further for po- spark of decency left will s
garding the lynching of Negroes litical honors in the state and satis- impeachment. Talmadge
fied himself with a judgeship backed by Big Business. Most of

Ringgold, Ga., Record
July 4, 1946

Talmadge's Negro Appointees

Eugene Talmadge shouts from the stumps that we shall surely have Negroes in public office unless he is elected to preserve white supremacy.

But the words of Talmadge, the prophet of doom, are outweighed by the acts of Talmadge, the governor.

When he was last in office this man, who changes with ease from prophet to dictator as soon as he gets settled in the gubernaorial chair, brought about the very thing which he now attempts to use to frighten people into casting their ballots for him.

For the great champion of white supremacy appointed two Negroes as special employes of the Department of Public Safety in 1941 and ordered them to investigate cattle rustling in Telfair and Monroe counties.

We have no way of knowing whether the fact that Talmadge operates farms in these two counties had anything to do with the assignment.

The two were Claude Malcom and James White, and an auditor's report on their activities reveals that these two Negro appointeees of Eugene Talmadge used state expense money—money contributd by taxpayers like you and me—to buy whiskey, perfume, liniment and a lot of "miscellaneous," which is a term covering most anything.

Page 24 of the report of examination of finances of the Department of Public Safety as of June 30, 1941, shows that Malcom spent $15 for meals and miscellaneous expenses on May 10, 1941, -(Voucher No. 2970).

Other vouchers show that on 1941, he spent $10 for [illegible] from Atlanta to Forsyth [illegible] Jackson and then to [illegible]. On May 20 he paid out $20 in state cash for "miscellaneous."

On June 12, Malcom spent $13.88 for mileage to Talmadge's home town of McRae. And on the next day, the mileage and miscellaneous bill on a trip to Darien took another $68.34 of the taxpayers' money.

On June 14 (voucher 3695) there was an expenditure of $48.20 for bus fare to Forsyth, for hiring a car, for three quarts of whisky and as pay for one "B. Williams," who helped for five days.

The total expense account of Claude Malcom, who went out to catch the cattle thieves for Eugene Talmadge, was $175.42. In addition, he was paid $194,66 for two and one-half months of personal service.

The other Negro appointee, James White, was paid $22.50 for personal services from June 6 to June 13.

This man turned in only one expense voucher, and according to the report of the state auditor, this indicated that White purchased 12 bottles of perfume and four bottles of liniment.

The official record of the activities of Talmadge's Negro appointees may be found in the report of examination of the Department of Public Safety for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, as rendered by State Auditor B. E. Thrasher, Jr., on August 12, 1941, to Eugene Talmadge himself, who was then [illegible]

4-Time Governors

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: The State Democratic Convention adopted a platform. In that platform it said: "Mr. Talmadge's election to a fourth term is indeed significant when it is recalled that never before in the long history of this great state has a Georgian ever been honored by being selected as Governor four times. This convention proclaims this fact to the rest of this nation." Sat.

For your information, Joseph E. Brown was elected Governor of Georgia in 1857, 1859, 1861 and 1863.

It just occurred to me that the gentlemen might wish to correct this statement in the interest of keeping history straight. 10-12-46

Am sending this letter to the newspapers because I have seen this erroneous statement several times lately and they also might wish to make a correction.

ELIJAH A. BROWN.

Atlanta.

Albany, Ga., Herald
October 13, 1946

We've Had Negro Officeholders

It was not only in Reconstruction Days that Negroes held office in Georgia. Long after the last federal military unit had left this state Negroes held various offices. Georgia was the last of the states of the Southern Confederacy to be readmitted to the union. That was in 1870, five years after Appomattox.

The Negro officeholder was no stranger in Dougherty County. Not only were Negro coroners elected a number of times, with both white and Negro voters giving them title to the office, but Negroes also represented this county in the state legislature.

In the 1870's Dougherty County had two representatives in the legislature. That was long before the day of the white primary; and all males of 21 years and over were entitled to vote. As there were many more Negroes than whites resident in the county, an arrangement was worked out whereby one white man and one Negro were several times elected. In every election there would be at least one Negro candidate, sometimes several.

The elections themselves were battles royal, with vote buying taken for granted. This county had Negro representatives in the legislatures of 1877, and 1880-'81. In the latter year Capt. John T. Hester, Confederate veteran and an oft-honored citizen, went to the legislature with Ishmael Lonon, a Negro blacksmith, as the co-representative.

But under the census of 1880 Dougherty County lost one of its two representatives, and the burning question then was whether a white man or a Negro would be the lone representative from this county. Ishmael Lonon had announced that he would be a candidate, and stated that "if us colored folks will stick together, I will be elected."

H. M. McIntosh, then editor of the Albany News and Advertiser and who in 1891 founded The Herald, was picked by white political leaders of the county to make the race against Lonon. It was a bitter battle in which enough Negro voters were persuaded to vote against the blacksmith to defeat him, and he was never again a candidate for public office.

The census of 1870 showed that there were more than six Negroes to every white person living in Dougherty County. Each succeeding census has shown white gains, and it is quite possible that the 19[illegible] census will show an even score for the first time since the county was created.

Ga. Paper Refutes Office Holder's Story

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

ALBANY, Ga. (ANP) —Editorial columns of the Albany Herald's edition of Sunday, Oct. 13, carried a refutation to recent statements that Georgia has had no colored office holders since Reconstruction days.

H. M. McIntosh, president-editor of the Herald Publishing Co., said that the colored office holder could be found in Dougherty County and the State long after the last Federal military unit had left Georgia. Sat. 10-26-46

Reveals Ga. Had Negro Officeholders After '80s

Daily World Atlanta Ga. Thurs.
10-24-46

ALBANY, Ga. — (ANP) — Editorial columns of the Albany Herald's edition of Sunday, October 13, carried a refutation to recent statements that Georgia has had no Negro office holders since Reconstruction days. This assertion was made by H. M. McIntosh, president and editor of the Herald Publishing Company here.

McIntosh tells that the Negro officeholder could be found in Dougherty County and the state long after the last federal military unit had left Georgia. Pointing out that Georgia was the last of the states of the Southern Confederacy to be readmitted to the union—in 1870, five years after Appomatox—he declared that not only were Negro coroners elected a number of times, with both white and Negro voters giving them title to the office, but Negroes also represented Dougherty County in the state legislature.

Battle Royals

All this happened before the days of the white primary, when all males of 21 years and over were entitled to vote. In 1870, the county had two representatives in the state legislature, at a time when there were many more Negroes than whites resident in the county. An agreement was worked out whereby one white man and one Negro were several times elected. In every election, there would be at least one Negro candidate, sometimes several. The elections themselves were battle royals, with vote buying taken for granted.

During 1877 and 1880-81, Dougherty County had Negro representatives in the legislature. In 1881, Capt. John T. Hester, white Confederate veteran, was sent to the legislature with Ishmael Lenon, a Negro blacksmith, as co-representative.

According to the "History and Reminiscenses of Dougherty County," compiled by the Throneteeska Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, one Negro is listed as having served four times as coroner and another one term; though the race of the office holders are not listed, these two Negroes are said to be remembered by the older residents of Albany.

The first Negro coroner is said to have been Granderson Wynn, elected in January, 1883, and serving until April, 1884. He was reelected for the terms January, 1889, to February, 1890; January, 1891, to January, 1893, and January, 1893 to February 1895. All told he held that office for 77 months.

Varied Support

It was said of him that Wynn was elected without opposition on one or more occasions, and once, when he had a foe in a coroner's race, he polled a majority of the white votes.

The other Negro coroner was said to have been Brison Hill, who served from January, 1895, to October, 1896. No other Negro coroners followed him.

CENSUS OF 1880

In the state legislature race, Dougherty County lost one of its two representatives as a result of the census of 1880 and the question arose as to whether a Negro or white man would be the lone representative of the county. Lonon announced his candidacy by saying "if us colored folks will stick together, I will be elected." However, McIntosh, then editor of the Albany News and Advertiser, was picked by white political leaders to compete for the office against Lonon, which resulted in enough Negro voters being persuaded to vote against the blacksmith. With this defeat, he was never again a candidate for public office.

The 1870 census showed that there were more than six Negroes to every white person living in the county, but each succeeding census has shown white gains.

MRS. MANKIN'S VICTORY

The recent special election in the Fifth Congressional district reveals several things which we wish to call attention to: (1) that Negroes are becoming more and more aware of the fact that they are citizens who must take part in the affairs of government; (2) that they must register and be prepared to vote under intelligent guidance; (3) that they must become informed as to the mechanics of participation in government through the franchise; (4) the Negroes of Atlanta followed the leadership of their best men and women; (5) that Negroes can serve as efficient managers in an election. Whether their votes elected Mrs. Mankin is not important at the moment. She does not consider it important to acknowledge it as being so, despite the fact that she was running behind before the count from Precinct B was in. Two very significant things stand out in this election which should serve as patterns to other communities. Stokes states these things so clearly that we quote from him: "This election experience followed a thorough course of preparation by the intelligent Negro leadership which is taking its obligations seriously. They recognize their opportunity and want nothing to happen that will mar it or set back progress toward full citizenship. Leaders in Atlanta's several Negro colleges and universities have emphasied the obligations and responsibilities of citizenship, so that keen interest has been aroused among the students." While we have a college in Savannah, it shows no such interest in the political welfare of Negroes in Savannah and Chatham county. We could not depend upon it for leadership. But the most striking thing is the fact that "Negro ministers and churches have been active. Sunday evening forums on public affairs have become a regular part of church activity." Now we have in Savannah more churches and ministers per square mile, perhaps, than in any other Georgia city, and, to say nothing of holding forums on public affairs, some of our ministers have refused to stress registering and voting. The matter of registering and becoming informed in the necessary rudiments of politics should be high up in the scale of things a citizen should do, and we must depend in the main upon those who claim to be our leaders to guide us.

We say again that if the ministers took the registration of TEN THOUSAND VOTERS seriously and worked earnestly at it, 10,000 names on the voters' list would be an easy job. The fact is, it could have been accomplished already. It is difficult to discover the reason why our ministers are so reluctant to do this practical job of leadership, a job that will bring rich returns—social, economic and political, to everybody, to every church, to the entire community. The teachers, the ministers, and just plain citizens of Atlanta have set a pattern for Negroes everywhere to follow. We shall continue to urge that institutes in citizenship be set up so that our people can become politically literate, certainly in the elements of voting. This is necessary if the TEN THOUSAND voters we hope to get are not to be mere pawns in the hands of unscrupulous politicians.

GA. CONGRESSWOMAN PROMISES 'FAIR DEAL'

Pittsburg Courier
Pittsburg, Pa.

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—Helen Douglas Mankin, newly elected Congresswoman from Georgia, arrived in town last week and immediately held a press conference. Newsmen were eager to see the white woman elected to Congress from Georgia by Negro votes, although she herself said it was the CIO vote that won the seat.

Accrediting the votes to the fact that in her law practice she had a number of Negro clients with whom she had been fair and square, Mrs. Mankin talked briefly on the Negro question. She did not amplify her statement that she believed in a fair and square deal for Negroes.

HAZY ON FEPC Sat 3-9-46

Of the FEPC she was hazy, her excuse being that she had been blacked out from national affairs for the past few months but if the FEPC was as bad a piece of legislation as she had been led to believe from reading newspaper accounts, she opposed it. But first, she said, she would have to read the statement.

Poll tax she considered a Southern States' question, saying that the people of various States admitted it was wrong and they would in turn repeal it.

Helen Mankin Ends Campaign

N.Y. Times New York, N.Y.
By United Press

ATLANTA, Ga., July 16.—Rep. Helen Douglas Mankin (D., Ga.) who was elected to serve the unexpired term of Robert Ramspeck from Georgia's 5th Congressional District, rounded out her campaign today for a full two-year term. She has been a supporter of OPA and terminal leave for enlisted men.

Mrs. Mankin's two opponents in tomorrow's State Democratic primary are Judge James C. Davis, veteran De Kalb County Superior Court Judge, and Capt. W. C. Lowe. Julio 7-16-46

Mrs. Mankin's strength is concentrated in Atlanta (Fulton County) where a heavy Negro vote in her favor gave her the necessary majority over 18 opponents last Spring when she was first elected.

The 5th District also includes DeKalb and Rockdale counties, much smaller in population.

Several weeks ago the Democratic Committee in the district voted to enforce the unit vote system in the Congressional race. Under this system, Fulton and DeKalb counties will have six unit votes each and Rockdale two.

Thus Mrs. Mankin may easily poll a popular majority but lose.

Good News Down South

New Republic 3-4-46

HOPEFUL CRACKS in the political fences of Southern reactionaries were made by the voters of Atlanta and New Orleans in recent elections. In both cases, record registrations preceded progressive victories.

Mrs. Mankin is a successful lawyer and has served five successive terms in the Georgia legislature. Her record in the legislature has been consistently progressive and was commended by Governor Arnall at the beginning of her campaign. Her strongest opponent in a field of seventeen 3-4-46 men was Mr. Tom Camp, former secretary to Representative Ramspeck and executive secretary of the Georgia Railroad Association, who had the support of various special interests.

Several new factors in the Georgia political scene which helped to elect Mrs. Mankin were: (1) the elimination of the poll tax; (2) the fact that this was a by-election, not subject to the restrictions governing Democratic primaries; (3) Negro votes, which played an important role in the victory. In addition, she carried on an imaginative campaign which brought the vital issues home to the people. Thus with the support of women's and church groups, organized labor, progressive individuals and organizations, and helped by a heavy turnout at the polls, she demonstrated that liberal sentiments can find political expression in the South. This is the third election in Georgia in which the Negroes voted for the candidates who were being supported by the church groups and the forward-looking citizens of good will.

A six weeks' whirlwind campaign in New Orleans ended in the defeat of Robert S. Maestri, who has exercised one-man boss rule in the Crescent City for twelve years and represents the last strong remnant of Huey Long's regime. The new mayor of New Orleans is 34-year-old Colonel Morrison, whose victory can be compared to that of a liberal sweeping Frank Hague out of Jersey City. The vote was close—67,028 to 62,017.

Morrison was elected by the combined support of an aroused citizenry, a very active women's committee, organized labor, veterans and Negroes. Although he made no platform commitments for widening the economic opportunities or the franchise rights of Negroes, the Citizens' Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People estimates that most of the more than two thousand Negroes voting cast their ballots for Morrison on the basis of his generally progressive program. 3-4-46

His labor support came largely as the result of radio addresses in which he pledged himself to the industrialization of New Orleans, to the defense of the Wagner Act and to the appointment of a Labor Advisory Committee to help him plan for the future of the city. He made very progressive commitments about the place of women in a modern American city and announced that he would make appointments according to merit rather than sex.

If the anti-poll-tax bill now before the Senate is passed, the citizens of seven more Southern states will be given the chance to show the country that the Bilbos and Byrds are not the choice of the majority.

Atlanta Voters Give Georgia 1st Elected Congresswoman

Afro American Sat 2-23-46

Baltimore, Md

ATLANTA—(NNPA)—Joe Allen, city councilman, one of 17 defeated male candidates, last week protested to Governor Ellis Arnall the election of Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, State legislator, to succeed Rep. Robert Ramspeck, resigned, of the Fifth Georgia District, on Feb. 12.

Allen requested an investigation of returns from Precinct B in the Third ward, predominately colored, which gave Mrs. Mankin 956 votes to Camp's 16. It was the first time since Reconstruction days that colored persons served here as precinct managers and clerks in a Congressional election.

Mrs. Mankin, backed by the CIO, and regarded as a liberal, received 11,099 votes to 10,329 for Thomas L. Camp, former secretary to Ramshpeck. Camp led by 146 votes until returns from Precinct B swept Mrs. Mankin into office.

Says Georgia Negroes Decided Congress Race

Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin
Associated Press Wirephoto

ATLANTA, Feb. 13 (AP)—The Atlanta Daily World, a Negro newspaper, asserted today that the Negro vote decided the race for Congress in the Fifth Georgia District, won by Mrs. Douglas Mankin, State legislator, over seventeen male candidates. Times 2-14-46

Mrs. Mankin, backed by the CIO, received 11,099 votes to win a close race with Thomas L. Camp, former secretary to Robert Ramspeck, whom Mrs. Mankin succeeds. Camp got 10,329 votes.

The newspaper said Negroes served as precinct managers and clerks in Atlanta for the first time in a Congressional election. All of the candidates were Democrats. Negroes vote in general elections in Georgia and a court test is underway which seek to give them the ballot in primaries.

Woman Legislator Loses Ga. Primary

The Afro-American

ATLANTA — Representative Helen Douglas Mankin, whom votes by colored citizens placed in Congress for an interim period, was apparently unseated in last week's primary by Superior Court Judge James C. Davis of Clarkston.

Although she gained a plurality of votes, under the unit vote system of Georgia, she appears to be defeated by an 8-6 count.

With returns still incomplete, she had gleaned 44,718 votes to Judge Davis's 34,196. A third candidate, Capt. W. C. Lowe, polled just 6,332. Baltimore, Md.

To Claim Renomination

Mrs. Mankin told newspapermen, last week end, that she would claim renomination from the South Democratic Executive Committee on the basis of the popular vote cast in the Fifth Congressional District. Sat. 7-27-46

The district comprises three counties. She won her plurality in Fulton County, which contains Atlanta, where the colored vote is heaviest, and lost in DeKalb and Rockdale Counties.

3 Incumbents Win

In other State races for Congressional posts, the following nominations appeared certain:

Seventh District, Henderson Lanham; Ninth District, Rep. John S. Wood; Sixth District, Rep. Carl Vinson; Eighth District, Rep. John Gibson.

The First and Second Districts races can only be decided on the basis of the final returns as votes between candidates are very close.

In the First District, Rep. Hugh Peterson and Prince Preston were running neck and neck; and in the Second, Rep. Eugene Cox and J. N. Peacock were tied at 12 unit votes apiece.

Underground Tactics Send Ga. Woman to Congress

Baltimore, Md.

AFRO-American

ATLANTA—In New York, Philadelphia, Detroit or Chicago, a "wardheeler" carries around a thousand votes in his vest pocket and thinks nothing of it, but down here in Atlanta, 956 votes have turned an election and shaken the foundations of the entire South.

These 956 votes were polled in the Fourth Ward and helped send Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin to Congress by defeating 17 other aspirants to the seat of former Congressman Robert Ramspeck. The occasion was the first in which colored voters had participated in the Democratic primary with their own tellers and watchers.

Won More Than Expected

Behind the scenes, this was perhaps one of the most unorthodox campaigns ever staged in America, with the group which controlled the balance of power expecting to win nothing but the right to participate in an election and exercise their franchise.

The candidate who won their solid strength not only promised the colored voters nothing, but is admittedly embarrassed by their support.

The race issue being the hot potato it is in Georgia, Mrs. Mankin, who faces another test in the regular primary this fall in order to hold the seat she won, is in a dilemma of the devil's own making. 3-2-46

On the Spot

If she acknowledges or makes any attempt to repay her colored voters by the slightest suggestion of liberality in Congress, the reactionary forces of ex-Governor Talmadge will use it to crucify her between now and September. If she fails, she runs the risk of alienating the only people who can assure her continuance in office.

The election was unorthodox because of this very race issue. The colored campaign was carried on underground, and came as a distinct surprise to Mrs. Mankin's opponents, so much so that Joe Allen, Atlanta councilman, has demanded a probe of the election in a protest to Gov. Ellis Arnall.

But there was nothing either mysterious or crooked about the victory. It was the result of hard work by a group of strategists who were determined to make the influence of the group felt in their first opportunity to prove their solidarity.

Party Lines Forgotten

The campaign was not political in the truest sense of the word, but racial and civic because Republicans locked hands with Democrats, churchmen combined with underworld characters, and college professors worked with the unlettered to get the voters registered and to keep them informed.

The Mankin candidacy was not advocated from the soap box or at political rallies, but in hushed whispers and private telephone talks to thousands of homes.

Any open support in the colored neighborhood would have been to the candidate's detriment. The only campaign literature distributed was a small ticket the size of a calling card.

Had Best Record

The colored citizens rallied to Mrs. Mankin not because of any promises she had made on the race question, but on the basis of her 10-year record in the State Legislature, where she had supported most of the liberal legislation that backward Georgia has on the books.

She was backed not because she was a dreamy-eyed liberal on the race question, but because she was the best of a bad lot. And the colored voters of Atlanta wanted to prove that if a public servant does

even half way right, they will meet him or her more than half way.

But back of this little drama is a story fraught with group and individual heroics.

Political Brain Trust

At the top level there was the "Brain Trust," headed by C. A. Bacot, authority on socio-politics at Atlanta University, with Ira DeA. Reid as the elder statesman.

Around them, helping to implement strategy, were:

C. A. Scott, editor of the Atlanta Daily World; C. L. Harper, president of the NAACP; John Wesley Dobbs, of the Alliance of Political and Civic League;

Grace Townes Hamilton, of the Atlanta Urban League; J. C. Long, of the West Side Republican Club; A. T. Walden, of the Georgia State Democratic Organization, and many others. 3-2-46

Church Plays Role

The church displayed a militancy seldom before seen in the South. Under the dynamic leadership of the Revs. M. S. King, pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church; B. J. Johnson of Greater Mount Calvary, William Holmes Boarders of Wheat Street Baptist, and Maynard Jackson of Friendship, thousands of new voters were placed on the registration books.

In one big drive, the Rev. Mr. Johnson led 360 to the polls in a political revival service. Bishops of the Holiness churches also led their flocks to the registrar.

The Federal housing projects swung into line and the entire population, running into hundreds, was placed on the books, the residents placing neat cards over their doors reading, "I have registered."

If no sign appeared, the neighbors kept after the delinquents until they did. Sat.

One-Man Campaign

The greatest one-man campaign was waged by 70-year-old J. C. Long, retired engineer of Spelman College.

With a substantial private income from his Texas property, Mr. Long has made a hobby of getting colored voters registered, selling his program from door to door like a brush salesman.

Working around the clock, he rings doorbells, asks members of the family if they aren't tired of poor schools, badly paved streets, inadequate recreation facilities, and tells them that the only cure is the use of the ballot.

Not taking any chances on his sales talk cooling off, he offers to carry the prospective voter to the polls in his car. Making his appointments on a regular schedule, he carries dozens to the city hall every day.

If for some reason he cannot keep an appointment, he sees to it that one of his associates calls on the new citizen and delivers him on schedule. Although he is a Republican himself, Mr. Long does not try to influence the political views of his converts. His mission is to get colored people to use their ballot—the politics will take care of itself.

Spreading Throughout State

By this application of practical political techniques, the leaders contend that they have placed at least 7,000 new voters on the books since the last national election and interest is growing.

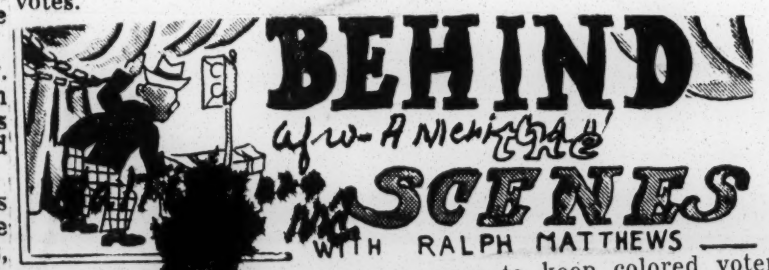
The technique is being duplicated in other urban centers of the State, with colored voters taking increased participation in Columbus, Savannah, Athens and Valdosta.

However, it will take all the votes they can muster to keep the Talmadge forces from staging a comeback with the departure of progressive Governor Ellis Arnall.

The Unit System

The unit system, which gives backward rural communities as much strength in determining the election as cities like Atlanta, generally swing t ohte most intolerant rabble rousers.

By the unit system, one vote in some of the tiny benighted counties is equal to 51 votes in the big cities. Echols County, with a population of only 2,964, has two unit votes, and Fulton County (Atlanta), with 392,886, has only six votes.



Next to the sensational resignation of Harold Ickes as Secretary of the Interior, the most important news on the politcal front last week was the election of Mrs. Helen Douglass Mankin in Georgia to succeed Rep. Robert Ramspect.

The occasion is not only the first time that a woman has been elected to Congress from Georgia but also the first time that the colored vote has held the balance of power in a Dixie primary.

Until the votes were counted in the dominantly colored third ward Mrs. Mankin was trailing her lead-opponent, Thomas L. Camp, by 146 votes. The colored ward gave Mrs. Mankin 956 votes to win.

The question now is just what affect will this have on the future politics of the South.

Can Mrs. Mankin come to Washington and take the traditional place beside her Dixie colleagues in opposing all liberal legislation affecting colored people such as the anti-lynching, the anti-poll tax and FEPC bills?

Already other States have offered their polls to colored voters in the primaries in compliance with the ruling of the Supreme Court. Will this new action be the curtain riser of a new day in Southern race relations, or frightened by the ominous implications in this election, will the South swing into worse reaction and attempt to establish more repressive measures to keep colored voter away from the polls?

This will bear watching.

White Press:

Georgia Congresswoman Won on 'Own Merit'

Pa. Pittsburgh Courier

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—Fearing that Negroes might expect too much of her in Congress, Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin is being defended by a number of writers who claim that the first Southern woman to be elected in her own right and not by appointment, won on her own merits.

Disclaiming the credit the Atlanta Daily World would give Negroes for their heavy vote for her, Mrs. Mankin is said to have won because she is a "liberal" and not "radical." 3-2-46

WON BY 770

At the time of the vote, Mrs. Mankin's opponent led by 147 votes but when the returns from Precinct B in the Third Ward, which is predominantly Negro, came in, Mrs. Mankin won 956 ballots and her opponent, Thomas L. Camp, 7. Her total plurality was 770.

Doris Fleesom, erstwhile New York Daily News writer, now with the Washington Star, wrote, "The Atlanta Daily World, a conservative Negro newspaper, quickly claimed that the Negro vote elected her. Of course, 770 white persons who voted for her also might claim it was their franchise that did the work. 3-2-46

"Indubitably she was backed by the CIO and indubitably somebody did a fine job of electioneering for her. Georgians profess themselves puzzled about where to assign c dit."

John Rankin when learning of the woman's victory said, "Atlanta fell before; it has fallen again."

Doris Fleesom said also, "Even before she can begin her term, an attempt is being made to hang around Mrs. Mankin's neck an albatross." She then comments on the Negro vote.

Another account says that "Mrs. Mankin's liberal record and sympathies as well as the nature of her opposition attracted a large number of Negro and CIO votes. Her opponents tried to make political capital of this support but she successfully resisted that charge that she was the candidate of any group or clique."

Rep. Helen Douglas Mankin, a hard worker who admits it.

'Congressman Helen

New York Times

Mrs. Mankin of Atlanta, lawyer and State legislator, is an active freshman.

New York

4-28-46

By JAY WALZ

WASHINGTON.

HELEN DOUGLAS MANKIN, a "freshman" Representative in Congress from Atlanta, is a successful lawyer who some years ago dedicated her career to the proposition that the championing of Southern women was not necessarily a man's job. The proposition has stood up under a series of telling tests.

First, back home she enjoyed a lively practice—mostly "small fees, but plenty of good people." Next, the Georgia Portia, with a mind for public matters and a voice for public speaking, got herself elected ten years ago to the State Legislature—hardly a woman's club—and stayed there five consecutive terms. Finally, in a special election in February, she got herself elected to Congress, defeating a field of seventeen men and becoming the first Georgia woman to be so honored.

Her explanation of how this last happened speaks for her confidence in her ability to fill the office she won: "I had the qualifications, and am a good speaker. They say I'm a hard worker, and I am."

4-28-46

MRS. MANKIN'S ten years in the Georgia Legislature were spent in building up what, in another locale, could safely be termed a "progressive" record. She identified herself with measures advancing State civil service, setting primary elections late enough to give all candidates a fair chance to campaign, providing for permanent registration of voters, taking the serial numbers off ballots in "secret" elections and equipping voting places with voting machines.

In Washington hardly long enough to get settled, the new Congresswoman is taking very seriously the job of filling the shoes of her predecessor, Robert Ramspeck, who left Congress to go into business and whose effectiveness as a Representative was generally regarded as better than average. Incidentally, she was immediately appointed to the Civil Service Committee where her predecessor won his reputation as a crusader for Government service by merit.

Besides civil service, she has been assigned to committees on revision of laws, on claims and on elections. When the House is in session visiting Atlantans in the gallery can count on finding their Representative on the floor closely following the proceedings.

"I'll bet Helen will get impatient here in Washington,"

SHE was born Atlanta, Georgia, is a city that formerly was called the "Gate City of the South", but it is not the gate through which a progressive and humanitarian Democratic lady can enter congress and stay there.

Closed Gate City

The Young Courier

Charleston, S.C. Mar. 11-13-46

"All our teachers are men." In order to provide for the girls an instructor for the girls had been lawyers and school teachers. Her father, Hamilton Douglas, founded the Atlanta Law School. Her mother, who had practiced law in Michigan, decided when the family got to Atlanta to try to help working girls earn a better living. Guy Mankin Jr. has been in the Merchant Marine.

"Back home one of her constituents remarked recently. "Both parents are men." Mrs. Douglas learned it herself. Mrs. Mankin is married to Guy Mankin, a mechanical engineer. Their home is in the Dixie Lodge in the Mankin area outside Atlanta.

"But we can't teach girls," doesn't take so long to get a bill—particularly a good one—passed." Tall and rangy, Mrs. Mankin dresses attractively in dark suits and tailored dresses. She takes the considerable walk from the House Office Building to the House floor in the Capitol in an easy, but ground-covering, stride.

"But we can't teach girls," serving in the Merchant Marine. school authorities told Mrs.

Truman Receives Haitian Minister

Afro-American

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — President Truman on June 3 welcomed Dantes Bellegarde, new Haitian ambassador, who called to present his credentials. Both exchanged pledges of continued co-operation between their countries. The internationally known Haitian statesman told the President: Sat 6-15-46

"It is a cause for great pride to be called again to labor for the success of a work to which I wholeheartedly devoted myself during my first diplomatic mission at Washington: Baltimore

"That of making more and more cordial and fruitful the relations between my country and the United States and that, also, of assuring a complete and sincere collaboration of our 21 republics of America in all fields of international life. Sat. 6-15-46

Seeks Peace at Home

"The events which took place in Haiti at the beginning of this year show that the Haitian people have remained faithful to the democratic principles for which their ancestors shed their blood in the past. Baltimore

"What they wish today is to establish peace at home on the solid basis of national prosperity and social justice.

"In the new Constitution that they are going to give themselves . . . they intend to establish more firmly than ever the rights of man to life, liberty, and equality of means of education and labor, without distinction of sex, race, language or religion." md

President's Reply

President Truman, in receiving Mr. Bellegarde's credentials and accepting the letters of recall of his predecessor, Jacques Antoine, said: 6-15-46 Sat

"I have been deeply impressed by Your Excellency's remarks concerning the intention of the Haitian people to devote themselves to the principles of liberty and democracy.

"My Government has been pleased to note the steps taken in Haiti towards realization of democratic tenets and practices, and the expressed desire of the present provisional Government to have responsibility for the affairs of State assumed at the earliest possible moment by a regime deriving its powers from constitutional processes."

45c 1946

Illinois

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

45c

3-16-46 — Saturday

SPEEDSTER TAKES CIVIL RIGHTS JOB—Ralph Metcalfe, former Olympic track star, recently discharged from the Army, is welcomed to his new job in the civil rights department of Chicago's Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, by Russell B. Babcook, director of the public information and education department of the commission. Metcalfe will handle problems of racial discrimination in the field of recreation.

Metcalfe Named To Chicago Commission

National Leader Norfolk, Va.

CHICAGO, Ill. — (ANP) — Ralph H. Metcalfe, noted American track star and 1943 recipient of the Father A. Hoey award for Catholic interracial justice, was appointed last week to the staff of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations.

Chicagoan is only Negro woman on U. S. parole board

Cal. Los Angeles Tribune

CHICAGO — Mrs. Ida Mae Laws, of this city, is the only Negro woman on the federal parole board.

Serving as women's advisor to federal parolees, Mrs. Laws' job is to help paroled girls and women to take up lawful and useful life in the community. She assists them in solving problems encountered during readjustment, and in making required monthly reports.

She began parolee work when she joined the Chicago Woman's City club, of which she is one of the few Negro members. 2-2-46

THEY MADE HISTORY IN CHICAGO

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

County Commissioner Edward M. Sneed, first Negro in history to serve in this capacity for three terms, is shown being sworn in by County Clerk Michael Flynn at ceremonies Monday.—Defender photo. Sat. 12-14-46

History was made Tuesday when Dr. J. B. Martin, president of the Negro American League, was inducted into office as a trustee of the Sanitary District of Chicago. Left to right: Dr. J. B. Martin, William and Judge Edwin A. Robson. The ceremony was performed in the Standard Oil Building.—Chicago Defender photo.

When Edward M. Sneed was inducted into office as Democratic County Commissioner Monday, it marked the third time he has been so honored which established a precedent not only in Chicago but the United States.

Commissioner Sneed took the oath of office amid oratory, flowers and received scores of telegrams from friends throughout the nation.

First elected in 1938, he has served continuously as the lone Negro member of the County Board and emerged victorious this year despite the Republican landslide.

In a brief address Commissioner Sneed said "I am the happiest man in the world and I want to take this opportunity to thank the people of Cook County, both Democrats and Republicans, for having cast their votes for him."

A native of Nashville, Tenn., Commissioner Sneed has been a resident of Chicago for 40 years. He has served as committeeman of the third ward for 16 years. He is married and has a 10-year-old son.

Dr. J. B. Martin, president of the Negro American Baseball League and owner of the American Giants, who became Chicago's first Negro trustee of the Sanitary District, took the oath of office Tuesday along with three other newly-elected Republican members. 12-14-46

Dr. Martin was showered with flowers and telegrams from friends who wished him well. He has rare distinction of being the first Negro ever to win the coveted honor.

In his address to the 500 or more persons who witnessed the induction Dr. Martin pledged himself to do everything in his power to prove himself worthy of the job and said Republicans believed in doing things the American way.

Congressman Dawson Gets New Office

The Defender Sat. 12-14-46

WASHINGTON — William L. Dawson, Democrat of Illinois, will be given new quarters when the 80th Congress convenes on Jan. 3.

Moving across the street from the old to the new office building, Dawson will occupy room 1016, which is easily accessible to his constituents and the public generally. Chicago, Ill.

J. B. Martin Winner In Chicago Elections

The Courier

By A. N. FIELDS

Chicago's recent Republican landslide resulted in a political phenomenon not altogether characteristic of politics. Chief among the winners was the election of Dr. J. B. Martin, 4552 South Michigan Avenue, as one of the trustees of the Sanitary District. This position pays $10,000 a year and the term is for six years.

It must be noted first that Dr. Martin has been a resident of Chicago for only six years. He arrived here in 1940, and in 1942, as a method of becoming better acquainted with Chicago and its environment, he caused his name to be placed on the Republican ticket as candidate for Cook County Commissioner. In that particular year all the Republican candidates of Cook County lost.

Sat. 11-30-46

Pittsburgh, Pa.

LED TICKET IN 1944

Dr. Martin, unfeated. When the Republican political leaders were casting about for candidates for the 1946 campaign, Dr. Martin was again chosen and nominated for membership on the Sanitary Board. This election was fruitful and the Republicans smashed the Democratic organization in Cook County. Martin emerged not only as leading the ticket, but also beat Jim Whalen by a member of the board.

DUTIES INVOLVED

The sanitary district extends from the north line of Cook County south to 159th Street and from the Indiana State line west to the east

end of DuPage County. Its area is 442.85 miles, including all of Chicago and sixty-two other incorporated cities and villages. So, it can be seen how involved the duties are which depend upon the thinking and actions of members of the sanitary board.

Dr. Martin was born in Holly Springs, Miss., on Sept. 24, 1888. At the age of twelve he was brought to Memphis and, after the usual early training in the country schools, he attended Le Moyne College, from there he studied at Walton University at Nashville, and later attended Meharry Pharmaceutical College, graduating in 1910.

He entered the drug business in South Memphis, a business which he has conducted for thirty-two years. Dr. Martin married Miss Lula McGuire of Chicago in 1909, and to them were born two sons: William Martin who carries on his father's business in Memphis and Dr. J. B. Martin Jr., a prominent and successful physician of Detroit, Mich. Dr. Martin also has a sister, Mrs. Hattie Callier, wife of Dr. Callier of Chattanooga. Others of the Martin family are his three brothers, Drs. W. S. Martin, A. T. Martin, and B. B. Martin. All of the three brothers reside in Memphis, Tenn.

BEGAN IN MEMPHIS

Dr. Martin's activities in politics began over thirty-five years ago in the City of Memphis in association with Robert R. Church, who, for many years has been a political leader of national repute. In talking to the writer, Dr. Martin made the observation that he regards Mr. Church not only as one of his closest friends, but as one whose pattern in Republican politics he accepted years ago as his own and has found it successful.

While operating his drug business in Memphis, Martin found it convenient to take an active part in the activities of baseball, and for twenty-three years he has been part owner of the Memphis Red Sox as well as president of the Southern Baseball League, president of the Negro American League, and is also owner of the American Giants. All these ventures have been fruitful, so much so, that Dr. Martin is to be regarded as one of our wealthy members of the race.

45c 1946

Japan

American Educators To Revise Japanese Education

American educators, going to Japan to revise the education system at the request of Gen. MacArthur, are shown prior to boarding a plane for Tokyo at Hamilton Field, Calif. They are, left to right: Paul P. Stewart of the State Department, secretary general of the group; Monsignor Fredrick G. Hochwalt of the National Catholic Education Association, Washington, D. C.; Isaac J. Kandel, professor of comparative education, Columbia University; Charles S. Johnson, professor of sociology at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; and Roy J. Deferrari, secretary general of Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Sat. 3-9-46

45c 1946

Kentucky

Circuit Clerk Appoints Negro To Be Deputy

2-5-46 Louisville, Ky. Courier-Journal

Circuit Clerk Karl Rothrock yesterday appointed the first Negro ever to serve as a deputy in that office and announced that he will have two or three more as typists and file clerks.

Mrs. Lucinda Miller, 2109 W. Cedar, started work as a file clerk in the drivers' license office immediately after she was sworn in by Judge Horace Barker.

A graduate of a Lexington High School, Mrs. Miller attended Louisville Municipal College for two years and for the last year has been secretary at the Laine Clinic, 1120 W. Walnut.

CITED BY U.S.

Sat 3-30-46

DEAN JOHN WILLIAMS
Of Kentucky State College, who has received an award of appreciation signed by both the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy for his work as a member of the Advisory Committee of the U.S. Armed Forces Institute of Madison, Wis. Dean Williams was appointed special consultant to Secretary of War Robert L. Patterson early last fall.

Ky. Legislator Now Asst. State Attorney

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Thurs 4-11-46

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — (SNS) — Charles W. Anderson, Jr., Louisville attorney and member of the Kentucky Legislature for the past ten years was this week appointed Asst. Commonwealth Attorney for the Judicial District embracing Louisville, Jefferson County, Ky.

The appointment of Mr. Anderson was made by the newly elected Republican Commonwealth Attorney, Frank M. Ropke. Mr. Ropke stated in appointing the Kentucky Legislator as a member of his legal staff, that he was doing so out of recognition of the legal ability of the attorney and in order to give recognition to the Negro people of Louiscille by having one of their race on his staff; that the appointment of Mr. Anderson as Asst. Commonwealths Attorney was the first time in the history of Kentucky that a Negro lawyer had ever been appointed to such a position, and that, in his opinion, no other state in the South has a Negro as a member of the State Attorney's office.

INDUCTION MAY 1

While the appointment was announced this week, Mr. Anderson will not be sworn into office until Wednesday morning, May 1, at 10 a. m., in the criminal courtroom of the Louisville Circuit Court, presided over by Judge Loraine Mix.

Anderson was first elected to the Legislature as a Republican in 1936, and has been re-elected for six consecutive times, and in 1945 was re-elected to office without either Republican or Democratic opposition. He is a former president of the National Bar Association, a member of the National Legal Committee of the NAACP, and of the Board of Directors of the National Urban League.

Anderson stated, in reference to the appointment, that the Kentucky Legislature does not meet again until January, 1948, in which event he would have to be re-elected in 1947 if he desired to continue as a member of the Legislature. The appointment as Asst. Common wealths Attorney is for a period of six (6) years and pays a salary of $4,000.00 per year, with the right for the attorney to continue his civil law practice and that the appointment spells further progress and integration of the Negro people of Louisville in the governmental affairs of the community.

Anderson Quits Ky. Legislature

Daily Word Atlanta, Ga.

FRANKFORT, Ky. — (ANP) — Charles W. Anderson, Jr., Louisville Republican and only Negro member of the state legislature, Thursday submitted his resignation as state representative to secy. of State Charles K. O'Connell.

This action follows Anderson's appointment as assistant commonwealth's attorney in the Jefferson County Judicial district, the first Negro ever to be honored.

Sat 5-10-46

Past president of the National Bar association, Anderson was first elected from Jefferson county's 42d legislative district in 1935 and was reelected five succeeding times.

ANDERSON RESIGNS FROM KY. LEGISLATURE

Afro American

FRANKFORT, Ky. — (ANP) — Charles W. Anderson Jr., Louisville Republican and only colored member of the State Legislature, has resigned to assume duties as assistant commonwealth attorney.

Negro Social Worker for U. S. Lauds State Child Welfare Division

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Mon. 4-29-46

Staff Praised For Its Work

Only Negro professional worker in the Social Service Division of the United States Department of Labor's Children's Bureau, Mrs. Annie Lee Davis, Louisville, yesterday complimented the Child Welfare Division of the Kentucky Department of Welfare for its "real desire" to extend services to Negro children.

Mrs. Davis, daughter of Mrs. M. G. Kirkpatrick, 2216 W. Chestnut, discussed problems of minority groups in Kentucky with the State staff in Frankfort Thursday and Friday in her first visit to Kentucky since her Washington appointment last March.

She declared that approaches to the problems of Negroes in Kentucky are "sound" and praised the State staff for its work while handicapped by "limited funds."

Tells of Minority Problems.

Mrs. Davis, special consultant to states confronted with minority problems, noted the position of the Negro is much the same as that of the Indian, the Mexican or the Chinese who finds himself on the low end of the wage scale and is forced to live in slum areas.

Speaking generally and not referring specifically to any one state, Mrs. Davis said this situation in some instances breaks up the home and because of lack of financial assistance, mothers

MRS. ANNIE LEE DAVIS,
Labor Department aide.

turn to institutions for the care of their children. However, maintenance of these institutions, Mrs. Davis pointed out, is far more expensive to the State and more harmful to the child's welfare than if financial help could be given the individual family through a broad general relief program.

Taught School Here.

Mrs. Davis also assailed the lack of medical services available for children throughout the United States but emphasized that before adequate public services could be set up community interest in the problems must be awakened. 4-29-46

A former teacher at the Samuel C. Taylor School here, Mrs. Davis received her bachelor of philosophy and master's degrees from the University of Chicago. She worked at the Joint Service Bureau, a child-placement agency, of the Juvenile Court in Chicago; as case worker and assistant supervisor for Cook County, and as a psychiatric social worker at Provident Hospital, Chicago. She also was executive secretary for the child-placing agency of Sangamon County, Illinois, and one of six social-work consultants for the State of Illinois.

Anderson Named State's Attorney

Afro American Baltimore, Md.

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Charles W. Anderson Jr., Louisville attorney and member of the Kentucky Legislature for the past 10 years, was recently appointed assistant commonwealth's attorney for the judicial district embracing Louisville, Jefferson County.

4-20-46

Mr. Anderson was named by Republican Commonwealth's Attorney Frank M. Ropke, who stated that he made the appointment in order to give recognition to the people of Louisville by having one of their race on his staff.

Sat.

First in State

This is the first time in the history of Kentucky that a colored

CHARLES W. ANDERSON JR.

lawyer had ever been appointed to such a position, and no other State in the South has a colored member in the State Attorney's office.

Sat 4-20-46

A former president of the National Bar Association, Mr. Anderson will not be sworn into office until May, in the criminal courtroom of the Louisville Circuit Court, presided over by Judge Loraine Mix.

Dummit Asked To Appoint Negro Aide

Courier Journal Louisville, Ky.

Thurs. 8-1-46

G.O.P. Nominee Seeks To Ease Racial Tension

William E. Porter, Hopkinsville, suggested here yesterday that Attorney General Eldon S. Dummit appoint a Negro from Kentucky's First Congressional District as an assistant attorney general.

Porter, unopposed candidate for Republican nomination to Congress from the First District in Saturday's primary, made his suggestion in a letter he said he sent to Dummit at Frankfort.

Porter declared in the letter, "Racial tension has been tight and the South is receiving much unfavorable publicity throughout the nation.

"Such an appointment at this time would show the people of America that there is a sincere desire for the creation of cooperation and good will between the two races and that the real people representing the majority are intelligently trying to solve a touchy problem."

At Frankfort Dummit said he had not received Porter's letter. He declined further comment.

W. E. B. DuBois

Defender

Lester Walton's Record

LESTER T. WALTON has retired as United States Minister to Liberia after serving from 1935 to 1945, 11 years, a longer period than any other American Minister has ever held this office. This is a record which ought to be known. Mr. Walton left with the complete confidence of the Government of Liberia and of the Firestone interests. On his resignation he received the highest decoration of Liberia, the grand cordon of the Order of African Redemption, and in addition the warm commendation of the United States Department of State.

6-1-46

During his term he negotiated eight treaties and agreements concerning air power, the health mission of which John West is head, and the new port to be built by the United States Navy which for the first time in history will give an independent African nation a port where ships may call and anchor. This does not mean that conditions in Liberia are satisfactory but it does mean that there has been built up through Mr. Walton's efforts a condition of cordial relations between this government and the Liberian and a chance for economic progress. Chicago, Illinois

Relations Not Cordial

IT IS ONE of the acute tragedies of the situation that the understanding between Liberia and American Negroes has never been as cordial as it should be. The causes are clear: American Negroes have always assumed that they had certain rights in Liberia, that in a sense they owned it and that their advice should always be taken and their criticism heeded. On the other hand, the Liberians have had a desperately hard row to hoe. They have had to fight the Africans themselves for their original foothold because they were foreigners. They have had continuous struggle with the English and the French who were determined to annex the country and from America they have had at first an attitude of disdain and lack of interest and finally the pressure of economic and military interference.

The great defense upon which Liberia today depends and has depended is the political power of the American Negro. But that political power ought to be backed by intelligent comprehension of Liberian history, difficulties and present condition. We Negroes in America have the common American fault of thinking if we visit a country for fifteen minutes or fifteen months we know all about it. No casual visit to West Africa can make any man, however intelligent, expert on its social conditions. So that when a Negro like Mr. Walton has had actual experience for 11 years being in that time intimately connected with the government and people of the country it is reassuring to have him vouched for the integrity of the leaders of Liberia and the possibility of its successful development.

Liberian Prosperity Vital 6-1-46 Sat

NOTHING would help the cause of American Negroes more than the increasing prosperity of Liberia, Haiti and Ethiopia. We could receive no greater blow to our aspirations than that these countries or any one of them should fail or retrograde. Yet Liberia is in the midst of an economic and social battle which could result in her defeat unless she has intelligent help. The small nations of the world no matter what their race and color who are struggling today against the great empires are at tremendous disadvantage. The battle for the laboring man centers there quite as much as it does in the trade unions of England and America. Chicago Ill

There should be a movement, and I trust Mr. Walton will head it, to interpret Liberia and its problems intelligently to the American public and especially to American Negroes.

Lanier Named Minister to Liberia; Replaces Walton

Afro-American (Balt.) Baltimore, Md. 3-5-46

WASHINGTON.

The appointment of R. O'Hara Lanier, special assistant in UNRRA and former acting president of Hampton, as minister to the Republic of Liberia was announced last week by President Truman.

A native of Winston-Salem, N. C., Mr. Lanier, who is 45 years old, will succeed Lester A. Walton, of New York, minister since 1935, who resigned last summer but returned to Liberia when Truman failed to take immediate action on his resignation.

Mr. Walton has been in ill health and returned to this country last fall for an operation and medical treatment.

Supported by Dawson

In commenting on the appointment, Congressman William L. Dawson, who supported Mr. Lanier for the post, said:

"He is the type of man who will not only enhance the close friendly relationship which has existed between America and Liberia in the past, but will carry to the people of Liberia the inspiration and knowledge needed to make Liberia a model republic."

Active Democrat for 12 Years

An active member of the Democratic party for over 12 years. Mr. Lanier is a graduate of Lincoln University, which also conferred an honorary doctorate on him, and received the M.A. degree from Stanford University.

He is a member of Phi Delta Kappa and Alpha Pi Mu honorary societies and Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. He is married and has two children, Patricia, 8, and Betty, 9.

R. O'HARA LANIER

Lanier Sworn In Liberia Minister

Memphis Tenn. Tri 3-8-46

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(N. N. P. A.)—Raphael O'Hara Lanier, of Texas, was sworn in last Friday as Minister to Liberia, to succeed Lester A. Walton, who recently resigned.

Formerly a special assistant to the Chief of the Bureau of Areas of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Mr. Lanier will leave this country in April to take up his new duties in Africa.

His family, consisting of his wife and two daughters, aged eight and ten, will follow him to the African republic in May.

MANY WITNESS EVENT

Tri 3-8-46

More than 200 people crowded the conference room of the State Department to witness the ceremony. Among them was James S Lanier, of Winston-Salem, father of the new minister, who has been practicing law for 51 years.

The State Department said Mr. Lanier's mission would constitute another firm step forward in the maintenance of close and friendly relations between this country and the sovereign state of Liberia and in the implementation of American policy toward Liberia.

Lanier Confirmed

Baltimore, Md. 5-2-23-46

WASHINGTON, D. C., (NNPA)—The Senate last Wednesday confirmed the nomination of Raphael O'Hara Lanier to be Minister to Liberia.

R. O'Hara Lanier Arrives in Liberia

Baltimore, Md. 4-27-46 Afro-American

MONROVIA (ANP)—R. O'Hara Lanier, United States minister to Liberia, arrived here recently at Robert's Field, where he was met by ol. U. D. Cole Sr., aide to the president, and Clare H. Timberlake, U.S. charge d'affaires. His formal presentation await the return to President to the capital.

Lanier Sworn In As Liberian Minister

Chicago, Ill. Chicago Defender (Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—In a simple and impressive ceremony witnessed by State Department officials and a galaxy of important figures in the educational, social and political areas of American life, Dr. Raphael O'Hara Lanier last week took the oath of office as United States Minister to Liberia.

Succeeding Lester A. Walton, recently resigned from the post at Liberia after more than ten years of distinguished service, Dr. Lanier brings to this high office a fund of administrative ability acquired through many years of service in the field of education and educational administration.

Lauded By Notables

Dr. Channing Tobias, senior secretary of Colored Work, National Council, YMCA, himself prominently mentioned for the post, said of Dr. Lanier's appointment, "I think his whole record of constructive thinking and service fits him admirably for the delicate job of serving not only as representative of his government in Liberia, but for the friendly suggestive help that can be rendered by one of his disposition in connection with the difficult internal problems the Liberians face."

Dr. Ambrose Caliver, administrative specialist in the United States Office of Education, termed the Lanier appointment, "the beginning of a new era in the life of Liberia." 3-9-46

Rep. William Dawson, (D., Ill.), and vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who has loyally supported President Truman's choice of Dr. Lanier for appointment to the Ministership of Liberia, said, "America needs Liberia. Liberia needs America. Lanier will formulate a connecting link between the two nations that will work to the best interest of them both."

Judge William H. Hastie, dean of the Howard University Law School who has been recently nominated by President Truman to be Governor of the Virgin Islands, the first time a Negro has been so nominated in the history of America, considers "Dr. Lanier's appointment as an encouraging recognition of merit above all other consideration in the selection of personnel for important governmental post. "I am confident," Judge Hastie stated, "that his ability and judgment will combine to make his service as minister both creditable to himself and advantageous to the American and Liberian people." 3-9-46

Education Experience

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, long associated with Dr. Lanier in the educational field declared the choice "an excellent appointment."

"Mr. Lanier is a very able man," r. Johnson continued. "He is not only very able in general, but very able in the field of realistic education having to do with agriculture and industrial arts. I would believe the appearance of Lanier in Liberia in any capacity would be an asset, but the fact the United States Government has selected a man of such ability and sends him over in such a position indicates the American Government has very high regard for the Liberian peoples and their possibilities."

Dr. Marshall Shephard, District of Columbia Recorder of Deeds, and chairman of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention, Inc., presently spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in educational and health missions in Liberia said, "I am especially proud of Lanier's appointment because we will have a sympathetic person over there in our mission programs. I know of his ability to represent the best of America's hopes and aims for Liberia and the aspirations of the Liberian people."

Expressing his own gratitude to President Truman for the honor of the office to which he has been appointed, the new minister assured, "It shall be my constant endeavor to merit the confidence which the President has reposed in me and to discharge the high responsibilities of my office to the best of my ability." 3-9-46

Byrnes Commends Walton

Lanier said, "The United States has more than a sympathetic interest in Liberia. We have embarked on a program of helping Liberia to help itself in the development of its natural and human resources. . . . As a representative of the United States Government at the Capitol City of Monrovia, I shall do my best to maintain the good relations already established by my illustrious predecessors in this office and to strengthen further the traditional bonds of friendship between the peoples of the United States and Liberia."

In recognition of his immediate predecessor, Lester Walton, Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes had this to say, "You have served the department for more than ten years at that post, the longest encumbency in the history of our official relations with Liberia, and have done much to foster our friendly relations with that country and its people." 3-9-46

Journeying from Winston-Salem, N. C., to Washington to share with their daughter-in-law, Mrs. Garret Lanier, wife of the new minister in the amenities of the occasion were the parents of minister, Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Lanier. The Laniers have two charming daughters, who with their mother expect to take up their new life in Liberia in June. The minister, by protocol requirements, must take up the duties of his office within 30 days after taking oath of office.

President Truman Makes Appointment

The Informer Houston Texas Sat 1-5-46

WASHINGTON — President Truman this week announced the appointment of Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier to the post of United States minister to the Republic of Liberia. This appointment displays once again President Truman's keen interest in building up fine relationships with other peoples of the world.

Dr. Lanier has won an enviable reputation as a distinguished educator, splendid administrator and a profound student of African affairs. He is the type of man who will not only enhance the close friendly relationship which has existed between America and Liberia in the past, but will carry to the people of Liberia the inspiration and knowledge needed to make Liberia a model Republic.

DR. O'HARA LANIER

Born in Winston-Salem, N. C., Dr Lanier is now 45 years old and is married to the former Miss Garriett Greene. The Laniers have two children, Patrica Ray, 8, and Betty Joe, 9. 1-5-46

Dr. Lanier received his A. B. degree from Lincoln university in 1922, A. M. degree from Stanford university in 1928, and doctor pedagogy from Lincoln university in 1941. He was granted General Education Board fellowship, Stanford university in 1927-28; Rosenwald fellowship, Howard university, 1931-32; General Education Board special travelling grant, New York university, 1944.

From 1923 to 1925 he served as instructor at Tuskegee Institute; as dean and director of summer and extension sessions of Florida A. & M. college, Tallahassee, Florida from 1925 to 1933; dean and director of summer school, Houston College for Negroes, Houston, Texas, 1933 to 1938; assistant director, Division of Negro Affairs, National Youth Administration; dean of instruction, acting president, dean of faculty, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia, 1940 to 1945; special assistant, Bureau of Areas, United National Relief and Rehabilitation since April 9, 1945.

For 1944-45 Dr. Lanier was selected for membership in "Who's Who in Education," "Leaders In Education," "Who's Who in Negro Youth Conference," and "Who's Who In Western Hemisphere," and "Who's Who In Negro Schools, Colleges and State Teachers Colleges in America."

He is a member of Pi Gamma Mu, social science fraternity; Delta Zeta Kappa, scholarship; Alpha Pi Mu, debating fraternity; Phi Delta Alpha scholarship; and Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity.

He is also a member of the National Committee of National Urban League; Executive Board, Southern Negro Youth Congress; past president, National Association of Colleges and Registrars in Negro Schools, Florida State Teachers Association and has been active national committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Dr. Lanier has been an active member of the Democratic Party for over 12 years, having been a charter member of the Negro Democratic organization of Houston, Texas. 1-5-46

The Future of Liberia

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Some observers have probably overlooked the significance of the recent selection of R. O'Hara Lanier as U.S. Minister to Liberia, the West African republic which next year will observe its centennial as a sovereign state.

That significance lies in the fact that much of Liberia's future depends upon its educational progress. No politician, the new Minister to Liberia is first and last an educator.

From 1923 at Tuskegee Institute, where he began his teaching career, to 1945 at Hampton Institute, where he served as acting president, Mr. Lanier has lived close to the field of education. It will not be unnatural for him then, if, as representative of our government, he devotes a portion of his time to the study of present practices and policies affecting education in Liberia.

3-16-46

In "Africa Advancing," a study of rural education and agriculture in West Africa and the Belgian Congo, prepared by Jackson Davis, Thomas M. Campbell and Miss Margaret Wrong, just released, this statement is made in the chapter on Liberia:

> The country cannot support an adequate system of education until it has greater economic wealth. On the other hand, it will not achieve greater economic wealth until the people are educated and learn to use modern science and technology in industrial fields and in health, government and welfare.

This report further points out the inadvisability of any short-term program of education, adding that the U.S. "could give great assistance" and hasten the country's educational development by "providing aid over a period of ten years or more."

Already Uncle Sam is giving assistance in the development of port facilities at Monrovia, the construction of highways and the prosecution of a public health program. The republic's agricultural development is also receiving more attention—because of the many products it has for export.

The importance of Liberia was emphasized in World War II when that nation supplied air bases and other essential needs and services necessary to safeguarding the Allied hold on North Africa. Liberia's position is no less strategic in peacetime.

3-16-46

Even closer cooperation between the West African republic and the U.S. may be expected since other world powers are not unmindful of this important position.

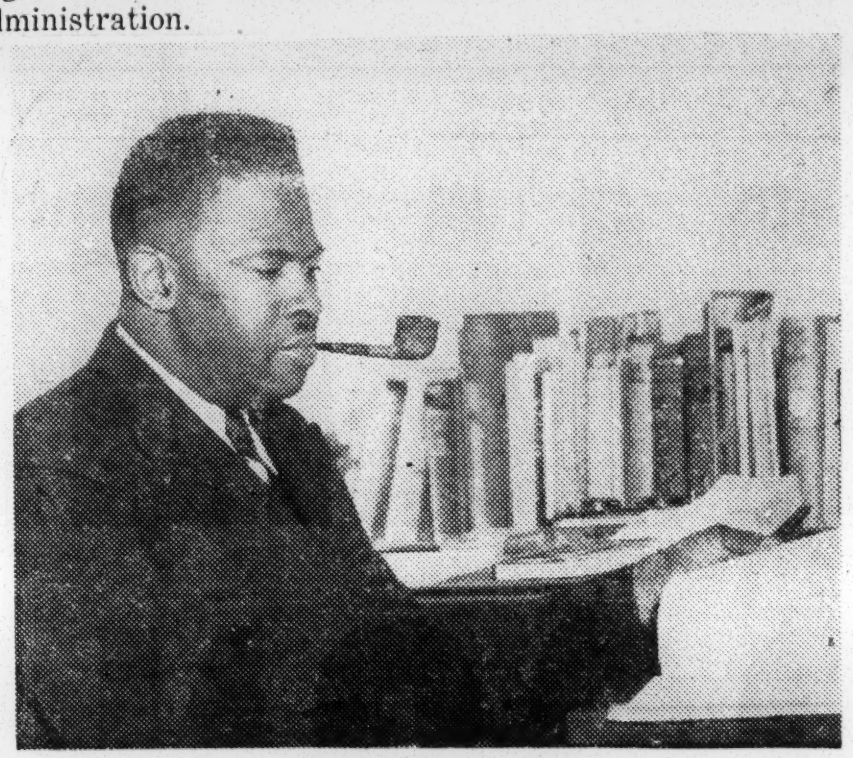
Our new Liberian minister will be confronted by many problems upon his arrival, but his recommendations regarding our future relations with Liberia will be respected, particularly those dealing with the part which education should play in U.S.-Liberian cooperation.

The New Liberian Minister

Daily Worker 1-3-46

President Truman's appointment of Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier to the post of United States Minister to the Liberian Republic will be widely approved by American Negroes. And while Dr. Lanier could not be expected to bring to bear upon his new assignment the same technical skill and knowledge as might be expected of a Ralph Bunche or a Rayford Logan, it cannot be doubted that his great practical experience and association with governmental service in Washington will more than compensate for what he may lack in the technical field.

It is good, therefore, to have the name of Dr. Lanier associated with what this paper hopes to be the inauguration and prosecution of a new and vigorous postwar development program for Africa. He has been special assistant with the Bureau of Areas of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. He had served as Dean of instruction, acting president and dean of the faculty of Hampton Institute since 1940. And he is a native of North Carolina, educated at Stanford and Lincoln Universities, with a rich background of teaching extending back to Tuskegee, Florida A. and M. College, Houston, and assistant director of the Negro Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration.



DR. R. O'HARA LANIER

Name Dr. Lanier Liberia Minister

New York, N.Y. Sat.

New York Amsterdam News

—Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, former dean of the faculty and acting president of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., was recently nominated U. S. Minister to the West African Republic of Liberia by President Truman. Dr. Lanier succeeds Lester A. Walton as minister at Monrovia, the Liberian capital.

Before his appointment as minister, Dr. Lanier served the government as a special assistant in the Bureau of Areas, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. He was born at Winston-Salem, N. C., 45 years ago, and received his education at Lincoln University, Chester, Pa., Stanford University from which he received the Master's Degree, and Howard and New York Universities.

In 1941, Lincoln University awarded him the degree of Doctor of Pedagogy. Dr. Lanier has also served on the staff of Tuskegee Institute, Florida A & M College, Houston College for Negroes, and in the Division of Negro Affairs, National Youth Administration. He is a member of the National Committee of the National Urban League, Executive Board, Southern Negro Youth Congress; a past president, National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars in Negro Schools, and the Florida State Teachers Association. He is also a member of several learned societies.

S. Minister Meets Liberian Press

Atlanta

MONROVIA — Raphael O'Hara Lanier, U. S. minister plenipotentiary to Liberia, has met representatives of the Liberian press twice since his recent arrival here.

First occasion was press conference for Ruth Cowdrey, of the International YWCA. Second was a meeting with the press and heads of American federal interests here. Newsmen stressed the new minister's desire to cooperate with the Liberian press and people.

Laniers Happy, Find Liberia Very Exciting

Baltimore Md.

MONROVIA, Liberia—R. O'Hara Lanier, U.S. Minister, and his wife, Mrs. Rachel Lanier, said recently that they are happy in their new field. The latter observed that while they miss American friends, newspapers and magazines, there are many exciting experiences in Liberia to compensate them.

Town Gets First Negro Councilman

Chicago Defender

MALDEN, Mass.—Malden now has its first Negro ever to hold public office. 9-9

He is Herbert Loring Jackson, former actor and writer, sworn in recently as a city councilman to become not only the first Negro in public office but also the first Christian councilman in 20 years in a district which is primarily Jewish. 9-9-46

The son of John T. Jackson who was born into slavery, Councilman Jackson, one of 13 children, came north from Georgia 50 years ago.

His first act as councilman was securing on Inauguration Day unanimous passage by the City Council of a resolution backing a state FEPC bill.

Councilman Jackson, intimate friend of Congressman Powell and his wife, Hazel Scott, and Joe Louis, had praise for his Jewish supporters, declaring:

"In a cosmopolitan community like Malden, the people not only preach but practice the brotherhood of man. In a true democracy such as we have here, there is no discrimination. A man is a man regardless of race, creed or color. Malden has made a fine example to the country."

Massachusetts girl gets court job

The Tribune Los Angeles, Cal.

ROXBURY, Mass.—Miss Elizabeth McLaughlin, of Roxbury, last week became the first Negro ever to be appointed secretary to the clerk in the Massachusetts superior civil court. Sat. 9-21-46

Boston Appoints Probation Officer

Chicago, Ill. Sat. Defender 12-21-46

BOSTON, Mass.—Harry T. Lofton, former Army Colonel in the 372 CA Regiment, became the first Negro probation officer in Massachusetts, when he was appointed to Roxbury Court in Boston's most densely populated Negro district.

A native of Jacksonville, Fla., Lofton studied at Boston University, Suffolk Law School and Massachusetts Military Academy. He was formerly active in the national guard here and prior to his appointment, Lofton was manager of a housing project in Norfolk, Va. 12-21-46

A MILESTONE OF PROGRESS

The Mich. Chronicle Detroit, Mich.

Sat. 11-9-46

Atty. Charles R. A. Smith, recently appointed assistant district attorney (right), is sworn in by Federal Judge Ernest O'Brien. Attorney Smith is the first Negro to be appointed in the district attorney's office in this district.

As Sen. Theodore "The Man" Bilbo, arrogantly boasts of Klan membership in nationwide hookup over Mutual Broadcasting airlines from Washington, sign-carrying pickets outside the studio presents the point of view of the people toward The Man and his speech. Unabashed Southern bigot even boasted of Klan unit, which appropriately enough, carries his name in its title.

Bilbo admits cancer, but says he's fine now

Tribune Los Angeles, Calif.

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — Sen. Theodore Bilbo (D., Miss.) was quoted by the Commercial Appeal here this week as admitting that his recent operation was to "completely remove" a malignant infection on the lower gum in the right side of his mouth.

Bilbo was further quoted as saying that "all trace of the malignancy was removed, and to 'make sure' a part of his jawbone likewise was cut away". And he was sure he would be in Washington in January for the convening of the 80th Congress: "I'll be completely well, and my mouth healed in time to have my new plates early next month".

Sat. 11-30-46

Whose Man Is Bilbo?

By John Temple Graves

The News and Courier Charleston, S. C.

"It makes no difference if he is a hound, they gotta quit kickin' my dog around . . . "

It is natural to stand up for your own man against outsiders. But is Senator Bilbo our man? Is he the South's man? Is he Mississippi's? It is hard to see how any of us can think so after the testimony of sorry deals and dishonesties. That he happens to be aware of our race problem and of the impossibility of having it settled for us from Washington has nothing to do with his present case. There are plenty of other Southerners capable of representing that point of view, and without the sidelines of disgusting vulgarity and graft. It would be worse than childish of us to say we were not going to let a man like this be kicked around just because he happens to have operated in and upon our part of the country.

Mon. 12-30-46

We do well in the South to resent much of the outside criticism and meddling reform that's forever directed our way. Too often it is based on an illiteracy about the South worse than any illiteracy in the South. But we are grown-up enough, surely, not to let resentment hold us from reforms we ourselves should make and from judgments we ourselves should enter. We are old enough, and self-respecting enough, not to impose Bilbo on ourselves just because outsiders say he should go.

Outside meddlers can be denounced without defending the Bilbos. It is good to note my friend, Editor Hodding Carter, of The Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat Times, undaunted by his Pulitzer Prize, doing exactly that in a recent article in the Saturday Evening Post which Reader's Digest has reproduced. How refreshing it is to find a Southerner who will stand up for the South nationally even as he fights its evil things at home. Probably they would never have given him his Pulitzer Prize if they had known he would do this, but he is putting himself above Pulitzer Prizes. He is serving his state and region without regard to the national galleries so available to Southerners who sell out.

Be it known that Hodding Carter, the Southern liberal, with all his prizes and national publicity, with all his light in dark places, with all his battles against Bilbo and Bilboism, believes in race segregation. In a recent speech in Gulfport, Miss., he committed himself on that. He declared (according to The United Press) that it was "unrealistic" to think race relations in the South could be improved through elimination of segregation or achievement of "social equality" and that he didn't believe negroes desired these things. He stood, as all men of realism and light must in these parts, for a segregation line that will be more vertical, less horizontal: "I do believe," he was quoted, "that within the framework of segregation the Southern negro is entitled to decent housing, adequate medical care, equal educational opportunities, equal pay for equal services and equal justice in the courts."

Ten million amens! With a point of view like this, truly serving the South and the negro in the South, Hodding Carter puts himself in a class beyond Pulitzer Prizes. Let some "nation-minded" Atlantan have the prizes. Mr. Carter is for the way, the light, the truth and the South!

Another Southerner who, in genuine liberalism, is using a national attention he possesses to tell the nation we must be permitted to go ahead under our own lights, make our own reforms, be our own judge of what is truly reform and what just know-nothing sentimentality, is Robert Quillen. He made the point beautifully in a recent column, and his column goes all over the United States. Outside interference does not excuse us in the South, it only explains us, of course. Our real leaders into light are Southerners who neither sell out to meddlers nor make meddling an excuse.

Pitching Horseshoes

PM New York, N. Y.

45c

"That Man" Bilbo has gotten me into a peck of trouble.

Here's the story.

A few months back, my secretary announced an architect from Washington. An impressive gent walked into my office with a brief case big enough to hold a sheep dog. He opened it, and carpeted my floor with blueprints. A minute later we were crawling around on our hands and knees, examining the plans for a gigantic stadium to be erected in Washington as a veterans' memorial.

I pointed to a design for a structure as big as Grand Central Terminal. "Is this the main arena?" I asked him.

My architect friend looked hurt. "That's the ladies' powder room," he said.

Mon. 12-30-46

Perhaps I exaggerate a little, but you get the idea—it was Some Stadium. It was to seat almost a quarter of a million people. A roof big enough to cover four Yankee Stadiums was to slide back and forth like the top of a convertible coupe. For good measure, he had thrown in several smaller auditoriums, the smallest a little bigger than Madison Square Garden.

I looked at this acre of paper sadly. "Here we go again," I said to myself. Since the Aquacade, if someone cooks up a plan to do a musical comedy with helicopters, I get it. But if someone writes a distinguished one-set show with four actors, the only way I ever see it is to buy a ticket.

Mr. Architect got up off the floor and announced. "A committee of Congressmen is sponsoring this stadium as a tribute to our boys. We're asking the government for twenty-five million."

"Don't you think our boys might appreciate a few cottages instead?" I asked.

I guess he didn't hear me, for he went on, "The committee asked me to find out if you would, as a patriotic gesture, serve as Entertainment Consultant."

Naturally I was flattered. I told him I'd be honored, and even held my finger on the knot while he tied up the blueprints. As he went out the door, the incident went out of my mind. Not that I wouldn't be tickled to work on such a project, but over the years I've learned there's a big gap between the blueprint and the steam shovel.

A month later, one of the Broadway keyhole brigade asked in his column, "How come Billy Rose is getting chummy with Bilbo?"

I blew my top. I phoned and asked the columnist what it was all about. He came back with some mumbo-jumbo about never revealing his sources of information, and hung up. Here I was, linked with Old Ape-face himself. I had always thought Mississippi sent him to Washington just to get him out of the state. I figured he was the guy the Senate chaplain looked at when he opened sessions by praying for the country.

After the item appeared, I might as well have been

By Billy Rose

wearing a quarantine sign. When I walked up to some songwriters chatting in front of the RKO Building, they suddenly clammed up. After a moment they all remembered luncheon dates in different directions. The last one sneered as he walked away, "You don't want to talk to us. We haven't paid our poll tax."

Then the colored lad who operated the elevator in my theatre quit. Said he wouldn't work for a man who didn't believe in letting his people vote.

I still didn't get it. If someone was playing a joke on me, I wasn't laughing.

A letter this morning cleared up the mess. On my desk I found a communication from the Stadium Committee. Sure enough, down at the bottom I was listed as Entertainment Consultant. But on top, billed like Bing Crosby in "Blue Skies," was the name of the Committee chairman. You guessed it—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi. 12-30-46

By this time, the Committee must have my hot telegram of resignation. I told them I didn't want my name on the same piece of stationery with a man of his background. Bilbo's defense seems to be that only half the lies they tell about him are true.

I'm going to see another architect tomorrow. I want him to figure out a little contraption for my office. When he's finished with it, I'll be able to take care of any smoothie who asks me to serve on a committee. I'll press a little button, and a trap door will drop him down a chute to my cellar.

There he can state his case to a committee of six hungry lions.

Bilbo's Leave

Washington, D.C. Post

Dense irony must have befogged the Senate when it unanimously consented last week to struggle along with its legislative task for the next two months without the aid of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo. The Man from Mississippi had held the floor for three hours to deliver a tirade against the British loan and a magazine which had classified him as the worst man in the Senate. He had intended to "talk six months if necessary" to beat the loan bill. But his demagoguery was cut short, as he told the Senate, "because four peckerwoods down in Mississippi are trying to get my job." Holding its breath in fear that The Man might change his mind, the Senate bowed to the stronger claim of Mississippi politics. Tuesday

The striking thing about this episode is not the fact that the Senate has in its midst a little tin boss whose concept of democracy is the filibuster. Rather it is that the Senate is so feeble in dealing with the occasional bigoted windbag who finds his way into its midst. In a country as big and as varied as ours, the democratic process must be expected to turn up a few misfits who have no understanding of the national interest. They have to be tolerated until their constituents come to realize the boomerang tendencies of demagoguery. But there is no reason why the Senate should permit itself to be paralyzed by them, as it has often done in the past. 4-30-46

One is tempted to say that the legislative program has been saved by the sudden activity of "four peckerwoods" down in Missippi. Doubtless that would be exaggeration. But it is not exaggeration to say that the American people are disgusted by the continued helplessness of the Senate in the face of gab-fests sponsored by one or two or a handful of its members. The Senate itself cannot say that it would be happy to make permanent The Man Bilbo's leave of absence. But it can say that no one shall henceforth inflict his will upon the Senate by the device of endless talk. It can modify its rules to save itself from contempt at the hands of narrow and bigoted obstructionists, and the Senate ought to realize that it will never regain its prestige in the eyes of the people until this step has been taken.

Bilbo's Senatorial Campaign Condemned for 'Nastiness'

of American

Baltimore, Md

POLARVILLE, Miss. — Threatened with losing his Congressional seat in the forthcoming elections, Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (Dem., Miss.) is already injecting the race issue, "white supremacy," into his campaign. Ross A. Collins, representative for 18 years, his outstanding opponent, predicts a "nasty campaign."

"Segregation or Mongrelization," is the title of a book Bilbo plans to publish. It discloses his plan to deport non-white Americans to Africa, and advocates using machanical cotton pickers in the South because "they won't be demanding—social equality or intermarriage." Sat 3-23-46

Bilbo's other opponents for the Senate are Douglas Smith of Jackson, a comparative newcomer to Mississippi politics, and Lt. Comdr. Nelson Levings of Gulfport, a wealthy lawyer.

Sirs:

Life

Lordy, lordy, LIFE, you done done it again. That article on our senior senator is good for at least 40,000 votes. He is in again.

I can hear the Hon. Theodore Bilbo, in a few months, campaigning with his diamond stickpin and red suspenders, telling his constituents about that scandalous magazine, LIFE, that is owned by the Jews of Wall Street—that Negro-loving magazine (sometimes it seems you are).

Not all Mississippians are for Bilbo, but most of us are satisfied (more or less) as things are and any other man to be elected would have to support, in a general way, the theory of segregation of races.

Chicago, Ill.

If you Yankees don't quit pestering us, we are going to have to organize a society for the protection of Southerners. I still like your magazine.

4-1-46 RALPH W. HICKS
Pass Christian, Miss.

Bilbo Is—Bilbo

The Birmingham Age-Herald

If there must be a Bilbo in the upper house of the national legislature—and most Americans will be inclined to say, with Voltaire, "I don't see the necessity of it"—it is perhaps fortunate that he should be so very Bilboish. For if the senator from Mississippi were inclined to sacrifice his personal interests to his misbegotten principles, he would be far more of a nuisance than he is now. At the opening of a great debate on so important a matter as the British loan, Bilbo was exasperatingly in character when he announced his intention of filibustering, of imposing his single will upon the American people and of limiting their horizon to his own. He was simply being Bilbo when he took up the time of the Senate with a pointless and tasteless defense of himself. But he was also being Bilbo when he called off his whole single-handed crusade against the British loan to go back to his state to engage in a primary fight for reelection. A six-month filibuster in defense of a Bilbo attitude lost all appeal when it appeared likely to cost a six-year Bilbo job.

Birmingham Ala.

So far as the country at large is concerned it may seem a pity that Bilbo should be confronted by this conflict between interest and principle. It would be far better if there were no filibusters by, no jobs for, the Bilbos. One may sincerely hope that his present sacrifice has been in vain, and that Mississippi, like the Senate, will give its "unanimous consent" that the "Negro's best friend" shall henceforth absent himself from the Capitol. His threat of mapping out his "plans for good government for the next six years" has an ominous ring. But there is at least the consolation that Bilbo will be no more of a stumbling block in the path of progress than consorts with his notion of what is good for Bilbo. He is a fanatic only within limits—in sum, he is a Bilbo.—The New York Herald-Tribune.

Collins Says Bilbo Opposed Poll Tax

News

Birmingham, Ala.

MERIDIAN, Miss., April 16—(AP)—Opening his senatorial campaign here last night, former Rep. Ross A. Collins pictured Sen. Theo G. Bilbo, outspoken advocate of "white supremacy," as an opponent of the poll tax and a backer of FEPC appropriations.

Collins will oppose Bilbo in the Democratic primary July 2.

Collins declared the Congressional Record of May 12, 1944, reported Bilbo as saying on the Senate floor: "Personally, I do not believe in the poll tax. I have been preaching the abolition of the poll tax in my state for five years. . . . The poll tax is wrong. It ought to be abolished." Tues 4-16-46

Collins referred to the poll tax as the sole barrier keeping Negroes from voting in party primary elections, and termed Bilbo "the only man in public life in Mississippi I have ever known that wanted to repeal our poll tax laws."

If Bilbo's wishes had prevailed, Collins continued, "Negroes would have been voting in the forthcoming election in large numbers and I dare say Bilbo would have today been begging them for their support and help."

Collins said Bilbo voted for a $500,000 FEPC appropriation in 1944 and the following year failed to protest an amendment to a war agencies appropriation bill giving the FEPC $250,000.

"On final passage of the bill, Bilbo, according to The Record, voted for it," Collins said.

Washington Calling

By Marquis Childs

Bilbo's Campaign

Washington Post, D.C.

IT REMAINED FOR Senator Bilbo, Mississippi's gift to the Nation, to add the final absurdity to the Communist tag when he called Representative Clare Boothe Luce and and her publisher husband, Henry R. Luce, "Communistic."

That carries it as far as it can be carried. If Henry Luce is a Communist, then so are Cardinal Spellman and Herbert Hoover. By definition, a Communist becomes anyone who disagrees with you, no matter how reactionary, narrow and bigoted your own views may be. Fri 5-3-46

In that fantastic and absurd speech, Bilbo was not talking just to hear the sound of his own voice. He had a very deliberate motive. The speech was meant to be a document in his campaign for reelection.

For even "The Man" must subject himself every six years to the will of the voters—a small proportion of the eligible voters—of his native State. Bilbo has gone back to Mississippi to campaign for the primary of July 2. The issue is the same as it was 75 years ago—the carpetbag, outside interference.

That is why Bilbo wanted to get his speech on the record. He wanted to convict hostile Northerners of trying to dictate to the people of Mississippi. That is why he bracketed such incongruous publications as *Life*, the *New York Daily News*, the *New York Post*, the *Daily Worker and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

They are all in a conspiracy, these powerful instruments of Northern domination, to defeat the martyred, bleeding Bilbo. That's the theme "The Man" will sound in cruder and cruder form as he moves through rural Mississippi.

Many times in the past, this theme has been effective—and not only in the deep South. Once, when Representative Dewey Short was running for reelection in his Ozark district in Missouri, he made effective use of an attack on him that appeared in the newspaper *PM*. These Communists, said Short, no mean demagogue himself, were trying to tell the God-fearing people of Missouri how to vote. Fri 5-3-46

Indications are that Bilbo will be able to make potent use of this appeal in his current campaign. He is aiming, of course, at the Ku Klux Klan element.

A large campaign fund is said to have been made available to him. The money is reported to come from construction firms in Mississippi. With four opponents in the field, Bilbo would seem to have a good chance of reelection.

The carpetbag appeal is, of course, the other side of the States' rights argument. Behind the barrier of States' rights, the little courthouse ring in Mississippi holds on to its privileges and power. It is a guarantee that Mississippi will be at the bottom or near the bottom of the lists that show how the States stand on health, literacy, schools and so on.

That is the way the Bilbos want it. Change would threaten their supremacy. It is this legal barricade that makes the government of these United States so very difficult.

Mississippi will take favors from the Federal Government, and plenty of favors, if no conditions are attached. A notorious example was the effort of certain Mississippi politicians to staff cotton mills with relief workers paid at relief rates with Federal money. That occurred in the '30s when the late Harry L. Hopkins, as relief administrator, was trying to eke out scanty relief funds. Hopkins tried repeatedly to break through the barricade to enforce certain standards. But he was not conspicuously successful.

The same construction companies reported to be subsidizing Bilbo's campaign got large sums from the Federal Government. Bilbo has always been zealous at grabbing all the Federal patronage he could get.

Now something new is about to happen. Both the AFL and the CIO have announced large-scale organizing campaigns in the South. Even with labor divided and competing, this is bound to bring about great changes. It will certainly bring, too, bitter last-ditch resistance. Fri 5-3-46

Within the South itself, changes are taking place. Many newspapers have turned on the Bilbo mentality. Public officials such as Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia have opened the way to change. The Bilbos must know their day is nearly over. Perhaps that's why the Senator rushed off so frantically to start campaigning.

Enquirer-Sun

Petition Seeks To Remove Bilbo

WASHINGTON, Sept. 18.—(AP)—A petition requesting the impeachment and removal of Senator Bilbo (D-Miss.) from the senate was received today by the senate's special committee to investigate 1946 elections.

Riley W. Shanks, committeeed by T. B. Wilson, 1087 Lynch street, Jackson, Miss., counsel, said the petition bearing approximately 50 signatures and accompanied by supporting affidavits arrived with a letter signed by 50 Negroes who sought to incite the white population to commit acts of violence and intimidate Negroes who sought to vote in the Mississippi primary. The principal charge made in the petition was that Bilbo had

Bilbo, Hot Under Collar at Magazine Item, Lambasts 'Papa and Mama Luce' in Senate

Richmond Times-Dispatch Sat. 4-27-46

Richmond, Va.

WASHINGTON, April 26—(UP)—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (D-Miss.) stood up in the Senate today and lambasted "Papa and Mama Luce"—the Congresswoman and the publisher—for what he charged were "lies and misrepresentations" spread about him.

Cause of the rotund Senator's ire was an unflattering article in the March 11 issue of Life magazine which characterized Bilbo as "worst man in the Senate," and a brace of speeches by Representative Clare Boothe Luce (R-Conn.) which attacked Bilbo's stand on the Negro question.

He referred to Life as a "pink, mongrel magazine." He termed the article which discussed the qualifications of 33 Senators up for re-election, "a nasty job" and "a dirty, contemptible article."

Mrs. Luce he described as "fickle and capricious." He referred to her frequently as "Clara," and said she was known as "Connecticut's Republican darling" who is "no longer a glamour girl."

And, he asserted, "the Communists should give old man Luce"—Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief of Life—"a big fat check for services rendered" in publishing the article.

Last Speech

After his speech Bilbo revealed it will be his last in the Senate for at least two months. He asked and received permission from his colleagues to be absent until July 2. Because: 4-27-46

"Four peckerwoods down in Mississippi are trying to get my job. I've got to go home and do something about it."

Life's evaluation of Bilbo's political career read:

"Bilbo of Mississippi, Democrat, has been sent to jail, discredited as a complainant in a bribery scandal, voted by his own colleagues in the Mississippi State Legislature 'unfit to sit with honest, upright men in a respectable body,' and yet retains popularity among the independent farmers. The reason: He plays on their prejudices about Wall Street, Negroes, the North. His recent activity has been opposition to FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Committee). He got himself a flurry of publicity by writing a woman with an Italian name in Brooklyn 'My Dear Dago.' Said Senator Taft (Robert A. Taft, R-Ohio), 'He is a disgrace to the Senate.' Opinion: 'Worst man in the Senate.'"

Photo Painted

A photograph above this tumbnail sketch pictured Bilbo, wearing a dark suit and a dark hat, striding forth from the front door of a dwelling. He was walking on a rubber mat on which was painted in large white letters, "Dream House."

That article, Bilbo said, his voice reaching a high pitch, is "a collection of lies, views and misrepresentations . . . master-

Senator Bilbo
Clashes with Luces

minded by fickle and capricious Clara." Then he answered Life's statement thus:

Yes, he was sent to jail, but not for moral turpitude. It was for contempt. A lot of famous people have been in jail. John Milton wrote "Paradise Lost" in jail, and Tom Paine composed his "Age of Reason" while a convict.

The Mississippi resolution against him was compounded 36 years ago by "a handful of my political enemies." Regarding the "Dear Dago" letter, thousands of Mississippi's Italians are for Bilbo and think he did right in this instance. 4-27-46

Reply Awaited

As for Senator Taft's attack just watch the papers for his reply since the rules prevent him from replying now. And as for that "worst man" crack:

"At least I'm at the head of my class. Life may think I'm bad now, but when I'm re-elected in July for six years and get on with my plans for good government, they'll think I was an angel now."

Bitterly he assailed Life's statement that the "opinion" of each Senator came from a panel of top-ranking Washington correspondents, business associates and friends of the Senators.

"For 30 days I've had posted a $100 reward for a Washington reporter who would admit and prove that he was a member of that panel," Bilbo said. "Up to this hour, I've had no takers, nor can I or my colleagues find any who took part in the panel."

Two delegations from the magazine visited his home State to get material, Bilbo said, adding, more in sorrow than in anger:

"They enjoyed the hospitality of my home and ate my grub."

He charged that the Luces gave a "passing grade to only 10 of the 33 Senators discussed, including 60 per cent of the Republicans up for re-election, but only 13 per cent of the Democrats."

Bilbo Land Sale To U. S. Is Attacked By Collins

Birmingham News Birmingham, Ala.

TUPELO, Miss., May 18—(AP)—Ross A. Collins, candidate for Democratic nomination as U. S. senator, in an address here last night charged that Sen. Theo G. Bilbo, incumbent, had federal laws amended in 1939 to allow him to sell a piece of property in Poplarville to the federal government at a $650 profit.

The site, he said, was used for the Poplarville postoffice.

Federal law, he said, bars members of Congress from entering into contracts with the federal government for profit. Sat. 5-18-46

On March 8, 1939, he said, Bilbo introduced Senate bill 1725 which provided "that the criminal code of the United States 'shall not be applicable with respect to any contract or agreement entered into or by or on behalf of the United States for the acquisition of any part of the site for the postoffice building to be constructed in Poplarville, Miss.'"

Records in the office of the chancery clerk of Pearl River County, he said, show that Bilbo executed a warranty deed to the federal government conveying title to the site later used for the postoffice. The sale price, Collins said, was $1,000. Bilbo had $350 invested in the property, he said. Sat. 5-18-46

Bilbo's Opponent Pledges To Uphold White Supremacy

Louisiana Weekly New Orleans, La.

Sat 5-11-46

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Gulfport, Miss., May 8.—Although Nelson T. Levings, candidate for the United States Senate, asked Mississippi voters for their help in "extinguishing the Bilbonic plague" in his state, he pledged himself to "maintain white supremacy," to "fight with every influence I may command such evils as the anti-poll tax bill, the anti-lynching bill and the FEPC."

Terming these issues "our state's own business," Levings said he would support a veterans' bonus, maintenance of America's superiority in military and economic power, guarantee freedom of choice to join a union, equalization of freight rates, and an end to deficit spending by the national government.

In Mississippi

Montgomery Advertiser

There's never a dull moment in Mississippi politics. Whether that is an example of cause or effect, it would be hard to determine and must be left to the academicians. Were such diverse and arresting individuals as "Private John" Allen and John Sharp Williams, James K. Vardaman and Leroy Percy, Pat Harrison and Theodore G. Bilbo the products of a stormy sea of democracy, or was it their own unique, picturesque and individualistic personalities that blew the waves so high? We can only wonder, and look with avid interest to the campaign now in progress which centers upon whether or not the illustrious Bilbo shall return to his hot seat in the United States Senate. Ala. Mon 4-29-46

The campaign will run at least until July 2, on which date the first primary will be held. Since a majority is required and since candidates always are many, a second primary usually is necessitated.

Senator Bilbo, of course, is standing for renomination and promises to shell the woods, beginning on May 4. In the meantime, Ross Collins, who used to be a representative from the Fifth District, is conducting a vigorous campaign; Governor Tom Bailey has formally stated that he will not enter; Nelson T. Leverings has announced, and it is expected that Cecil Travis, a Jackson attorney, will seek to gather to himself the Bailey following.

Two issues have developed thus far. The first is, how much income tax has Senator Bilbo been paying from his $10,000-a-year salary and his mileage allowance? Candidate Collins declares that in the senator's 32 years of public service since 1913, he has shared with the Federal Government a total of only $72, an average of $2.25 per annum. To that allegation, the senator has maintained a dignified silence, though the powerful Jackson Daily News remarks from time to time that "if Theo has paid more than that, the other taxpayers in Mississippi would be glad to hear about it."

A second issue has arisen from an affidavit made by Edward Terry, who for several years was private secretary to Senator Bilbo. This sworn statement says that A. B. Friend, manager of the Bilbo campaign, sought out a conference with him and his wife and told him, "Ed, if you tell what you know about Bilbo in the senatorial race, you will be killed."

This, Mr. Friend denies, although Mrs. Terry reaffirmed her husband's statement, which leads the Daily News to say editorially: "Mr. Terry is a gentleman whose personal integrity and veracity have never been questioned. His statement is fully corroborated by Mrs. Terry, who is a woman of culture, refinement, much personal charm and the highest character. Any reflection on the veracity of either Mr. Terry or his splendid wife will be keenly resented throughout the state."

Will Senator Bilbo itemize his income tax payments and show a total of more than $72 in 32 years? Mon 4-29-46

Will Edward Terry tell what he knows about Senator Bilbo and risk assassination?

All Mississippi seems to be awaiting the answer to the $72 question. As to what Mr. Terry knows about his former employer, there is less curiosity, a situation perhaps attributable to the fact that Mr. Bilbo has lived in Mississippi a long time and is pretty well known to the electorate.

Bilbo on Display

New Republic New York, N.Y.

DOWN BELOW YOU, as you look from the gallery, Bilbo is talking about the British loan—Bilbo is "defending" the Senate. It seems *Life* magazine has appraised 32 doesn't somebody get up and answer him, you ask; why Senators up for reelection and called him the worst man doesn't somebody redeem the dignity of the Senate, of in the chamber. So Bilbo is being funny. Other Senators on him? Nobody does; "senawalk about uneasily with self-conscious smiles; girls in the America, by crying out upon him. . . . You go press gallery giggle hysterically as Bilbo calls himself "the torial courtesy," you know. Bilbo sits down. nigger's best friend." Representative Rankin has come out to the men's room and wash your hands. over from the House to see the fun. All the newspapers tomorrow will treat this as a great joke. Bilbo attacks "Papa and Mama Luce," and that is funny, isn't it? He is ingenious in bringing in all his phobias: references to Catholics in connection with Mrs. Luce; the "communism" of *Life* magazine, because it attacks high-ranking officials (Bilbo); the charge that the Luces are "nigger-

lovers," because their magazine prints photographs of stage hits about Negro life. 5-6-46

There is something ignoble and contaminating in the scene, like listening to a buffoon making nasty jokes. Why

Bilboes Defined

The Nation

Dear Sirs: It is interesting, sad, and ironic that we have in our nation an individual who is desperately attempting to put us into bilboes. Senator Bilbo of Mississippi is actually living his name. such arrogance, vileness, and rank stupidity to continue. Otherwise, all of us will eventually suffer.

S. 3-4-46

NICHOLAS MOCHARNIUK

New York, June 30

45c 1946

Mississippi (Bilbo)

Miss. Editor Seeks to Oust Bilbo

The Afro-American

Percy Green, left, editor of the Jackson, Miss., Advocate, shows William J. Schieffelin, chairman emeritus of Tuskegee Institute board of directors, a copy of the petition which was filed with the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee recently asking that Bilbo's recent primary campaign be investigated. Mr. Green was in NYC to meet with leaders and friends of the Civil Rights Congress and told about specific cases of the disfranchisement of qualified voters in Mississippi. Sat. 10-12-46 Baltimore, Md.

Veiled Threat Made to Miss. Editor by White Daily Paper

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 11-12-46

JACKSON, Miss. (ANP)—The Jackson Daily News threw a veiled threat to Percy Green editor of the Jackson Advocate for his part in the recent meeting of the American Crusade to End Lynching, in Washington.

An editorial stated, "Reports of the Robeson meeting say that among those present was Percy Green, 'who discussed racial tensions in his State.' One of these days Green is destined to learn a great deal more about 'racial tensions' than he now knows."

Bilbo's Mouth Made Bigger Than Ever

The News Birmingham, Ala.

By Doctors, He Says

Courier 9-28-46

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 20—(AP)—Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) says his recent operation for inflamation of the mouth will prove of no advantage to political opponents:

"I just had my mouth reamed out and now I got more mouth than ever," Bilbo said here yesterday.

The Mississippian, here in connection with a meeting of Mississippi Valley congressmen to protest curtailment of flood control appropriations, said also that he wasn't "mad" at Mississippi citizens who signed a petition asking the Senate not to seat him.

"All they're trying to do," he said, "is to get me some publicity for my book on racial equality."

Bilbo referred to the petitioners as "my best friends." The petition, delivered to a Senate campaign expenditures subcommittee, was said by committee aids to charge Bilbo with inciting Mississippi whites against Negroes, urging the whites to keep the Negroes from voting, by violence, if necessary.

Speaking at an interview, Bilbo then disposed of the Truman-Wallace difficulties thus:

". . . It is about time for President Truman to send Henry Wallace back to his hybrid corn patch in Iowa. He's been a headache to the Democratic Party since they took him in. . . . The Republicans are welcome to him, but we hope they will treat him better than they treated Bob La Follette."

Senator Bilbo Is Shaken Up In Auto Crash

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Thurs. 11-14-46

Poplarville, Miss., Nov. 13 (AP)—Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.), reelected in November, was shaken up and bruised last night in an automobile accident here and spent the night in Poplarville Hospital.

His secretary reported this morning the senator had suffered only a "bump on the nose" and that he would return ti his dream house today.

The accident occurred in Poplarville while Bilbo was driving his expensive car home after carrying some farm workers to their homes. The car crashed into the rear of a truck.

Dustin' off the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

BILBO, "THE MAN," IS MENTALLY SICK; DOESN'T KNOW IT

THERE is not much to select from in any political campaign waged in Mississippi. All candidates for public offices, both local and national, are about on the same intellectual level. Even a Yale diploma didn't improve one—ex-Gov. Mike Conner, went through Yale but the culture at Yale didn't go through him. They all have been reared in the same cesspool of race hatred. From an outside observation, any result of a senatorial election there is just a matter of changing Clowns in Congress. If Senator Bilbo is re-elected or defeated, whoever represents Mississippi in the U. S. Senate will not, in the least, improve interracial matters or create national goodwill. Bilbo, Rankin and Eastland, who now pollute and degenerate our Congress, are the natural results of a vile and noxious environment, bred from the political stench of their predecessors such as Jefferson Davis, the notorious rebel and traitor who started the Civil War, the foul-mouthed James K. Vardaman, cantankerous John Sharpe Williams and that vituperative and slimy Pat Harrison of a later day. Whoever succeeds them will smell just as offensive and behave just as rowdy. New harness does not change the characteristics of a mule.

Lucius C. Harper

Mississippi is the most backward, stupid and half-civilized area, per square inch, of any state in the Union. In fact, it does not yet fully recognize the union of states. The whites there are in a more deplorable condition, believe it or not, than the blacks. It is the "Tobacco Road" of the world. Its school histories, such as they are, still contain laudable chapters on the Ku Klux Klan. Its appropriations for child education are scandalous and the most infinitesimal grants of any state: by per capita, eleven dollars a year for a white child and about two dollars for a colored. In a recent quiz in a white college there concerning "prominent men and what positions they occupy," many students listed Winston Churchill as "senator from England," and Thomas E. Dewey as "Mayor of California." Few recognized the name of Harry Truman, the President, and less than 10 in the senior class of 65 knew the name of the governor of their own state. Those in political power like the ignoble three: Bilbo, Rankin and Eastland, desire to keep Mississippi at a low scale in intellect for their own selfish motives and benefits. The state is the laughing-stock in educational circles and has been for many years.

* * *

IT WAS Bilbo who principally "blessed" Mississippi with ignorance. When he marched from the jailyard to the governorship he really dragged Mississippi education in the mud. He dismissed at one time 179 faculty members of state-controlled institutions and replaced them with far inferior teachers, some no less than political roustabouts and ragamuffins. A hack-driver, in his estimation, was as competent to teach Mississippians as a Ph. D. from Harvard. He appointed a discharged press agent of a local power and light company president of Mississippi A. and M. college; he made a real estate agent, without a degree, president of the University of Mississippi; he took an average student out of the graduating class of Mississippi State College for Women, without teaching experience and executive ability, and made him president of that college. And further, he established a new low in zero when he put a degreeless public stenographer as president of the State Teachers' college. He degraded the schools and colleges in such manner that educational associations in other states black-balled Mississippi and removed it from their accredited lists. These institutions were not reinstated until several years after Bilbo left state office. The pay for teachers in the state is pitiful. When Bilbo left the governorship the state was broke, so the teachers went broke. It was years before they and the state recovered from this maladministration. The Defender Chicago, Ill

Therefore, it isn't strange that all Negroes who hail from there admit their alliance with the state rather shame - facedly. They apologize for God's error in having them suffer the fate of being born there. No one, with any idea of decency, wishes to be even remotely identified with such a low, lewd character as Theodore Bilbo, scandal-monger, former jailbird, debaucher of public morals, confessed bribe-taker, and vicious liar. Finally, he has become so depraved that he is calling on Mississippians to stage mob violence to keep Negroes from voting against him in the senatorial election. Once conked with a pistol butt for an insulting remark, Bilbo now wants that same weapon used on a black man who approaches the ballot box. His threat may succeed this time, since black Mississippi hasn't been sufficiently awakened to its new political freedom, but the next six years will spell a different story in Bilbo's career, provided, however, that some higher force has not seen fit to relieve the world of the ravings of this paranoiac and removed him from our midst. Sat. 7-6-46

* * *

BILBO is actually a mentally sick man. If he were not vicious and so malicious in his activities, one could pity him. His every action bespeaks that he suffers from a disease known to a psychiatrist as Paranoia. Although this form of insanity is as old as the human race, it is, nevertheless, only a comparatively short time since its manifestations have been recognized as those of a disease. What makes this disease appear so remarkable, particularly to the layman, and so difficult for him to accept its manifestations as those of a mental disturbance, is the fact that the intelligence of the person in question is not necessarily impaired. Sometimes these people show an unusually high degree of intelligence and are often gifted and talented. They do not present any of the symptoms which the layman is accustomed to look for in the insane. They do not speak incoherently, do not chatter irrevently, do not act absurdly, have no attacks of fury, do not smash windows and mirrors, etc. No, nothing of all this. Apparently they are well-bred persons, who not infrequently make a decidedly favorable impression by their charm of manner and speech. The chief characteristic of Paranoia is their judgment on most subjects the existence of delusions of with which they are conversant grandeur, either alone or combined seems to be well thought out; they with hallucinations. Bilbo refers experience and feel as others do; to himself as "The Man." He talks and yet what a multitude of morbid of himself always in the third phychical phenomena lies hidden person, as if he were a God or under this seemingly normal some mythological figure. Any mental condition.

* * *

PARANOIA is a chronic, incurable disease, which, as a rule, persists throughout the entire life of the one suffering from it. The psychiatrist will tell you this is the first symptom of Paranoia. Bilbo is a Paranoiac; mentally sick, and doesn't know it.

45c 1946 Mississippi (Bilbo)

BILBO MUST GO!

The Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 8-31-46

As the sinister symbol of malevolent forces which aggressively seek to enthrone Adolf Hitler's lies in this Nation at the expense of Thomas Jefferson's great truths, written into the Declaration of Independence, Theodore Bilbo, if elected to the United States Senate by a majority of Mississippi's voters this November, should be rejected by the members of the Senate in January.

* * *

Theodore Bilbo is not an amusing spectacle, a monkey-like Buffoon from the most backward State in the Union. He is an evil genius, cunning, tireless, vainglorious and ambitious. He is the loudest voice, the most arrogant voice, the most-often-heard voice, the most prominently placed voice of intolerance, racial hatred, white supremacy, disunity and potential Nazism in this country.

* * *

This little gnome from Mississippi challenges the Nation. The voters in Mississippi renominated him for the United States Senate in the primary in July. That is, nine per cent of the eligible voters of the State did so. Some Mississippians voted for Bilbo in protest against what they defined as "outside" intereference with their right to choose whomever they wished as their Senator.

* * *

But a United States Senator is more than a servant of any particular State. He helps to shape legislation and make policy for the Nation. All the voters of all the States must be interested in all the men who help to shape their destiny through government. It is the responsibility of all Americans to try to keep the Congress clean, to see that no Hitler from Mississippi, preaching the doctrines of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party, makes an ideological conquest of the Nation's highest legislative body.

* * *

The United States Senate has the power to pass on the fitness of its members. It should apply the boot to Bilbo if he seeks to cross its threshold again.

* * *

Whether we will it or not, the test must soon come in this country between tolerance and intolerance, between fairplay and bigotry, between liberalism and reaction. Day by day, the lines are being clearly drawn for the battle.

* * *

There are some who give comfort and support to the cause of reaction because of their fear of Russia. Others fear labor. Others fear the growth of the Federal power. Others fear, distrust and hate the minorities.

* * *

All these groups with their special fears and hates find comfort in their misery by working together, by using one another. The representatives of a great cotton mill in Georgia, probably owned by Northern Republicans, told Carmichael, candidate for Governor, that they would support him if he would agree to take certain repressive action against labor. Carmichael would not agree. The support of these mill owners therefore was shifted to Talmadge, the advocate of "white supremacy." He sowed the seeds of racial discord, but it was the purpose of his masters to stop the forward march of labor.

* * *

The ultimate power and influence of men like Bilbo in this Nation cannot be foretold so long as there are interests which are willing to use them callously to stop Russia or to stop labor or to keep Jews in their place. Industrial interests of this same type used the Austrian paperhanger and wrecked Germany.

* * *

In Washington for a broadcast recently, Bilbo showed up with an impressive bodyguard, with all the trappings of a Hitler or a Mussolini. This is the familiar setting of blackguards on the way to power. They are transformed into heroes by their adulators. Some day this Bilbo may show up at a Democratic convention with this "guard of dishonor" and in his pocket he may carry all the strength of entrenched reaction in this land. If the Senate does not act to get rid of him now, he might issue the almost unthinkable challenge for absolute power then. Shades of Andrew Johnson!

The duty of the members of the Senate in January is clear.

Bilbo has admitted his membership in the Ku Klux Klan, whose demonstrated purpose is to set one class of American citizens against another, to sow discord based on race, color and creed.

* * *

It is impossible to practice Klan doctrine and uphold the Constitution of the United States at the same time. Bilbo has said he will not, cannot, give up the Klan. He must therefore discard the Constitution which members of the Senate are sworn to uphold.

* * *

Shamelessly, Bilbo exhorted his followers to use any means to keep black citizens from voting in the Mississippi primary. His advice meant to use violence or intimidation. Whichever was meant involved a violation of the spirit and letter of the Constitution. The Constitution says that no State shall take steps to abridge the right of any citizens to vote. The Federal Government is charged to see that this right of the citizen is not abridged. At the time Bilbo spoke, he was an officer of the Federal Government. He repudiated the responsibility placed upon him by the Constitution. He placed himself above it.

* * *

The United States Supreme Court has ruled that all citizens are entitled to vote in primary elections. Bilbo has openly asserted that he will work with others in Mississippi to deprive the Negro citizens of this right to vote.

* * *

These statements show what little regard this potential Hitler has for democracy and the Constitution of the United States.

They do not cover charges of venal corruption leveled at him in connection with war contracts. Sat. 8-31-46

They do not disclose the utter foulness of his mind and heart.

But they do show that he would be willing to disregard (as he has disregarded) the law of the land and the Constitution in a grab for power, to place his side on top in this Nation. He wants his gang to rule America.

* * *

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER SAYS THAT BILBO MUST GO!

The President of the United States should renounce Bilbo. Every self-respecting Senator, be he Democrat or Republican, of clean heart and clean nose, is obligated under the law of the land to vote against the seating of Bilbo.

* * *

Senators who believe in the law cannot honestly vote to seat a man who does not believe in the law, a man whom Senator Taft has described as "a disgrace to the Senate." They should vote to reject him.

EDITORIAL

America, The United Nations and Bilboism

The Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

IN THOSE DARK DAYS, presently forgotten, when Hitler's hordes were on their way to Cairo and the Caspian, and the Japanese had crossed the Indian border, when the entire world quailed before the imminence of domination by the "master race" despots of Germany and Japan, America proclaimed the message of hope and freedom to all peoples everywhere. Sat. 7-13-46

Before the onrush of the Japanese armies in the East a vast empire had fallen, due partly to the might and skill of the Japanese warrior, but largely to the insidious exploitation of the arrogant role of the white man in his relationships with yellow and brown people. The yellow and brown peoples over whom the white man had lorded in years past, helped the Japanese to conquer.

Satellite states hastened to join the Nazi hosts in order to share victory and spoils with the herrenvolk.

Excepting America, the Germans and the Japanese were prepared to whip and enslave the entire world.

America stepped into the breach and repudiated the "master race" theory. It threw all that it had into a bloody global struggle to bring freedom to the common man of every race, color and clime. It made promises which won more and more moral support from the Nazi to the Allied cause. It pledged itself to do all in its power, once victory was won, to guarantee to all peoples freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from fear and freedom from want. It repudiated the theory of "white supremacy."

This was the America of the Willkies, the Roosevelts, the Deweys, the Wallaces, etc.

In Java, in Burma, in China, in India, in Africa and Latin America, everywhere, the common man heard the voice of America beckoning him to come on over to our side.

He came, fifty-one nations of every race, and we won.

Today, these hundreds of millions look to America to make good on her promises, to fight to make real the ideals which she used to wage a war for survival.

The rest of the world does not know, as American Negroes know, that America has failed to destroy the evils at home which she promised to destroy abroad.

The Hitler of Berchtesgaden is gone (perhaps), but fouler Hitlers by far, snort fire and brimstone in these United States.

The Hitler idea was to establish his kind of whites above all other peoples. Who can deny that the Bilbos and the Rankins desire to establish their kind of whites (which probably excludes the Russians, the Jews and some others) above all other peoples.

We fought against Nazi and Japanese cruelties. What cruelty did they ever visit upon an enemy soldier that lynch mobs have not visited upon black men and women, fellow citizens, in these United States?

In Mississippi, innocent men have hanged from trees and holiday mobs have cut off their fingers and toes for souvenirs.

Pregnant mothers have been burned at the stake.

Men have been tied to trucks, dragged through the streets, doused with gasoline and set afire.

Secretary of State James F. Byrnes demanded the vote for the Bulgars. We send 600 Americans to Greece to supervise the Greek elections. Sat. 7-13-46

But here at home a United States Senator urges one class of Americans to keep another class of Americans from voting. That is advocating violence.

In an effort to keep our pledge made to all peoples in the heat of the struggle, we sponsored the United Nations organization. We helped to write into the charter of that body the ideals which had guided us in the war.

It is through the United Nations that the rest of the world expects us to make good, to validate the moral leadership we pledged. The majority of Americans hope for America to put her best foot forward through the United Nations. They fear a future and a world in which the ideals loudly and proudly proclaimed by America do not prevail.

Theodore G. Bilbo is a foe of every decent impulse that exists in America. As America tries to play the big role which the world expects of her, Bilbo and his kind hack away at the foundations on which she stands.

Bilbo is a traitor to the American Creed.

Bilbo is a greater menace to America as a whole than he is to black America.

He can only annoy black Americans, but in his fight against every high principle which has made this a great nation, he may destroy the house in which we all live.

No American can afford to overlook Bilbo and his larger significance. He can easily become the rallying point for the racial animosity and intolerance in the nation. Hitler's crowd in Germany was no larger than Bilbo's in this country. Hitler organized his gang and Bilbo can organize his.

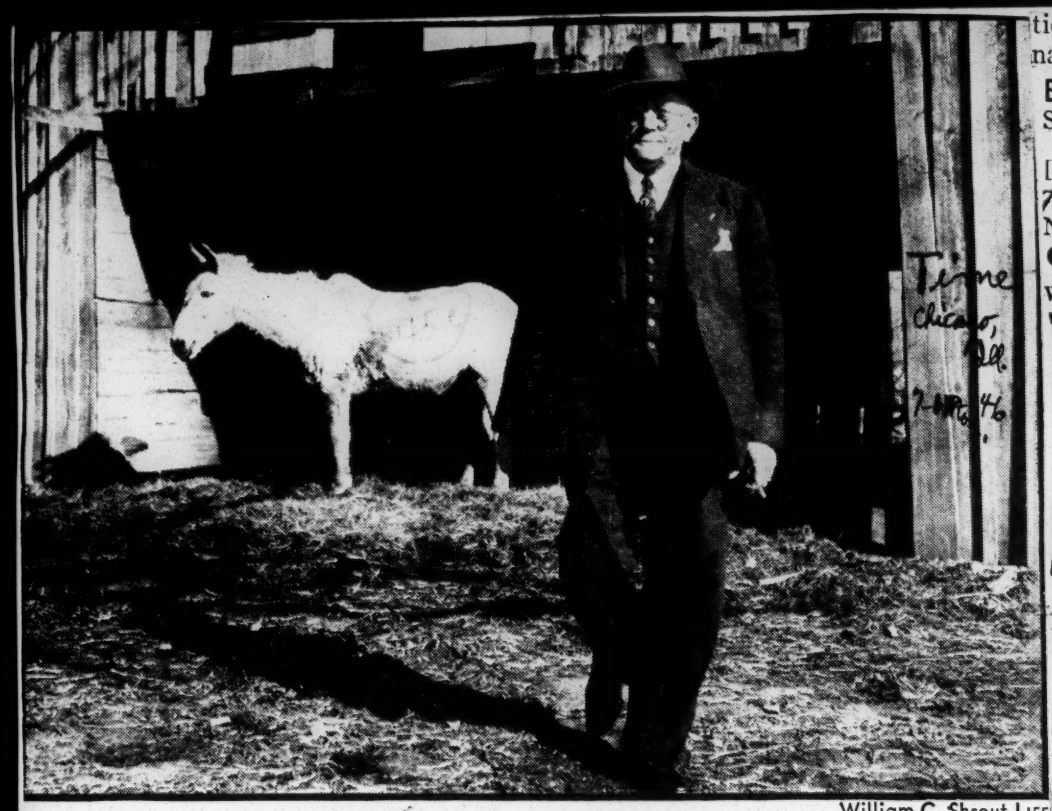
Woe be unto America if something is not done to stop him now.

Bilbo is the white American's problem. They can save their tears and regrets over what he does to black Americans.

They must come to know what he is doing to them, to the nation they have helped to build.

Bilbo and his kind are the worst enemies of America, the peoples of the United Nations and the white race.

Whites themselves must either get rid of him (particularly in the United States Senate) or run the risk of him and his kind bringing on a new world war that will spell the doom of Western civilization. And it can start right here. Sat. 7-13-46



William C. Shrout-LIFE

SENATOR BILBO ON HIS MISSISSIPPI FARM

Fear & prejudice, cupidity & hunger.

POLITICAL NOTES

Time Chicago, Ill. 7-1-46

Prince of the Peckerwoods

During 38 years in Mississippi politics Theodore ("The Man") Bilbo has waded through sloughs of scandal which would have sucked down a dozen ordinary politicians. In 1910, as a drink-cadging state legislator, he heard the State Senate pronounce him "unfit to sit with upright men." He was jailed in 1923 for refusing to testify in a seduction suit against his political side-kick, Governor Lee M. Russell. He divorced his wife; she accused him of cruelty and a succession of infidelities, publicly begged Mississippi's women to vote against him.

But The Man always sloshed triumphantly through the mud. He was elected lieutenant governor, then governor. When his second term ended, the state was all but bankrupt. But Mississippi sent him to the U.S. Senate, sent him back again in 1940. Bilbo always told the poor, ill-educated, farm-bound "peckerwoods" what they wanted to hear, the way they wanted to hear it. Few Americans since Huey Long had turned men's fear, prejudice, cupidity and hunger for drama so successfully to his own ends.

Passion for Reds. Last week, campaigning for renomination and a third term in the Senate, he was at it again. At 68 he was an ugly little figure; sometimes, as he whirled across the countryside in his sleek, grey Cadillac, he wrapped a red scarf around his big, balding head to keep hoarseness away. Each morning he put on a fresh white shirt and a red tie; each night he slept in red pajamas. He made three speeches (averaging two hours each) and smoked nine cigars a day.

He had competition; three of his four opponents—a 44-year-old Navy Commander named Nelson Levings, 55-year-old ex-Supreme Court Clerk Thomas Quitman Ellis and 66-year-old ex-Congressman Ross A. Collins—were campaigning hard. But Bilbo paid no heed. Instead he howled a warning: "The white people of Mississippi are sitting on a volcano. . . . We are faced with a nationwide campaign to integrate the nigger with the social life of this country. . . ."

He described the new carpetbaggers—the "Communist hoodlums," the labor leaders—who would seize the South if Bilbo did not stand guard.

"Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce is the greatest nigger-lover in the North—except Old Lady Eleanor Roosevelt. Yep, Old Lady Roosevelt is worse. . . . In Washington she forced our Southern girls to use the stools and the toilets of damn syphilitic nigger women. . . ." 7-1-46

Passion for Whites. He ranted of white supremacy: "The nigger is only 150 years from the jungles of Africa, where it was his great delight to cut him up some fried nigger steak for breakfast. . . . Over in Georgia a pambly-wambly governor named Ellis Arnall has sold his state down the river. There are 200,000 niggers registered and Georgia has gone to hell. . . ." Time

He bawled for violence: "I call on every red-blooded white man to use *any means* to keep the niggers away from the polls. If you don't understand what that means you are just plain dumb. . . ."

In town after sun-baked town crowds gathered, listened with hot-eyed intentness, and cheered The Man. Even planters in the rich Delta country who had always opposed him would vote for him this time. They thought him a knave but they knew he would filibuster to death any Congressional threat to "white man's supremacy" such as FEPC (the Fair Employment Practice Committee). Nothing short of a miracle would keep Bilbo from renomination, election, six more noisy years in the nation's capital. 7-1-46

Bilbo & Friend

Sirs: Time Chicago, Ill.

FOR SAKE OF . . . POSTERITY, WHICH IS BILBO [NATIONAL AFFAIRS CUT], TIME, JULY 1?

7-15-46 JACQUELINE MCCULLOUGH

New Orleans

¶ The bystander in the background was, at worst, only a jackass.—ED.

Who Will Package Bilbo's Poison?

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

By SAMUEL SILLEN

Who is going to publish Bilbo's new book? What American publisher will package Bilbo's Ku Klux poison and peddle it around the country?

This is not an academic question. Bilbo himself claims his manuscript of murder is now in a publisher's hands. Somebody is planning to issue his appeal for a national lynching bee.

And we want to know who.

We want to know the name of the publisher who will sponsor this **Mein Kampf** out of Mississippi—no doubt in the interests of "free speech."

Bilbo says that his book "proves that if the mongrelization my opponents are trying to hasten continues, the nation will be completely mongrel in 300 years. They will be yellow half-breeds, mulattos, octoroons and high yellows."

In some editorial office this fascist racism is being considered with an eye to its best-seller possibilities. Wed 7-6-4

Somebody is working up the "free press" alibi—freedom to incite to murder, freedom to plump for fascism, freedom to preach the "extermination" of the Negro people.

Somebody is working on the angle that publication of Bilbo's book is a "public service" since it will "expose" the Ku Klux Senator from Mississippi

Somebody is working on the "publicity" angles In fact, Bilbo himself last week hailed an attack on him as "publicity" for his new book.

This was his answer to the Mississippians who signed a petition asking the Senate not to seat him. The petition points out the well-known truth that Bilbo incited whites to commit acts of violence against Negroes and that he sought to terrorize Negroes planning to vote in the Mississippi primary in which his own candidacy was at stake.

BILBO recently had an operation for inflammation of the mouth. This is the logical operation for his kind. But the operation was not successful. The surgeon was inept. Bilbo says: "I just had my mouth reamed out and now I've got more mouth than ever."

That enlarged mouth will be supplied with a megaphone by the publisher who contemplates release of his "anti-mongrelization" book.

Let that publisher have no illusions. Every decent-minded American will fight the release of Bilbo's book every inch of the way. It is not going to be easy to palm off a **Mein Kampf** on this country.

No publisher is "free" to incite to lynching.

No publisher is "free" to peddle fascist poison with an editorial note "dissociating" himself from the opinions of the author.

No publisher will fool anybody with the claim that he is helping to "expose" Bilbo. This is the argument advanced by the radio sponsors (WOR) of a recent program in which Bilbo held forth to an audience of millions. It is a phony argument. Hitler didn't "expose" himself with **Mein Kampf.** The Hitlers and Bilbos love to be "exposed" by themselves with the aid of publishers and radio producers.

Bilbo brags that he is a member of the Ku Klux Klan. His local Klan post carries his name. Isn't that exposure enough?

We don't want to give this Ku Kluxer a platform, whether over the radio, in a book, or on the floor of the United States Senate.

The publisher who plans to issue his book will be an active accomplice in a monstrous crime against the people of this country.

No public announcement of the book has yet been made except by Bilbo himself. What publishing firm will have the moral degeneracy to verify this announcement?

Bilbo Says He Belongs To Klan, Named for Him

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

From Wire Dispatches.

Washington, Aug. 9.—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (D.-Miss.) admitted tonight that he was a member of the Ku Klux Klan and that a Mississippi post of the Klan was named after him.

"I am a member of Bilbo Klan No. 40, Mississippi," he said. "I attended one meeting and have not attended it since, because I was not in sympathy with some of the things in it."

Bilbo was interviewed by four newspaper and magazine correspondents on Mutual's "Meet the Press" program. 8-10-46

Expects Klan's Support.

He said he did not know what the present Klan stands for, but he expected to receive support from the organization.

"No man can leave the Klan," he said. "He takes an oath not to do that. Once a Ku Klux, always a Ku Klux." While Bilbo spoke, several hundred pickets organized by the National Negro Congress marched before the Mutual stations in New York and Washington protesting his appearance on the network.

Bilbo admitted he had brought with him to "some gentlemen" as a matter of precaution" against possible violence. 8-10-46

Bilbo was under sharp questioning by the four interviewers he agreed with the opinion of their verdict every time I have asked for the job—three times," Bilbo replied.

Andrews asked the senator if and I am perfectly satisfied with the Klan does."

"I am not informed that the Ku Klux Klan, as I know it, is seeking to undermine the Government," he replied. It is only the Communist Party of the United States that is seeking to do that by force."

member "of an organization that secretly undermines the law, as

Saturday

Denies Plan Undermines U.S.

Spivak asked how he could take atorial oath of office while a senatorial oath of office while a member of the State

Bilbo, the Stinker

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 7-13-46

If prayer is of any value in making people well, pray Bilbo sick, and thank God when he dies.

After all, he can't live overlong. Look at Blease, Tillman, Vardaman and all the other foul-smelling demagogues. Leaders of hate are in their graves and probably in hell, if there is one. None of us remembers them in kindness.

Runt Bilbo, thirty-eight years in politics, in scandals involving sex and money, was re-nominated to the U.S. Senate from Mississippi. He is quoted as saying:

"Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce is the greatest n----r lover in the North except old lady Eleanor Roosevelt. Yep, old lady Roosevelt is worse. In Washington she forced our Southern girls to use the stools and toilets of damned n----r women."

Like Westbrook Pegler, Bilbo's chief asset is his nasty anti-social tongue, his violent language and his hatred of Catholics, Jews, foreigners and colored people.

He is a real stinker. Let us pray.

JACK TARVER

The Constitution

This Could Develop Into a Film-i-Buster

Atlanta, Ga. Mon. 8-19-46

Sen. Bilbo, of Mississippi, has been offered a part in a forthcoming motion picture.

That comes as a surprise. One has heard the Senator called a number of things, but never an actor.

My first reaction was that Hollywood must be endeavoring to appeal to the superannuated bobby-soxers with a sort of gaitered-Gable. Mon. 8-19-46

It develops, however, that The Man has been offered a role in a forthcoming effort starring Sen. Claghorn, the only successful Confederate.

Claghorn isn't the only unreconstructed rebel with a trunkful of money. It's just that nobody else's is negotiable.

At any rate, it'll be some picture with those two great comedians—Claghorn the professional and Bilbo the unintentional.

Claghorn represent the deep South, Bilbo the dense.

But a picture starring them would have appeal the nation over. Not even the best-stocked butcher shops have that much ham on display.

$5,000 Rise Voted Bilbo, So He Spurns Film Offer

Times New York N.Y.

WASHINGTON, July 29 (AP)—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, said today he was not interested in a movie offer of $500 a week and expenses, made by Bryan Foy, film producer, to take part in a picture featuring the "Senator Claghorn" character portrayed by Kenny Delmar, with Mr. Bilbo appearing as a Southern public figure.

In a prepared statement, Mr. Bilbo said he considered the actor's efforts to "take off' a Southern Senator "silly and puerile." Tuesday 7-30-46

"Now as to the proposition from the film company in Hollywood," Mr. Bilbo added: "I'm not now interested, because over my protest the Congress has just raised my salary $5,000 a year and I most certainly am not interested in playing the role of a Southern Senator defeated by a man of 'Senator Claghorn's' character. 7-30-46

"With the help of the good people of Mississippi I've just defeated all of the Senator Claghorns north of the Mason-Dixon line as well as four local potential Claghorns—peckerwoods—because that is just about the role they would have played if they had been successful."

New York N.Y.

The bill for the pay rise referred to by Mr. Bilbo has passed both Houses and is awaiting the President's signature.

Bilbo Evaded These Pickets After Broadcast

Carrying placards urging the ousting of Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (Dem., Miss.), pickets parade in front of the Washington radio station where the Senator was interviewed by four newspaper correspondents on Friday. During the interview, Sen. Bilbo admitted bluntly that he was a member of the Ku Klux Klan and that a Mississippi post of the Klan is named for him

Bilbo, Guarded, Ducks Picket Line

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Admits Affiliation With Klan to Nation

REVEALS FEAR

Sat. 8-17-46

Interviewers Evoke Ridiculous Answers

WASHINGTON

Senator Theodore Bilbo (Dem., Miss.) dashed out of a back cellar with his bodyguards in order to escape a picket line waiting outside of the Mutual Broadcasting Station, WOL, Friday night.

During an interview with four newspaper and magazine correspondents on the 'Meet the Press" program, he admitted the following:

1. That he is a member of the Ku Klux Klan (he pronounced it Que Cluck Clan) Klavern No. 40 which is named for him:

2. That because he took an oath to support the ideals of the Klan for life, he will always be a member: The Afro-American

3. That he will get Klan support in his election:

4. That he doesn't know what the present Klan stands for but he is sure it is not to undermine the government:

Says He Upholds Constitution

5. That whiskey, money and women are used by the whites in Mississippi to win the elections:

Definite Sign of Fear

In answer to a question from one of his interviewers regarding the presence of so many guards, he admitted fear, stating that he had realized that his planned appearance at the radio station had been publicized fully.

Then, when asked whether the escorts (in addition to his office staff) were armed, he retorted that he didn't know, for, 'I didn't search them."

6. That he believes he is sworn to uphold the Constitution including the 14th and 15th Amendments and he thinks he is doing so when he violates them:

7. That the Supreme Court order directing the States not to interfere with colored people voting in the Democratic primaries interferes with the State of Mississippi's program to keep colored people away from the polls and that the white people have a right to do anything they can to nullify the Supreme Court's decision.

Ordered to Respect All

He was rebuked by the announcer interviewing him for using epithets and was instructed that no terms derogatory to any race would be permitted on the air.

While Bilbo did his best to comply with the order, he lapsed repeatedly because newspaper men asked such pointed questions that he would explain the results of the educational tests given in the Army which showed that only Afri-literacy figures of Poles and Jews are among the white nations and that only Afri-ge are 14 per cent that colored people of New York made a median score of 45.02 and ppi 30 percent. Following Bilbo's insistence that **Lower Grades** the whites of Mississippi were far below with a median score of 41.2. Lawrence Spivak's colored people. Mr. Spivak said he was quoting his State at the bottom of the lad-ted that they were from the Army General Classification Tests. der was a lie, one of the inquisi-tors asked whether the Senator did not hold everything with which he did not agree to be a lie.

Proof Just a Lie

He admitted writing a woman in New York and addressing her "Dear Dago," and he said he gave her a chance to prove she wasn't a

Whites Made Low

Bilbo said Mr. Lawrence included colored people in Mississippi and the figures and Mr. Spivak retorted that Mississippi whites' for the white people indicated that ignorant as the were twice as st of the nation." Army figures. whites in the rest of the nsult to injury he Asked whom he considered as Then to add insult to ing Bilbo so far out on the limb, asked Bilbo how he would explain

Mississippi's Schools 'Best'

One of the newspaper men, see-quoted Hodding Carter, a Mississippi editor, stating that Mississippi's school system of any State in the Union. One of the newspaper men, see-ing Bilbo so far out on the limb, asked Bilbo how he would explain

His English was repeatedly and unpunishable crime, including lynchings. Subjects of his sen-fourth grade. tences frequently disagreed with the verbs. Baltimore, Md. 'All Italians in Mississippi sup-port me," Bilbo said and repeated it. Sat. 8-17-46

He said Mississippi has the finest statistics for both colored and white.

"dago" but she never answered.

Forced to Back Down

Asked whether he was not violating the Constitution and inciting Mississippi to mob violence when he made a public address before the last primary election in which he said that the way to stop colored people from voting was to stop them the night before.

Bilbo said he didn't say that.

Bert Andrews of the New York Herald Tribune virtually called Bilbo a liar and said all of the newspaper reporters agreed on what he said and he would take their word before he would take Bilbo's.

Just Talk—He Says

Bilbo, thereupon, lamely admitted that what he actually said was that the best way to keep the colored man from the polls was to see him the night before.

He explained what he meant by "see him the night before" was to tell him he had no right to vote.

It was an obvious lie, and didn't fool anybody, because Bilbo on the next breath declared that you may call what he did intimidation or what you may, but he believes in doing anything he can to keep colored people from voting and to maintain white supremacy in the State.

Asked also why he had made the racial issue the dominant one in his campaign for re-election to the Senate, he admitted fear of the effect of labor's drive to guarantee the vote to colored and other persecuted peoples.

300 Unable to March Stand By

Marching two abreast, about 200 pickets paraded in front of the studio headquarters, carrying anti-Bilbo signs while another 300, unable to join the line because of police restrictions, stood silently across the street.

Trade union members, including a predominance of AFL and CIO representatives, constituted the majority of the pickets with civic community and individual pickets also in evidence.

One Benedict Arnold Enough

Pickets carried signs reading "Senator Bilbo Betrays our Democracy, One Benedict Arnold is Enough," "Tell it to me Senator, I was a G.I.;" "We Veterans Fought to Free Europe of Hitlerism, we will free America of Bilboism."

Newsmen on the program who queried the Senator were Bert Andrews, New York Herald Tribune; Ernest Lindley, Newsweek; Lawrence Spivak, editor of American Mercury, and Cecil B. Dixon, Gannett Publications.

The entire demonstration including the picket line, was sponsored by the National Negro Council, led by Mrs. Marie Harris, executive secretary of the Washington branch.

Now 'The Man' Bilbo Is Writing Book On What The South Owes Him

The News Birmingham, Ala.

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 28—(AP)— Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo's latest dispute with a Southern newspaper is a controversy with The New Orleans States over what kind of a "debt" the South owes to the Mississippi senator.

Bilbo, in a letter to The States editor, W. H. Fitzpatrick, says he is finishing a book which will explain "the debt you and the rest of the South owe me."

An an answering editorial The States says "the debt the South owes Sen. Bilbo is well known," and "is being paid daily in fear and prejudice and bigotry."

The senator, who spent much of his recent successful renomination campaign replying to criticism by newspapers in his own state, wrote the letter in response to a previous States editorial which described Bilbo and Gov-Elect Eugene Talmadge, of Georgia, as "two of the worst demagogues the South has had in recent years."

BILBO'S LETTER, PUBLISHED in The States today, said:

"Your editorial was so mean and nasty toward me until I started to answer it, but I am just going to wait and answer it with a book to which I am putting the finishing touches this week. You need to know the truth, then you will understand more about the debt you and the rest of the South owe me.

"Of course, I know that your bosses at the top (I understand they live in New York) direct the policy of your paper, but maybe when you are set straight you can even influence them."

Fitzpatrick replied in today's editorial:

"The (previous) editorial said that outsiders, when they thought of the South, thought of Uncle Tom's Cabin and Tobacco Road; that they forgot Harlem's hovels and Detroit's race riot; that when outsiders thought of the South, they thought of Bilbo and Talmadge, and that their interference helped in the election of those two.

"It pointed out that America was represented at the Paris Peace Conference by (James R.) Byrnes, of South Carolina; (Jefferson) Caffery, of Louisiana, and (Will) Clayton, of Texas, and added that they too were Southerners. Naturally, Sen. Bilbo suffered by comparison.

"IN HIS LETTER, SEN. BILBO says that he understands that the 'bosses at the top' of this newspaper live in New York. 'Boss at the top' is L. K. Nicholson, a native and lifelong resident of New Orleans.

"Sen. Bilbo says his forthcoming book will make us understand the debt the South owes to him. We have no need to read the book. The debt the South owes to Bilbo is well known. It is being paid daily in fear and prejudice and bigotry."

Says All America Is Responsible For Race-Baiter Bilbo

Black dispatch Oklahoma City

CHICAGO — (ANP) — Responsibility for Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo's race baiting election demogogery was placed upon the shoulders of every American citizen Monday by the Chicago Sun, Marshall Field's progressive daily newspaper, in an editorial headed "Who's ~~to Blame for~~ Bilbo?" 7-14-46

The Sun said:

'Nobody in the north escapes responsibility for Sen. Bilbo merely because that infamous mountebank represents the state of Mississi. Every American shares culpability for the fact that Sen. Bilbo can campaign for renomination on the basis of open instigations to violence and terrorism against Mississippi Negro citizens.

"Northern congressmen could end the south's poll taxes if they chose. Non-southern citizens could take the offensive against social, educational and economic discrimination now tolerated in varying degrees, everywhere. They could support the many southerners who are desperately ashamed of Bilboism and are working, with zeal and courage, for a decent solution of the race problem. They could speak out, in company with Sen. Taylor of Idaho, in protetst against Bilbo. The department of justice could order a grand jury investigation of Fascist terrorism in Mississippi and haul Bilbo himself before that grand jury to determine whether inflamatory speeches form an indictable offense of laws protecting the civil rights of citizens. Sat 7.13.46

"The evil that Sen. Bilbo commits is not confined to Mississippi. It taints the stream of American life. He is not just Mississippi problem, but the nation's."

Bilbo Not Fit For Congress

The Call Kansas City, Mo. 8-23-46

White Daily Brands 'The Man' In Editorial

Friday

CHICAGO. — (ANP) — Theodore G. Bilbo's qualifications for senator took another nose dive in an editorial published Monday by the Chicago Sun, Marshall Field's progressive daily newspaper, on "Bilbo's Klan Admission."

Bilbo told the nation Friday during an interview over Mutual Broadcasting company's "Meet the Press" program that he is a member of "the Ku Klux Klan No. 40, called the Bilbo Klan No. 4, Mississippi." 8-23-46

"I attended one meeting and have not attended it since, because I was not in sympathy with some of the things in it," he informed four newspapermen.

"It is interesting to have confirmation from Sen. Bilbo that he is a member of the Ku Klux Klan," the Sun's editorial said. "But the news will surprise no one who has the least familiarity with the Mississippi demagogue's record.

MEMBER OF KLAN

"The klan is not only a formal organization but also a state of mind It is a state of mind hostile to the basic premises on which the nation was founded. which elevates ignorance and intolerance and fear to the level of principles. It is a state of mind which glorifies and revels in hatred, bigotry and violence.

"No one on the national scene, certainly, has been a more blatant champion of that frame of mind than has Sen. Bilbo. On the radio broadcast which occassioned Bilbo's declaration of klan membership he was asked how he reconciled membership in the klan, which 'secretly undermines the law,' with his senatorial oath to uphold the laws of his state and of the nation. Bilbo's answer to that qualifies as the prize understatement of the year. Said he, 'I am not informed that the klan, as I know it, is seeking to undermine the government.' But how about American legal and constitutional principles? If congress ever should get around to using belief in them as a criterion for qualification, Bilbo would be one of the first candidates for expulsion."

During the broadcast, Lawrence Spivak of American Mercury Magazine asked Bilbo whether he thought he "would get any klan support now?"

"I do," said the senator.

"You never left the klan, in effect?"

"No man can leave the klan He takes an oath not to do that Once a Ku Klux, always a Ku Klux."

HAROLD ICKES

Congress Should Purge Bilbo

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. 8-17-46

The Senate of the United States can hardly expect the people to have more respect for it than it has for itself. And the Senate's respect for itself, if its attitude toward Theodore G. Bilbo be any yardstick, can be measured in fractions of inches.

By the Constitution, the Senate is the judge of the fitness of its own members. If, in the opinion of the Senate, a collegue is an unfit associate, then he can be taken by the scruff of his neck and the seat of his pants and thrown out. This can be done even when a Senator has been elected by a majority vote in his State and certainly there is nothing to prevent the regurgitation of a man like Sen. Bilbo, of Mississippi, who, six years ago, was elected by five percent of the voters of his State.

The diluted Mr. Bilbo is regarded as the leading ranter of the State that is the lowest in literacy. Metaphorically speaking, despite his 68 years, he seems to be able to stand his 95 colleagues on their heads, to roll them downstairs in a barrel, turn their pockets inside out, throw dirt in their eyes and jerk out their shirttails without their being able to do anything about it, either singly or in concert. Wed. 7-17-46

OVERLOOKING Bilbo's offensiveness as a member of the Senate, let us consider his record. Probably few Senators remember that as a State Senator of Mississippi, Bilbo on one occasion confessed to having taken $645 (merely to satisfy his curiosity, he averred) to vote for Leroy Percy for United States Senator against James K. Vardaman. According to an article printed in PM on June 30, the Senate of Mississippi, which on this occasion seemed to have more self-respect than does the Senate of the United States, after an investigation, condemned Bilbo's "entire bribery charge and the statement of the role played by himself as detective and decoy as unworthy of belief." The Senate of Mississippi (not the United States!) proceeded to declare that "said Bilbo was unfit to sit with honest, upright men in a respectable legislative body." He was accordingly asked to resign. A resolution to this effect was adopted, 25 to 1. The absent and not voting, including Bilbo of course, constituted 19. But Bilbo, being Bilbo, did not resign. Taking advantage of the curious political standards of Mississippi, he went on to become Lieutenant Governor and then Governor for two terms, although the voters of his State did not have even the flimsy excuse that they resented attempted "outside interference." Now, in effect, he has been elected to his third term as United States Senator and, so far as I know, there isn't a single colleague who holds his nose when he passes Bilbo's seat.

In his campaign for re-election, as usual, Bilbo again spewed race hate and prejudice. He was saturated with political bile. In violation of his oath to uphold the Constitution of the United Sttaes, he called upon the white people of Mississippi to prevent Negroes from voting by any means and in defiant disregard of their legal rights. Be it said to the credit of Sen. Glen H. Taylor, of Idaho, that he promptly demanded an investigation of Bilbo's irrationalities by the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate. 7-17-46

BUT this is not enough. Why does not the Senate undertake to determine whether this five percent Senator is fit to sit with the other 95 at all—at least unless he goes through purification rites be-

libel suit by Sen. Bilbo is guilty ere not true. Mr. then he will not be allowed his campaign said the Senate note carefully) to hol en. Bilbo received the office even if elected by th om a war contrac people—and this is as it shoul or whom Bilbo se be." Nor was Mr. Col- I wonder if the Senate will i merely to make nore its obligation to the peopl oduced evidence that this editorial so clearly points vincing enough so out. The Constitutional power to dale (Miss.) Daily purge its own membership was them in an edito given deliberately and for a pur- of June 6 and con pose. If the United States Senate

cludes: "If Sen. Bilbo is willing to accept and fraternize Mr. Bilbo's character, I cannot conceive of anyone to keep." 8-23-46 Senate.

accusations that could be used as rial under date of June 6

Bilbo Voices Final Absurdity

Birmingham News

By Marquis Childs

WASHINGTON, May 2 — It remained for Sen. Bilbo, Mississippi's gift to the nation, to add the final absurdity to the Communist tag when he called Rep. Clare Boothe Luce and her publisher husband, Henry R. Luce, "communistic." B'ham.

That carries it as far as it can be carried. If Henry Luce is a Communist, then so are Cardinal Spellman and Herbert Hoover. By definition, a Communist becomes anyone who disagrees with you, no matter how reactionary, narrow and bigoted your own views may be.

* * *

IN THAT FANTASTIC AND ABSURD SPEECH, Bilbo was not talking just to hear the sound of his own voice. He had a very deliberate motive. The speech was meant to be a document in his campaign for reelection.

For even "The Man" must subject himself every six years to the will of the voters of his native state, Bilbo has gone back to Mississippi to campaign for the primary of July 2. The issue is the same as it was 75 years ago—the carpetbag, outside interference.

That is why Bilbo wanted to get his speech on the record. He wanted to convict hostile Northerners of trying to dictate to the people of Mississippi. That is why he bracketed such incongruous publications as Life, The New York Daily News, the New York Post, The Daily Worker and The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

They are all in a conspiracy, these powerful instruments of Northern Domination, to defeat the martyred, bleeding Bilbo. That's the theme "The Man" will sound in cruder and cruder form as he moves through rural Mississippi. 5-2-46

* * *

MANY TIMES IN THE PAST, this theme has been effective—and not only in the Deep South. Once, when Rep. Dewey Short was running for reelection in his Ozark district in Missouri, he made effective use of an attack on him that appeared in the newspaper PM. These Communists, said Short, no mean demagogue himself, were trying to tell the God-fearing people of Missouri how to vote.

Indications are that Bilbo will be able to make potent use of this appeal in his current campaign. He is aiming, of course, at the Ku Klux Klan element.

A large campaign fund is said to have been made available to him. The money is reported to come from construction firms in Mississippi. With four opponents in the field, Bilbo would seem to have a good chance of reelection. 5-2-46

* * *

THE CARPETBAG APPEAL is, of course, the other side of the states rights argument. Behind the barrier of states rights, the little courthouse ring in Mississippi holds on to its privileges and power. It is a guarantee that Mississippi will be at the bottom or near the bottom of the lists that show how the states stand on health, literacy, schools and so on.

That is the way the Bilbos want it. Change would threaten their supremacy. It is this legal barricade that makes the government of these United States so very difficult. Birmingham, Ala.

Mississippi will take favors from the federal government, and plenty of favors, if no conditions are attached. A notorious example was the effort of certain Mississippi politicians to staff cotton mills with relief workers paid at relief rates with federal money. That occurred in the '30s when the late Harry L. Hopkins, as relief administrator, was trying to eke out scanty relief funds. Hopkins tried repeatedly to break through the barricade to enforce certain standards. But he was not conspicuously successful.

The same construction companies reported to be subsidizing Bilbo's campaign got large sums from the federal government. Bilbo has always been zealous at grabbing all the federal patronage he could get.

* * *

NOW SOMETHING NEW IS ABOUT TO HAPPEN. Both the AFL and the CIO have announced large-scale organizing campaigns in the South. Even with labor divided and competing, this is bound to bring about great changes. It will certainly bring, too, bitter last-ditch resistance.

Within the South itself, changes are taking place. Many newspapers have turned on the Bilbo mentality. Public officials such as Gov. Ellis Arnall, of Georgia, have opened the way to change. The Bilbos must know their day is nearly over. Perhaps that's why the senator rushed off so frantically to start campaigning.—©.

"The Man" Bilbo Is Off To the Wars of 1946

Louisville Ky. Courier-Journal

UNTIL after July 4, the United States Senate will have to struggle along without the services, if you want to call his participation that, of "The Man" BILBO. The Great Filibusterer, who has been categorically labelled "the worst man in the Senate"—and that on evidence to which his own colleagues contributed substantially—has obtained leave of absence to go home and campaign for renomination. The dispatches, taking note of this extension of grace, did not record that there were any outspoken objections to his departure, or any cordial wishes of good luck. Mon 4-29-46

It appears, however, that the Senator's decision to hie him to the hustings was reached none too soon. The impending primary election in Mississippi is a kind of Armageddon for THEO F. BILBO, and no less for his State. There is ample testimony to the effect that a great many people in Mississippi recognize the fatefulness of the decision, whether to permit themselves to be stuck for six more years with BILBO and to accept the disagreeable connotations of that result, or whether to retire him to pasture, perhaps belatedly for their best interests and prestige, and pick a successor who, whatever his limitations might be, at least won't be named BILBO.

Asking for leave, the Senator was reported as saying that four peckerwoods are trying to get his job, "peckerwood," in the Mississippi lingo, being a derogatory epithet meaning an uncouth fellow, a redneck, a yokel. It is not too much to say that the Senator at least hopes there will be four or more, because that will give him the advantage of a divided opposition and perhaps a victory in the first primary.

There are at least two active opponents, neither a peckerwood despite the Senator, who could give him a race to remember and perhaps, though not certainly, win if either ran alone. These are CECIL TRAVIS, a lawyer who is personally well-heeled and popular, and ROSS COLLINS, a former Congressman. Governor BAILEY, who might have proved an even more formidable opponent than either of these, has decided not to run, and may support TRAVIS.

The substance of this opposition is encouraging to citizens elsewhere who have become rather nauseated by a surfeit of BILBO-ism, but not so much can be said for the nature of the issues that have been aired to date. The most startling of these is the allegation that BILBO, in all the years of his public life, has paid a total of only $72 in income taxes. It it unlikely that there will be even an effort to warm over the old, grimy scandals in his career—the bribe charges, the BILBO love life, the jail term for refusing to give testimony in an unsavory case because he might have incriminated himself. The income tax item is new, and the Senator so far having maintained a dignified and thunderous silence on the subject, one may look for his opponents to give it a big play. Mon 4-29-46

What the rest of the country doubtless would like to hear is a serious discussion of the legitimate political concerns of the nation, of progress, of real democracy, of our relationships with the world—and of BILBO's reactionary attitude and primordial expressions as to them. Unless this occurs, and if BILBO is allowed to call the tune, to set the tone of the campaign, it will hold little hope, whatever the result. As a matter of fact, the campaign is a thing to be watched more fearfully than hopefully, for the Senator is on record as saying that if he is re-elected, his past behavior will be only a mild breeze compared to the storm he will blow up. We are alarmed by the doubt whether Mississippi will accept this as a threat or a promise.

If He Tells 'What He Knows'

Bilbo's Ex-Secretary Charges Death Threat

Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 4-20-46

MERIDIAN, Miss.—Edward Terry, who served as Senator Theodore (The Man) Bilbo's secretary for seven years, charged last Friday that he had been threatened with death if he "told what he knew" during the Senator's summer re-election campaign.

In an affidavit issued by Terry, he laid the alleged death threat to A. B. Friend, Bilbo's campaign manager. Friend promptly denied having made the threat.

The threat was allegedly made when Terry and Friend dined together in a Jackson, Miss., restaurant.

"After we placed our order," Terry said, "Friend turned to me and my wife and said, 'Ed, if you tell what you know about Bilbo in the Senatorial race, you will be killed." Sat. 4-20-46

SAYS WIFE WARNED

"Then he repeated the statement, and warned my wife and me to leave Mississippi and not to participate in the campaign."

Terry said he was issuing his statement to the press because "it is the best way to protect myself."

In Jackson, Friend denied the charges as "untrue." He said, "The people of Missisippi are fully aware of the far-fetched tactics resorted to in a political campaign designed to defeat the constructive, liberal and democratic policies of Senator Bilbo."

MOVIE ROLE FOR BILBO

Times

$500 a Week, Plus Expenses, Is Offered Mississippi Senator

New York N.Y.

HOLLYWOOD, July 28 (AP)—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi received an offer today of a film role at $500 a week, plus expenses. Monday 7-30-46

Bryan Foy, producer, wired the Senator that he "had been quoted as bitterly resenting the manner in which Kenny Delmar has depicted southern office-holders" in his radio character of Senator Claghorn.

Mr. Foy said he was preparing to film a picture in which Delmar, as Claghorn, defeats a rival for office, and urged Senator Bilbo to accept a part because it "would enable you to portray a public figure from the South in a manner you deem fitting and proper."

Membership in the Screen Actors Guild would be necessary, Mr. Foy said, but he believed that could be worked out.

The Makers of Bilbo

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

The senator of Mississippi, Mr. Bilbo, is not representative of the Southern opinion and manner of which The News and Courier is a spokesman. The News and Courier tries to track in the footsteps of Lamar, Walthall, Hooker, Percy and John Sharpe Williams. The popularity of Senator Bilbo is in large part of foreign manufacture. The pharisees, the Uplifters, the pickets and the stinkpot throwers who reside outside of the South are constantly renewing the vitality of Mr. Bilbo and his fellow and kindred successes in Southern politics. (They even picket his home.) Some states beyond Southern borders have in congress at this time members or senators not more admirable and savory than is Mr. Bilbo. That is none of our business. Tues 7-2-46

Negro Leaders Seek Ouster of Bilbo

FOUR prominent negro leaders want Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, Mississippi Democrat, ousted from the senate in January. They said Bilbo's admitted membership in the Ku Klux Klan and his efforts to block negro suffrage in the South have automatically disqualified him.

RALPH McGILL

Technique Of the Smear

Sen. Teddy Bilbo (The Man), of Mississipp delivered himself of a tirade in the Senate chamber last week.

He abused Life magazine and its publisher, Henry R. Luce, as either Communists or in the hire of Communists. He declared Clare Boothe-Luce, wife of the publisher and Republican Congresswoman from Connecticut, was a "nigger lover."

His reasons?

Life magazine had published a symposium of opinion from Washington news correspondents. It was an estimate of the Senators up for re-election based upon the day-to-day experience of the newsmen covering the Congress.

Of Teddy Bilbo the consensus was:

"Bilbo, of Mississippi, Democrat, has been sent to jail, discredited as a complainant in a bribery scandal, voted by his own colleagues in the Mississippi State Legislature 'unfit to sit with honest, upright men in a respectable legislative body,' and yet retains popularity among the independent (small) farmers. The reason: He plays on their prejudices about Wall Street, Negroes, the North. His recent activity has been opposition to FEPC. He got himself a flurry of publicity by writing a woman with an Italian name in Brooklyn, 'My dear Dago.' Said Sen. Taft (Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio), 'He is a disgrace to the Senate.' Opinion: 'Worst man in the Senate.'"

Congresswoman Luce had criticized Teddy Bilbo's racial prejudice speeches; had asked for a fair deal for the Negro in education and employment.

This was the background of Sen. Bilbo's attack.

Study It is interesting to study this bit of political science and demagoguery. Abhorring and opposing Communism as I do, it seems to me a fine case study of the "smear."

It exposes the reckless and ruthless disregard for facts which any and all demagogues employ. Publisher Henry R. Luce needs no defense from a Bilbo attack, but the facts remain of interest.

They expose the utter fallacy of Bilbo's reasoning.

Life magazine has been called many things, good and bad. But never before has it been called "Communist." It stood editorially for the Chiang Kai-shek government and for our armed participation in China to put down the Communist government of that country. This fact badly distressed many of the staff and many other newsmen who, while not Communist by any means, nevertheless regarded Chiang Kai-shek as a Fascist of the first water. It has been very critical of Russian policy in Manchuria. And so on.

Yet, in the face of facts, Bilbo flings "Communist" charges.

This is getting to be a common practice. It is not alarming. It is the way of demagogues who, it seems, have always been with us. Euripides, who wrote on Greek politics some 400 years B. C., knew them well. Demagogues were one of his favorite subjects. Of them he said:

"A man of loose tongue, intemperate, trusting to tumult, leading the populace to mischief with empty words . . . a wise fellow, who is also worthless, always charms the masses . . . his qualities are a foul mouth . . . a low and cunning character."

South Here in the South, the demagogues are very free indeed with "Communist" charges. Anyone who disagrees with them is, ergo, a Communist. Anyone who openly opposes their falseness and lies is either in the hire of Communists or is one. That is the pattern of the smear technique. Sen. Bilbo follows it.

Mrs. Luce, whose politics at times distresses me, and whose political views often seem a bit strained, did not at all speak of social equality or anything else of that nature.

Yet, following the accepted smear pattern, Sen. Bilbo denounced her for it and recklessly declared she approved.

Here in the South, the same procedure is followed.

Any person who declares the Negro has a right to fair treatment in the courts and at the hands of police, which he too often does not have; who asks that he be given a fair share of housing, parks, education and public health; who suggests he has a right to use his skills in industry—that person is sure to be called a "nigger lover." He also is sure to be charged with favoring social equality, the interpretation of which is never given; and, of course, he is a "Communist." He also will be charged with having violated Southern traditions, with fouling his own nest, and so on and on.

This is not alarming. It always works with a few people, but it is working every day, every month, every year with fewer and fewer persons.

Sen. Bilbo's attack so perfectly illustrates the technique, it is herewith presented as a warning to any thoughtful person who may be confused by the smear technique.

JACK TARVER

Bilbo Himself A One-Man Epidemic

Sen. Bilbo, of Mississippi, has been operated upon for "inflammation of the mouth."

It shouldn't have required a specialist to diagnose that ailment.

He's been parading all the symptoms through the halls of Congress for more years than friends of democracy like to recall.

In fact, he's the only man in history to use the Congressional Record as his personal fever chart.

"Inflammation of the mouth" is characterized, one supposes, by recurring delirium, frequent filibusters and a preponderance of bile.

We can be thankful it isn't contagious. One case in the Senate is bad enough . . . much less 96.

One trouble with this nation today is that we have too many men in Congress with high blood pressure and low mentality.

Bilbo As Statesman; It's a Joke, Son

MISSISSIPPI'S Senator THEO BILBO has been called a lot of things but nobody has ever seriously challenged his oft repeated campaign assertion that he favors protection of the honor of Southern womanhood. However, it has taken the ridiculing talents of his radio prototype, *Senator Claghorn*, as evoked by KENNY DELMAR on the FRED ALLEN show, to make Senator BILBO a protector of the "honor of Southern manhood" as well.

Senator BILBO, apparently, sees an uncomplimentary similarity between himself and *Senator Claghorn*, and doesn't believe it's entirely coincidental. In forceful *Claghorn* style, the Mississippi Senator has declared the radio character holds Southern "statesmen up to ridicule, contempt and scorn." By that, of course, Senator BILBO means to convey the idea that he is a "Southern statesmen"—a point of view that may be open to some question. *Claghorn*, he says, "sullies the honor of Southern manhood."

But the point is that *Senator Claghorn* has achieved one of those triumphs of press agentry which deserve and receive joyous acclaim. He has offered Senator BILBO a part on a Hollywood movie, playing a Southern statesman, for $500 a week.

DELMAR and BRYAN FOY, president of the company making the film, have communicated their offer to Senator BILBO in a telegram in perfectly dead-pan vein: "It would enable you to portray a public figure from the South in a manner you deem fitting and proper . . . Of course you would have to join the Screen Actors' Guild, but I believe we could work this out on your arrival here."

One feels real regret that chances of Senator BILBO's forsaking the Senate for the screen are remote. But if he were to do it, the title of the DELMAR-FOY movie seems to augur well for the Senator's success in it. The film will be called *It's a Joke, Son.*

"THE MAN" WRITES ANOTHER NOTE

Many a newspaper editor in these United States of America is scratching his head trying to figure out what the editor of the Miami Daily News has that he hasn't "got." Senator Theodore G. Bilbo threatens to introduce a bill in the Congress to "outlaw and suppress" the Miami paper simply because "The Man" doesn't like the editorial tone of the Daily News.

Senator Bilbo has a gift for cheap publicity. The note to the Miami paper informing it of the Senator's displeasure is on a par with his now famous "Dear Dago" note to a woman who happened to get under the Mississippian's thick skin. Both show the same lack of regard for the commonly accepted rules of courtesy and fair play, and both attest to the shockingly warped mind of their author.

Of course no one can for a moment do other than laugh at Senator Bilbo's threat to suppress the Miami Daily News. But this indicates what he would do if there were enough men as small as he in the United States Congress. If Bilbo had the power and the following, not only the Miami Daily News, but a vast majority of America's free press would be "outlawed and suppressed."

Bilbo Has Spoken, Judge Him, America

Editor, Daily Worker:

I have heard young, strong voices singing "Sweet land of liberty—let freedom ring." I have seen labor and science, tears and joys of men of all origins who have paved the roads of great America. I believe that governments are instituted to preserve and further freedom, justice, peace and well-being — governments created so that all of us are responsible both to ourselves and to all for our common welfare.

All this is denied by Mississippi's Senator Bilbo. Frauds, lies, he called everything. All that he said can be taken to its logical conclusion—and it would mean ignorance, violence, destruction of culture and dignity.

Just as fascism abroad decided who was to live and who was to enter gas chambers, so Bilbo and his fellow Klaners decided who is to live. The Negro's neck that has stretched from barren tree limbs are the conclusion of Bilboism.

The sneers at all that is good fill the airwaves; this must teach us to hate this parasitic mentality. We must hate and fight it as it sits in the U. S. Senate.

What can happen if the atomic age is to be ruled by this dark form of ignorance.

Judge him for youreslf, America. You have heard him spak.

JOSEPHINE PICCOLO

— WASHINGTON NOTES —

'Peckerwoods' and Bilbo

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y. Sat. 5-4-46

— by Rob F. Hall —

By ROBERT HALL

WASHINGTON

THERE was a mild flurry in the press gallery last Friday when Theodore G. Bilbo asked permission of the Senate to be absent until July 2. There was no emotion but relief when, "without objection," the consent of the Senate was granted. The Senator needed 60 days, he said, because "there are four peckerwoods down in Mississippi trying to take my job away from me."

Bilbo spoke of his opponents as "peckerwoods," a term usually used to refer to the common people, to express his scorn and contempt. But there is reason to believe that the Senator is at last facing a tough fight to hold his Senate seat and that he is aware of the fact. Sat. 5-4-46

Already entered in the Democratic Party primary in Mississippi, which will take place July 2, are Ross Collins, former Congressman and a well known political figure, and a former naval officer, J. L. Levings of Gulfport. At least two others are expected to file before the books close May 2. Even if Bilbo leads in the primary count, he will not be declared winner unless he has more than 50 percent of the vote. Failing that he will be forced into a runoff Aug. 20. If all his opponents combine to support the highest anti-Bilbo candidate, prospects for removing the Shame of the Senate would be fairly bright.

Bilbo showed concern for his election prospects last month when his campaign manager, A. B. Friend, rushed into print to deny some very damaging charges from a former secretary of the Senator. Edward Terry, who served with Bilbo for seven years, told newsmen in Meridian that Friend threatened to kill him if he told what he knew about Bilbo. During the old days Bilbo would simply have yelled that Terry was "a liar and a crook," made some comment about Terry's female relatives, and let it go at that.

But Bilbo even went to the length of inserting into the Congressional Record an unusually long testimonial to his "constructive" statesmanship, signed by several hundred citizens of the state. An examination of the list reveals that the same names come from less than a dozen small towns and is no way representative of the state or the voters.

CIO President Philip Murray declared in a speech in Atlantic City last Thursday that a by-product of the southern organizing drive will be the elimination of such men as Bilbo and Rankin from Congress. This is true. But no one should expect that the drive, just now getting underway, will plow up enough ground in Mississippi to affect the primaries in July and August.

Such influence as labor will exert in the anti-Bilbo race this summer will be as a result of the growth and development of the working class in Mississippi during the war years. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, CIO, have a strong local at Hattiesburg. The Food and Tobacco Workers have spread along the Mississippi River, although much of their strength is among Negro workers who do not yet have the franchise. At Pascagoula the shipyard workers members of the AFL, are an important factor. Sat. 5-4-46

But perhaps the most significant bloc of anti-Bilbo voters are rural workers who during the war were employed in the industries in Mobile, Birminghanm, Memphis and New Orleans, and who have returned to the state since V-E Day. They learned a lot about unionism and progressive political action during their work in industry, and they have brought this liberating message to thousands of their neighbors who as small farmers constitute the bulk of the state's voters. Sat. 5-4-46

The key to the defeat of Bilbo, therefore, is an alliance between these workers and farmers on the one hand and other anti-Bilbo elements who come from all walks of life. An important section of business men in the state are out to defeat Bilbo. It is primarily for these men that Bilbo's opponents speak.

It woud be incorrect, therefore to expect the Mississippi elections to revolve around the most important issues or principles. Bilbo will charge that his opponents are fighting him with "millions of dollars supplied by Communists, Negroes, PAC, CIO and other ungodly elements." His opponents will deny the charge and do a little red-baiting and Negro-baiting to prove their point.

Their main case against Bilbo will be largely charges of corruption which have long characterized Mississippi politics. For real progressives, these phases of the campaign will leave much to be desired

Nevertheless a defeat of Bilbo would be an enormously healthy thing for American political life. It would be interpreted—and correctly—to mean that the people of Mississippi repudiated the main things for which Bilbo stands, rank reaction, corrupt feudalism, and ruthless suppression of the rights of the people.

So here's to the "peckerwoods" of Mississippi! Sen. Bilbo may find that instead of only four, their number is legion.

Bilbo Is a Symptom

Richmond, Va.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

With reference to your editorial on April 28, "Zany on the Defensive," regarding Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, it looks as though "everybody wants to get in da act." I refer to the increasing number of Southern newspapers which pray for the defeat of the Mississippi Senator in the next election. Times Dispatch

Now, for a Negro to defend Senator Bilbo may seem, at first, as incongruous as for the Jews to uphold Hitler, the Chinese, Tojo, etc., but we are not against the man—we are fighting the principles which he advocates—the principles of race hatred, prejudice, intolerance and bigotry. It is interesting to note that the Southern papers which cry out most vehemently for his scalp fail to attack the principles which Bilbo upholds, for the simple reason that, by and large, they and the majority of their readers hold to the same belief.

To me, one Bilbo, Rankin or Eastland in our Congress is worth half a dozen more reticent, but equally intolerant, Southern Senators who fully believe in the creed upheld by the above gentleman but who confine their utterances to their constituents.

Senator Bilbo clearly demonstrates that when bigotry is nourished and permitted to flourish, it confines itself to no one race but can take on with equal vigor "Kikes," "Dagos," "Chinks," "Polacks," "Niggers," "Frogs" and "Limies." Senator Bilbo has brought into the open, for the whole United States, for all the United Nations, for the whole world to see, the great flaw in our democracy. When Senator Bilbo speaks, he speaks for 95 per cent of all Mississippians (white), for 94 per cent of all Caucasians below the Mason-Dixon Line and for too large a percentage of the entire United States. Ned 5-1-46

We have junior Bilbos in Virginia, too. They're the people who force Negroes to the rear of the buses, to the 1892 coaches on railroad trains, to the rat-infested ghettos, to the most menial of labor, to the poor schools. They're the people who put up a white-marble drinking fountain for whites and a black-porcelain fountain for colored; who address no married Negro woman as "Mrs."

Let's devote more energy to attacking the social order that produces men and women like Bilbo, and let's begin here in Virginia.

DAVID M. HALL.
Camp Lee. Captain, USA.

Hail Senator Billboard!

Richmond, Va.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I have just finished reading a reprint of your editorial lamenting the jokes of Senator Claghorn, which was inserted in the Congressional Record. 5-2-46

Now that cognizance has been taken (officially, that is) of the fact that you feel sorry for yourselves, how about some of you fellows who are not "morons and degenerates a la Tobacco Road, or banjo-picking mammy singers" doing something about correcting the distorted picture of the South which we in the North always seem to have? Va.

After having been through the South (west as well as east) and seen it, on several occasions from its side roads as well as the main ones, and listened to some of its back-door gossip, I'm inclined to think that Allen's writers were going sort of easy with this Claghorn character, I mean. 5-2-46

A Southern Senator to lampoon? By gad, those writers didn't have to rack their brains to dream one up, and the fact that this Claghorn fellow does seem to have the redeeming characteristic of a charming sense of humor does sort of prove that his inspiration wasn't exactly documentary.

Claghorn indeed! Billboard's the name (or could have been) Billboard, that is! Why, down South they had a jailbird once, and they took a picture of this jailbird—right out of the rogue's gallery, I guess. They transposed that jailbird's picture to a billboard—to a lot of billboards. Gosh, that must have been a right purty picture! Do you know what happened, son? Why, that Billboard picture wound up in Washington one day and took itself a seat in the United States Senate, and it's been there ever since. That ain't no joke, son! Claghorn indeed—Billboard's the name—Billboard, that is! Times

Ask Winchell.

Brooklyn. B. M. BECKE.

D. C. In Mississippi

Washington Post

Voteless Washington has become the subject of a rip-snorting campaign out in Mississippi. That great statesman who won the chairmanship of the Senate District Committee by dint of seniority, Senator Bilbo, is telling his constituents that they must send him back to Washington so that he can prevent the restoration of suffrage here. And his leading opponent, former Representative Ross A. Collins, is making a slashing attack upon the self-styled ex-officio Mayor of Washington, using as one of his chief weapons the charge that Mr. Bilbo spends his time passing municipal ordinances for the far-away Capital. Tue. 5-14-46

Here is an ironical commentary on the status of this political paradox of a city. It may very well be that the fate of democracy in what has virtually become the capital of the democratic world will be decided by this contest in rural Mississippi. Senator Bilbo says frankly he is not in favor of letting Negroes vote. Because a little more than one fourth of the local population is colored, he insists that nearly a million Americans shall remain disfranchised. Rather than yield to the current demand for self-rule in the District, he indicates that he will filibuster to the last breath in his lungs.

It seems inconceivable to us that the voters of Mississippi will choose a Senator for the sake of imposing benighted and bigoted rule on a far-away city. Nor can we see that Mr. Bilbo's offer to rescue from the city jail all visiting Mississippians who come to Washington and get into trouble should be important enough to put him over. But strange is the way of politics. The grim fact of the matter is that the chairman of the Senate District Committee had to have some argument to counteract his leading opponent's charge that he is only a petty ordinance maker for the District of Columbia—that he is neglecting the home folk to serve outlanders on the far-distant bank of the Potomac. Tue. 5-14-46

We cannot help reflecting upon the upheaval that would ensue if the people of the District undertook to elect the mayor of Jackson, Miss., giving preference to the candidate which promised to impose the severest tyrannies on that city, which, after all, has only a small fraction of the population of Washington. What is happening in Mississippi is thus a good measure of the Capital's political degradation. We used to be only a football of politics in distant places. Now we have degenerated into a mat on which absentee politicians stamp their slimy boots at election time.

Washington Calling

By Marquis Childs

Richmond Times Dispatch

WASHINGTON—It remained for Senator Bilbo, Mississippi's gift to the nation, to add the final absurdity to the Communist tag when he called Representative Clare Boothe Luce and her publisher husband, Henry R. Luce, "Communistic."

That carries it as far as it can be carried. If Henry Luce is a Communist, then so are Cardinal Spellman and HerbertHoover. By definition, a Communist becomes anyone who disagrees with you, no matter how reactionary, narrow and bigoted your own views may be.

In that fantastic and absurd speech, Bilbo was not talking just to hear the sound of his own voice. He had a very deliberate motive. The speech was meant to be a document in his campaign for re-election. Times.

For even "The Man" must subject himself every six years to the will of the voters—a small proportion of the eligible voters of his native State. Milbo has gone back to Mississippi to campaign for the primary of July 2. The issue is the same as it was 75 years ago—the carpetbag, outside interference.

That is why Bilbo wanted to get his speech on the record. He wanted to convict hostile Northerners of trying to dictate to the people of Mississippi. That is why he bracketed such incongruous publications as Life, the New York Daily News, the New York Post, the Daily Worker and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

5-2-46

THEY are all in a conspiracy, these powerful instruments of Northern domination, to defeat the martyred, bleeding Bilbo. That's the theme "The Man" will sound in cruder and cruder form as he moves through rural Mississippi.

Many times in the past, this theme has been effective—and not only in the Deep South. Once, when Representative Dewey Short was running for re-election in his Ozark district in Missouri, he made effective use of an attack on him that appeared in the newspaper PM. These Communists, said Short, no mean demagogue himself, were trying to tell the God-fearing people of Missouri how to vote.

Indications are that Bilbo will be able to make potent use of this appeal in his current campaign. He is aiming, of course, at the Ku-Klux Klan element.

A large campaign fund is said to have been made available to him. The money is reported to come from construction firms in Mississippi.

The carpetbag appeal is, of course, the other side of the States' rights argument. Behind the barrier of States' rights, the little courthouse ring in Mississippi holds on to its privileges and power. It is a guarantee that Mississippi will be at the bottom or near the bottom of the lists that show how the States stand on health, literacy, schools, and so on.

That is the way the Bilbos want it. Change would threaten their supremacy. It is this legal barricade that makes the government of these United States so very difficult. 5-2-46

MISSISSIPPI will take favors from the Federal government, and plenty of favors, if no conditions are attached. A notorious example was the effort of certain Mississippi politicians to staff cotton mills with relief workers paid at relief rates with Federal money. That occurred in the '30s when the late Harry L. Hopkins, as relief administrator, was trying to eke out scanty relief funds. Hopkins tried repeatedly to break through the barricade to enforce certain standards. But he was not conspicuously successful.

The same construction companies reported to be subsidizing Bilbo's campaign got large sums from the Federal government. Bilbo has always been zealous at grabbing all the Federal patronage he could get.

Now something new is about to happen. Both the AFL and the CIO have announced large-scale organizing campaigns in the South. Even with labor divided and competing, this is bound to bring about great changes. It will certainly bring, too, bitter last-ditch resistance.

Within the South itself, changes are taking place. Many newspapers have turned on the Bilbo mentality. Public officials such as Governor Ellis Arnall, of Georgia, have opened the way to change. The Bilbos must know their day is nearly over. Perhaps that's why the Senator rushed off so frantically to start campaigning.

This Evening

Birmingham News

BILBO IS SCARED

The "Man" Bilbo made his opening campaign speech at Pontotoc, Miss., last Saturday. What he said there is not available to this columnist at the moment. We may take it for granted that nothing he said was relevant to the issue of whether he should be retained as United States senator. That, as a matter of fact, is a closed issue. Bilbo's record speaks, or should speak, more persuasively than anything he can say on the stump. Life recently quoted a consensus of Washington correspondents to the effect that he is the "worst" man in the Senate. That is a distinction which Mississippians should take away from Bilbo with the least possible delay. Birmingham Ala

He is an agitated man these days, which indicates that he does not feel secure. He is an agitated man, because his words belie his actions so plainly that any Mississippi redneck can see the difference. Thus, in advance of his Pontotoc speech, he offered the "conservative" estimate that he will receive approximately four-fifths of the votes to be cast in the July primary. But, if that is the outlook, why did he leave Washington so hastily to launch a two-months' campaign at home? If that is the case, why does he threaten to put the knife to Ross Collins' aspirations? Unmistakably, something is stirring among the folks which has thrown the "Man" into a panic. Mem. 5-6-46

That is the only explanation for the abrupt way in which he gave up the attack he started on the British loan bill. Only the most urgent pressure could have forced him to drop a cause so close to his heart. That was his grand opportunity to stand his ground against such "Communists" as Henry Luce, against the whole array of "furriners" who have had the audacity to pick on him. But he gave it up because, as he put it, some "peckerwoods" at home had to be dealt with. They evidently threaten him seriously. Which means that the people of Mississippi are turning against Bilbo.

It is to be hoped that this is really a revolt against vulgar benightedness. What other state than Mississippi can boast a trio like Bilbo, Rankin and Eastland, running neck-and-neck for the honor of being the leading anti-Semite and Negro-baiter in Congress? If there is a chance to get rid of Bilbo, every enlightened soul in his state should join the column marching against him. His defeat would be a spur to other Southern states to improve the quality of their national spokesmen. This is Mississippi's hour to lead the procession of decency. 5-6-46

"THAT MAN" BILBO

To the Editor of The News: News

Ever and anon the Birmingham daily newspapers cast a slur at Sen. Bilbo on account of his positive stand for white supremacy in the South, the most recent attacks springing from his effective opposition to the FEPA bill, a measure designed to mongrelize the white South, first industrially, then socially.

This newspaper hostility takes form in efforts to "show up" the Mississippi senator as a mental lightweight, without standing in his own state or influence in Washington—referring to him generally as "that man." Those newspaper editors have access to The Congressional Record, so let us examine that record in relation to the so-called "filibuster" against the FEPA bill and bring out some pertinent facts the editors have ignored.

When the New Mexican, Sen. Chavez (he admits having Mexican blood in his veins), gave notice of intention to introduce the FEP bill, he waited for weeks until the matter was forgotten; then, catching the Democrats napping, introduced the bill without immediate notice. Of all the senators from the South, Bilbo was the first to sense the nature of this threat to white supremacy, and immediately engaged Chavez in a colloquy that allowed him to take the floor from the sponsor, and he held it to the bitter end—bitter for Chavez! 5-3-46

Nor did Sen. Bilbo yield (except for a question that did not take him off the floor) to any except his own kind of senators—men like Russell, Bankhead, Hill, McMillan and others who were as determined to ward off this threat to mongrelize the South as was Bilbo himself. Every speech in the Senate against the FEP bill was made on Bilbo's time, portions of which were allotted to his colleagues as they desired to speak, the floor becoming his own again at their conclusion.

Sen. Bilbo's acumen in detecting the poison in the bill, his intelligent, tenacious handling of the parliamentary situation enveloping the measure give him the credit for holding the line for the white South against the onslaughts of an opposition that would mongrelize this section. This distinction places Sen. Bilbo, in the eyes of 100 per cent white Southerners, as a fit companion in honor with "Horatious at the Bridge" or the "Little Dutch Boy at the Leaking Dike." That honor will remain his and enshrine his memory in the hearts of the white people of the South long after the jimson weeds have gone to seed on the graves of the mulatto-minded editors who see nothing good in white supremacy—a policy that even met the approval of Abraham Lincoln in his broad Americanism. Future reference in their columns to Sen. Bilbo as "that man" should set the word "man" in capitals—MAN. Birmingham Ala.

DEMPS A. ODEN.

Childersburg, Ala.

Bilbo Filiblusters at 'Life' and Luces

P.M. New York, 71-4.

By United Press

WASHINGTON, Apr. 27.—Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) stood up in the Senate yesterday and lambasted "Papa and Mama Luce" — the Congresswoman and the publisher—for what he charged were "lies and misrepresentations" spread about him.

Cause of the rotund Senator's ire was an unflattering article in the March 11 issue of *Life* magazine, which characterized Bilbo as the "worst man in the Senate," and a brace of speeches by Rep. Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.) which attacked Bilbo's stand on the Negro question. June 4-28-46

He referred to *Life* as a "pink, mongrel magazine." He termed the article which discussed the qualifications of 33 Senators up for re-

Employment Practices Committee). He got himself a flurry of publicity by writing a woman with an Italian name in Brooklyn 'My Dear Dago.' Said Sen. Taft (Robert A. Taft, R., O.), 'He is a disgrace to the Senate.' Opinion: 'Worst man in the Senate.'"

Yes, Bilbo said, he had been sent to jail, but not for moral turpitude. R. Luce, editor-in-chief of *Life*—It was for contempt. Sun 4-28-46

"a big fat check for services rendered" in publishing the article.

"I am attacked because I believe in segregation. I don't believe in social equality for the Negro. I don't believe in mongrelization," Bilbo said.

Life's evaluation of Bilbo's political career read:

"Bilbo of Mississippi, Democrat, has been sent to jail, discredited as a complainant in a bribery scandal, voted by his own colleagues in the Mississippi State Legislature 'unfit to sit with honest, upright men in a respectable legislative body,' and yet retains popularity among the independent farmers. The reason: He plays on their prejudices about Wall St., Negroes, The North. His recent activity has been opposition to FEPC (Fair

election "a hasty job" and "a dirty, contemptible article."

Mrs. Luce he described as "fickle and capricious." He referred to her frequently as "Clara," and said she was known as "Connecticut's Republican darling" who is "no longer a glamour girl."

And, he said, "the Communists should give old man Luce"—Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief of *Life*—"a big fat check for services rendered" in publishing the article.

"I am attacked because I believe in segregation. I don't believe in social equality for the Negro. I don't believe in mongrelization," Bilbo said.

Bilbo Declares Self Savior of Washington

Baltimore Sun

HATTIESBURG, Miss.—Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (Dem., Miss.) appealed Wednesday to backwoods Mississippi whites to renominate him for the U.S. Senate.

He begged them for their votes

A Wake of Plans

"The Congressmen and all white men, a colored board of alderman, a colored chief of police and colored everything.

"I read all the colored newspapers and they do not hesitate to say what their plans are. They say the nation's capital should be 'thoroughly democratic,' and to do that, we have got to make it black."

Tells of Black Menace

"There's a great fight being made at this time to give the people of Washington the right to vote, which would mean the nation's capital would be turned over to the colored race to control and operate.

"I think I can assure you that as long as I am member of the Senate and chairman of this [District of Columbia] committee this will never take place.

'Would Run Washington'

"If we ever let the colored people of Washington take charge of Washington, a white man from the South will have one hell of a time to stay in Washington.

Pledges Voteless Capital

As long as he is chairman of "You would have a colored

45c 1946

Mississippi (-ilbo)

Bilbo Given $25,000 By War Contractors

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Sat 10-26-46

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By Drew Pearson

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The war-contract activities of the Senator from Mississippi were so multitudinous and so varied that not all can be told here. Another sensational chapter will be revealed by this columnist on the radio tomorrow—all of it going to show that the man who hurled foul names at minority Americans and who stymied important legislation by prolonged filibusters might better belong in jail than in the august Senate of the United States.

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Senate May Oust Exponent of Race Hatred on That Score or on Campaign Irregularities

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If these latest charges, in addition to charges that his nomination in the Mississippi Democratic primary of July 2 was tainted with fraud, duress and illegality, are proved, the Senate may oust him.

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Bilbo Says New York's Crimes Are Horrible

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

'Worse Than Any' Laid to Klan

Wed 8-21-46

Washington, Aug. 20 (AP)—Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.) lashed back at Governor Thomas E. Dewey today with a statement that "There have been more horrible crimes committed by the organized gangsters of New York than were ever chargeable to the Ku Klux Klan."

Bilbo said he had read in the papers that "ex-presidential candidate Dewey" had pledged an A.F.L. convention at Rochester yesterday that "there will be no Bilboism" in New York while he is Governor.

Returns Compliment.

"I can return the compliment and extend the time," Bilbo declared. "There will be no Deweyism in Mississippi as long as I live.

"Deweyism to the people of my state means F.E.P.C., Negro social equality, intermarriage between whites and blacks, hoodlumism, gangsterism, rape, and the life of some poor Negro, on

Bilbo Is No Laughing Matter

Bilbo told a reporter he takes no stock in reports that an effort will be made to deny him a seat in the next Congress. He said such talk represents "agitation by a bunch of damn Communists."

Doesn't Fear Talk.

"While I haven't associated with the Ku Klux Klan in more than 35 years," the senator said, "my recollection is that the Klan has always stood for the American flag, constitutional Government and the American way of life."

The startling admission of Klan membership by Theodore Bilbo, Mississippi's 7 percent Senator, has caused little more than a ripple in anti-fascist America.

A Senator of the United States, sworn to uphold the "noble" principles of American democracy, boasted on a nation-wide radio hook-up that he holds his oath to a fascist body higher than American laws, its Constitution and its Bill of Rights! Such is his boast at a time when everyone knows that 14,000,000 Negro Americans are involved in the deepest political struggle for their very lives, below and above the Mason-Dixon line, facing the most vicious lynch terror drive in the history of the land.

Yet, up to the present moment, the UAW-CIO international board is alone among the great trade union bodies who have demanded action to impeach Bilbo! This is the same Bilbo who has repeatedly ranted in the vilest fascist manner against Italians, Jews, Puerto Ricans and organized labor—to say nothing of his "white supremacist" election incitements to violence against Negroes.

HOW CAN WE explain the indifference that civilized anti-fascist America and its great trade unions have shown to this open admission of Klan membership on Bilbo's part? By the fact that in our country the rotten "white supremacist" race theories, consciously nurtured by the American imperialists, have so long prevailed. 8-25-46

These "white supremacist" ideas and practices are today part and parcel of the technique required by "our" imperialists to brutalize the American people, the "better" to prepare them for an anti-Soviet atomic war for world conquest.

It has become almost axiomatic to expect periodic demonstration to the world of the unique American pogrom—lynching of Americans with black skins. But now, such lynchings and such "race supremacist" theories and practices have become the crass and boastful means through which a fascist system can be foisted on America. Hence, Bilbo's admis-

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"Deweyism to the people of my state means F.E.P.C., Negro social equality, intermarriage between whites and blacks, hoodlumism, gangsterism, rape, and the life of some poor Negro, on an average of one a night, year-round, snuffed out in blackest Harlem."

Bilbo noted that Dewey had promised that the Ku Klux Klan "or any group like it" will not hold a meeting in New York as long as he is Governor.

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sion of Klan membership is tantamount to the early boastful admission of Hitler's Bund and Stormtroopers who pillaged and raped Germany; who terrorized and murdered 6,000,000 European Jews; destroyed labor unions and other democratic institutions; brought death and destruction and terror to millions.

LET IT NOT be forgotten that a German paperhanger, once the laughing stock of the world, moved more and more **openly**, to strengthen his power, until he destroyed the democratic liberties of a whole nation, in his aim to achieve world conquest. Nor should it be forgotten that our South, with its backward feudalist practices and conditions; its systematic denial of even the most elementary civil and democratic rights to 10,000,000 Negroes and poor whites, is fertile ground—even as was Germany—for nurturing the fierce fascist terror, spawned by the German Junker landlord class and aided by the most modern scientific techniques of German imperialism.

FOR BILBO IS NO LAUGHING STOCK! 8-25-46

It has long been the technique of the American capitalist press and its leaders to present the Bilbos, Eastlands and Rankins as "amusing" figures. So long as this continues unchallenged, just so long will such fascist characters utilize every inch of immunity from the serious measures required by the body politic against their polluting sores.

Bilbo counts on this, as does the imperialist bourgeoisie and its mouthpiece. New York, N.Y.

The imperialists count on **open** familiarity with the Bilbonic plague to bread a **special** kind of contempt—a light, inactive one.

EVEN OUR OWN paper—leading anti-fascist paper of the country—recently reflected this light manner of dealing with Bilbo and allowed a "cuckoo's egg" to creep into our pages. "At least he's out in the open," stated a caption under Bilbo's picture, which accompanied an excellent piece by our popular columnist, Mike Gold, on lynch terror against Negroes! Does it make it "less" dangerous, or more so—that "he's out in the open?" It's unnecessary to belabor the point. The Worker

Suffice it to state that, while we learn from our self-criticism and take rapid steps to self-correction, we likewise stress the same for all anti-fascists—especially labor. For much of this thinking has served to court inaction—on this issue, based on lack of fundamental appraisal of the anti-Negro drive. This we shall analyze in tomorrow's article.

WMCA Puts Bilbo on Carpet

The Senate Campaign Investigating Committee, soon to look into anti-Negro charges against Sen. Bilbo, would do well to read *The Gentleman from Mississippi*, a radio drama presented last night on WMCA.

This play revealed many striking things about the past of this "people's representative":

¶ In 1909 when he was a member of the State Senate of Mississippi, Bilbo was accused of accepting a bribe of $645 to change his vote. When this charge was aired, the State Senate passed a resolution that "Theodore Gilmore Bilbo is unfit to sit with honest, upright men in a respectable legislaive body."

¶ In 1912, Bilbo was elected lieutenant-governor of the State. His first act, as chairman of the State Senate, was to have the resolution against him stricken from the records.

¶ In 1923, in a civilian lawsuit, Bilbo was cited for contempt of court, fined $100 and given 30 days in jail. Bilbo asked the judge to see him. When the judge came to the jail, Bilbo was not there. He served his time in the sheriff's house, the sheriff and his family moving out to accommodate him. Bilbo's meals were brought in to him by the President of the University of Mississippi.

¶ In 1928 Bilbo was elected governor of the state. His opponent had once called out the National Guard to save a Negro from being lynched. Bilbo hinted no Negro was worth calling out the National Guard to protect. That got him Ku Klux Klan support.

¶ During his four years as governor, Bilbo replaced 179 members of the faculties of state universities and colleges. As a result, all educational institutions in the state of Mississippi were banned from the Southern Association of Colleges.

When Bilbo left the governorship in 1932, the state was in the red—$11,500,000. There was cash on hand in the Treasury to the tune of $1326.27.

"That's all right," said Bilbo. "I'm broke, too."

During his governorship he said, "What Mississippi needs is . . . a Mussolini!" In 1929 a mob burned a Negro at the stake. Petitions for an investigation were rejected by Bilbo. "I have neither the time nor the money to investigate 2000 people," he said bluntly.

The Gentleman from Mississippi, written by Ira Marion for WMCA's *New World A-Coming* series, told of Bilbo's election to the United State's Senate in 1934. In his campaign he called his opponent "a cross between a hyena and a mongrel . . . begotten in a Negro graveyard at midnight, suckled by a sow and educated by a fool."

The judge who committed Bilbo to jail in 1923 was called before a Senate Committee in 1934. He told of his conversation with Bilbo thus:

"Bilbo gave me an account of his pecan orchard, how the pecan nuts are gathered every Fall by little Negroes; how he had to muzzle them while they were at work, search them after they had finished, as they would eat a pound a day, and carry off another in their pockets. And pecans at that time were worth nearly $1 a pound."

In 1938, Washington correspondents voted Bilbo the second most useless man in Washington. They failed to nominate a first choice.

The Gentleman from Mississippi cited these statements by Bilbo, made during his stay in the Senate:

¶ "The Germans appreciate the importance of race values. They understand that racial improvement is the greatest asset any country can have." Wed.-10-9-46

¶ "Let's send the Negroes in this country back to Africa."

¶ "Some Catholics in this country are lined up with some rabbis trying to bring racial equality to the Negroes."

¶ "The best way to keep the Negro from voting is visit him the night before."

¶ "I'm not interested in the N gro vote. The Negro doesn't vot Mississippi and he's not goi vote."

Bilbo Faces Loss of 'Mayor' Post

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — There is hope that Theodore G Bilbo may be ousted as chairman of the Senate committee for the District when Congress convenes. A recent congressional act reducing the number of committees in the Senate from 30 to 15 (including the District Committee) will result in a strict enforcement of the seniority rule for chairmanships.

The 15 senior Democratic seniors—assuming the party remains in power—will have first claim to chairmanships. As the list now stands, Biblo is 20th in the line of continuous service. He has been there since January 1935.

The Reorganization act also limits each Senator to membership on just two committees, not including the District Committee, and Bilbo is a member of the rules, pensions, library, commerce and agriculture committees.

Sat. 9-14-46

Bilbo's only chance to keep his District Committee chairmanship is for some other Senator with seniority to renounce his claim and this keen observers feel they will not do.

Bilbo acquired the title "mayor" of the district after assuming the chairmanship when two other Senators with seniority refused. But with the elimination of these committies, the senior Senators will fall back to other committees which they steered clear of in the past in order to retain chairmanships. Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Bilbo Flayed in Drama Presented Over N.Y. Radio

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 10-19-46

Voted 'Most Useless' by Washington Newsmen

Unfit to Sit With Honest Men in Legislature

NEW YORK—Among the many facts renewed about the character of Bilbo in the recent radio drama "The Gentleman from Mississippi," here over WMCA on Oct. 8 was that in 1938 Washington correspondents voted him the most useless man in Washington.

In 1909 when as a member of the State legislature, he accepted a bribe to change his vote, the State Senate passed a resolution saying, "Bilbo is unfit to sit with honest men in a respectable legislature," the script reported.

During his governership, he is quoted as saying, "What Mississippi needs is a Mussolini." When a mob lynched a non-white citizen and an investigation was demanded, the senator said, "I have neither the time nor money to investigate 2,000 people."

Cite Statements

"The Gentleman From Mississippi" cited these statements by Bilbo "The Germans appreciate the importance of race values. They understand that racial improvement is the greatest asset to any country."

According to the play, Bilbo was arrested for contempt of court in a civilian lawsuit in 1923, fined $100 and given 30 days in jail. He served his time in the sheriff's house, the sheriff and his family moving out to accommodate him.

Fired Faculty Members

During his four years as governor of Mississippi, Bilbo replaced 171 members of the faculty of State Universities and as a result the Southern Association of Colleges dropped them from their roll.

He is quoted as saying, "Some Catholics in this country are lined up with some rabbis trying to bring racial equality to the colored people. I am not interested in the colored vote. The colored man doesn't vote in Mississippi and he's not going to vote."

'Negro Loves You,' Memphis Cleric Tells Mr. Bilbo

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 9-14-46

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—"The Negro loves you," race baiting Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi was informed recently by Rev. G. A. Long, well known Baptist cleric of this city.

This startling bit of information that must have surprised even Bilbo, was contained in a letter addressed to the Senator by Reverend Long who is corresponding secretary-treasurer of the Evangelical Board of the National Baptist Convention of America.

The self ordained spokesman of the race had some other things to say in his letter that was a plea to the senator to lay off "the helpless Negro."

"Negroes are not seeking social equality," Reverend Long wrote. In concluding, the minister asked apparently with all sincerity: "Why not spend your time promoting better relations between the whites and the blacks?"

Bilbo's response to Reverend Long's letter has not yet been received.

He Says Don't Mix Races; I'd Rather, Says Bilbo's 'Niece'

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 11-9-46

DETROIT—(ANP)—Apparently indifferent to her "uncle's" theory that racial mixing leads to mongrelization, a white woman, said to be living with a colored man here, last week contended that she is the niece of Sen. Theodore Bilbo of Msisissippi, the infamous race baiter.

According to her story which has evoked much laughter and caustic comment, the woman, Mrs. Pearl F. Albright, says that her mother is Bilbo's sister.

One comment stated, "If true, Bilbo, who constantly suffers from a severe case of running off at the mouth in the Senate and in his home State, has not done such a good job after all with his white supremacy rabble rousing."

Shades of Chanel No. 5, Bilbo says Negro women stink!

Los Angeles California

Los Angeles Tribune

In an exchange of correspondence with a recently discharged Navy man, now living in Los Angeles, Theodore G. Bilbo, maniacal senator from Mississippi, sank to a new low when he declared that Negro women stink and advised white men who like the odor "to smell on."

Cal

Bilbo's letter, written to Guy H. Raner, Jr., of 551 Norwich drive, Los Angeles, accused Raner of having a "sweetie who has the odoriferous odor of the jungle."

1-14-46

"Of course, if you like it, smell on," Bilbo admonished Raner.

Raner began the correspondence with a letter castigating Bilbo for bringing shame upon the state of Mississippi, where the ex-serviceman was born. He attended the University of Mississippi for three years, Raner told the senator, adding, "but I have been lucky enough to have had the opportunity of living in 8 other states in the South, North, East and West, and while in the Navy to live for varying periods in Brazil and Hawaii and also to have attended two other Universities.

"It is naturally of great concern to me, not only that you should be doing this (spreading the racial ideas which caused the destruction of the Germans), but that there should be people in Mississippi who apparently think the same as you do to elect you to such a high position," Raner wrote.

Continuing, Raner said, "I wonder if the people of Mississippi realize . . . that merely mentioning the fact that one is from Mississippi now casts a social stigma in many circles, as though one would say, 'I am a Nazi' . . . and puts that person on the defensive to prove he is a self-respecting member of society, in spite of having lived in Mississippi."

1-14-46

In his reply, Bilbo, spewing his usual venom, advised his fellow stateman to "quit associating with Negroes, mongrels, half-breeds, communists, etc."

Expressing pity for the young man whom he described as "the type that would bring about the mongrelization of the races," Bilbo thanked Raner for writing him because his letter "shows just what funny types make up this world."

1-14-46

Bilbo Has Opposition For His Senate Seat

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 14—(AP)—Former Rep. Ross A. Collins has announced his candidacy for the U. S. Senate seat now held by Sen. Theo Bilbo in the Democratic primary of July 2.

Bilbo already has announced his candidacy for reelection.

Collins, who left the House in 1943 after 18 years service there from the Fifth Mississippi District, said in a statement that he "realized fully the vile wrath and denunciation that this announcement will provoke from the incumbent." He said he would pursue a course "to acquaint the people with all the facts."

"Our country is facing a tremendous challenge," Collins' statement said. "We hold the torch and the people of the world are looking to us to lead them from the ways of selfishness and destruction to the glory of permanent and God-given peace."

Industrial development in this country must go forward without interruption, Collins said, and each state must share in its prosperity.

The Times

MISSISSIPPI Just Two More Times

New York, N.Y.

Mississippi's Senator Theodore Gilmore ("The Man") Bilbo, still champion of white supremacy at 68, had an important communiqué for the waiting world. He smoothed his bright red necktie, adjusted the diamond horseshoe stickpin that he bought for $92.50 at a 1916 auction. Then he announced:

1-7-46

"After long meditation, cogitation and rumination, I have definitely made up my mind to run for re-election [to a third term]. . . . I am ready to wage the most strenuous fight of my life in an effort to defeat the Fair Employment Practices Commission, the anti-poll tax bill, the anti-lynching bill and the $4 billion loan to England."

Thereupon he threw open his campaign headquarters in Jackson's Royal Hotel, which gained his undying gratitude by extending credit when he was down on his luck in 1932. As one of 1946's first avowed candidates, he gladly spread his political philosophy on the record.

Universal military training? No, sir! Boys of 18 and 19 should not be taken out of school; they are "the seed corn of the Republic and the leaders of tomorrow." Besides, "if you draft Negro boys into the army, give them three good meals a day, a good uniform and let them shoot craps and drink liquor around the barracks for a year, they won't be worth a tinker's damn thereafter."

1-7-46

Those pickets around his Washington apartment? Humph! "When those poor scums read my new book—entitled *Separation or Mongrelization, Take Your Choice*—I'll bet they'll throw up a picket line a mile long. . . 1-4-46

"Those poor scums say they are going to picket my place every day that I sit in the Senate. I told them the other day they might as well get ready for 13 more years, because I have one more year to serve under my present term, and I intend to run for re-election two more times."

Negro Actor Requests Expulsion Of Bilbo

Montgomery Advertiser 2-1-46

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31.—(AP)—Canada Lee, Negro actor, petitioned New York's senators today to move for the expulsion from the Senate of Senator Bilbo (D), Mississippi, for his part in the filibuster against a Fair Employment Practices Commission.

A petition urging the expulsion and signed, Lee said, by 25,000 New York residents, was to be presented by him to Senator Mead (D), New York, later today.

The plea, specifically urging Bilbo's removal on the ground that his conduct is "unbecoming to a senator," also was addressed to Senator Wagner (D), New York, absent from his office because of illness.

2-1-46

"Senator Bilbo's entrance into the present filibuster against FEPC further confirms the fact that his presence in our Congress is a disservice to American institutions," Lee told a news conference.

Bilbo's 'Prejudices' Criticized By Savage In Congress Review

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 — (AP) — Rep. Savage (D., Wash.) criticized Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) Friday for what he called Bilbo's "fantastic prejudices" and said he hoped Mississippi would "see to it that he (Bilbo) does not have a further opportunity to spread his mischief after the next election."

Savage included his criticism in a review of the work of the last Congress which he said had done a splendid job on international affairs but had failed the people "shamefully" on housing and other domestic problems.

1-5-46

"The Congress appeared to feel that its rights had been trampled upon every time the president asked for progressive legislation," Savage said in his statement.

"I cannot blame the people of the country for being discouraged with such failures of Congress, but I hope they understand that many of us have been trying to enact a liberal, progressive American program but have been overwhelmed by reactionary forces in and out of Congress, spearheaded by tories like Sen. Bilbo, of Mississippi.

"Bilbo, himself . . . has little actual influence, but he does serve as a figurehead and inspiration for other more subtle and more dangerous reactionaries who are encouraged by the fact that Bilbo can do and say the things he does and still remain in Congress. . . .

"The people of this nation cannot expect to get a progressive program from Congress when they continue to return these reactionaries to office year after year.

"It is these reactionary elements who cry out the loudest for free elections in Europe and yet continue to deny their own people at home the right to vote by blocking the anti-poll tax bill. This affects all of America and is the business of all the American people."

A Mississippi Critic Of Senator Bilbo

An Editorial from the Pascagoula, Miss., Chronicle-Star.

ALMOST every time Senator Bilbo opens his mouth in Washington, he damages the name and prestige of the State of Mississippi where it really counts, and that is in the opinions and the feelings of the well-meaning people of America, wherever they may be.

His "dago" and "kike" letters were a disgrace and an outrage. He is going to find out that this kind of business actually turns the stomach of many a young Mississippi service man now returning.

They are going to remember "dagoes" like John Basilone of the Marine Corps, the Medal of Honor winner, who went back to die on Okinawa from a safe job in Washington. And they are going to remember the Jewish star symbols among the Christian crosses which show where the "kikes" are buried. Even civilians can see them. Just look at the pictures of the war graveyards that come out in news magazines.

Our Mississippi boys have not been out there fighting for the worst in our national character, but for the best, knowing we have not always lived up to it, but hoping at least that it would grow stronger, here in Mississippi and in the nation. Bilbo represents and speaks for the worst that is in us—for the residue of suspicion, meanness, unfairness, that exists to some degree in every human heart, and which the good instincts are constantly struggling to control and put down.

Bilbo is going to find out to his surprise the simple human decency that exists among the remote country people whose remoteness he depends on to bamboozle them with his agitation of the race question.

The war has filled these farmers with some sense of the ideals for which it was fought, and their returning sons are going to help them understand. We have actually talked to enough boys who feel this way, and enough of their fathers, to give rise to our belief that Bilbo in 1946 may very likely get the decisive political beating he has deserved since his corrupt administrations as Governor.

We are going to have the gratitude and congratulations of the rest of the South the day we retire this bad actor. Those are going to be the feelings of many of Mississippi's service men, who from the point of vantage of foreign service were able to see for the first time the real smallness and meanness of this man who professed to be the friend of the common man; and who learned for the first time the general contempt in which he is held, and the disgrace he has brought to Mississippi in the eyes of the world.

Bilbo Replies Savagely To Criticism By Savage

Poplarville, Miss., Jan. 4 (AP)—Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.) replied today to an attack upon him by Representative Savage (D., Wash.) with the declaration that Savage ought to go wash his mouth," and a boast that as long as he was in the Senate "carpetbaggers" would "never invade the South again."

Savage, reviewing the work of the past Congress, had said that efforts to enact a "liberal, progressive American program," had been "overwhelmed by reactionary forces in and out of Congress, spearheaded by tories like Senator Bilbo of Mississippi."

"Tell his to go wash his mouth," said Bilbo, at his home here, "It's dirty."

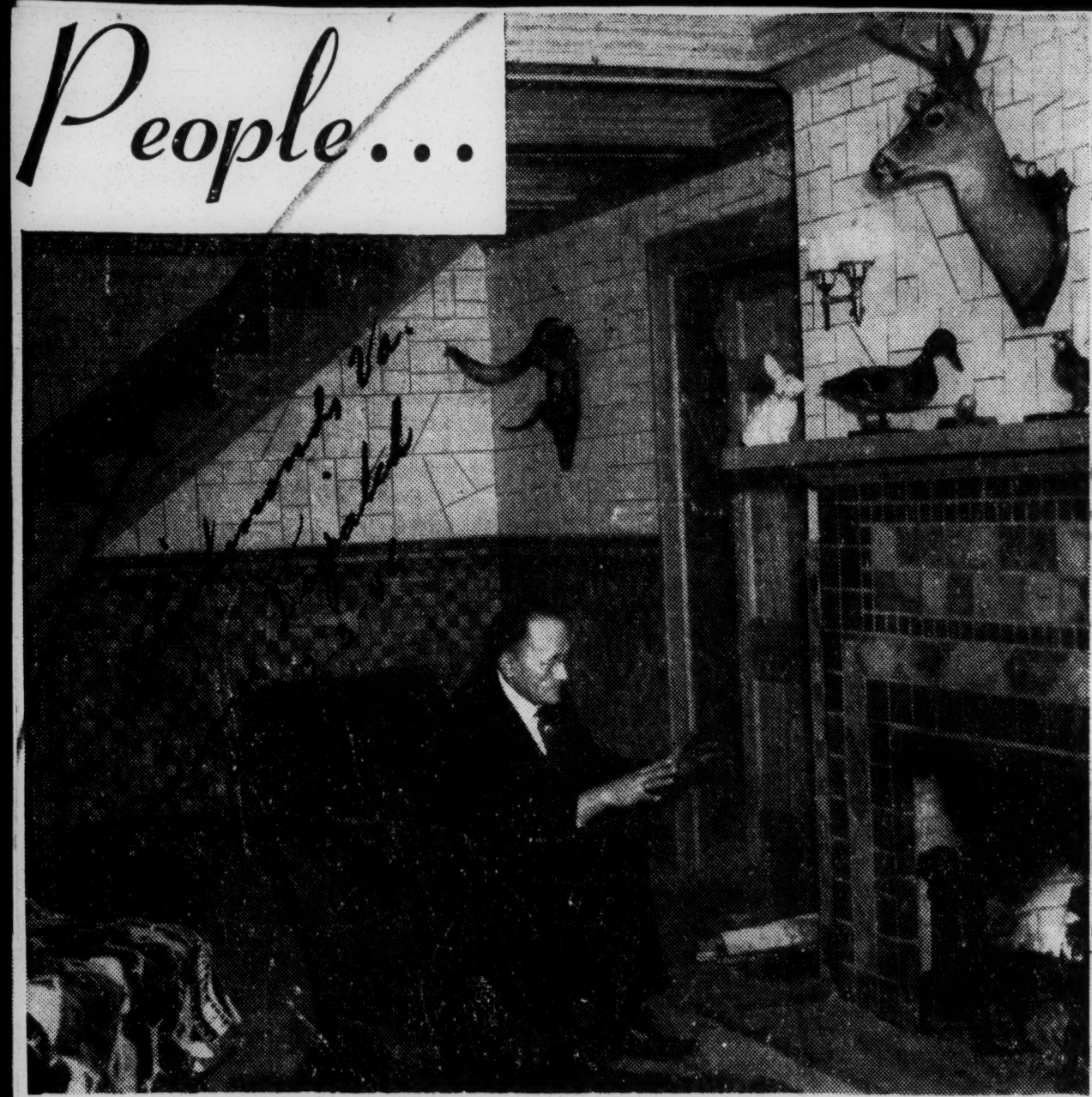
"Never Heard of Him."

"I have no reply to make to a man so inconsequential in the House that after being in Washington 11 years I have never even heard of him.

"If he thinks he can run the affairs of the South he is without doubt the biggest fool in Congress. He had better clean up his own front yard before he undertakes to dictate to the South."

Savage, in his Washington statement, criticized what he called Bilbo's "fantastic prejudices" and said he hoped Mississippi would "see to it that he does not have a further opportunity to spread his mischief after the next election."

People...



Mississippi's Senator Bilbo warms his hands before a fire in his 27-room 'dream house.' An orchid and black tile bathroom for the Senator is not the least of the house's 'advantages.'

Negro Actor Asks Expulsion Of Bilbo

Richmond, Va.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31—(AP)—Canada Lee, Negro actor, petitioned New York's Senators today to move for the expulsion from the Senate of Senator Bilbo (D-Miss.) for his part in the filibuster against a fair employment practices commission. 2-1-46

A petition urging the expulsion and signed, Lee said, by 25,000 New York City residents, was to be presented by him to Senator Mead (D-N. Y.) later today.

The plea, specifically urging Bilbo's removal on the ground that his conduct is "unbecoming to a Senator," also was addressed to Senator Wagner (D-NY), absent from his office because of illness.

"Senator Bilbo's entrance into the present filibuster against FEPC further confirms the fact that his presence in our Congress is a disservice to American institutions," Lee told a news conference.

"He has served notice," the actor continued, "that he cares nothing for the principle of majority rule provided by the Constitution which all Senators are sworn to defend. 2-1-46

"Enforce Majority Will"

"The citizens of New York call upon the Senate to meet this challenge, to enforce the will of the Senate majority, and enact the permanent fair employment practices commission.

"The national leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties have a responsibility to the American people to restore majority rule to the Senate."

The petition, circulated by the Citizens Commitee of the Upper West Side, New York City, stated:

"Bilbo has no place in a Congress which is pledged to extend democracy throughout the nation and the world. All his actions are against democracy.

"Bilbo is spreading racial and religious prejudice through his slanders against Italians, Negroes, Jews and Catholics. He attacks not only these but every democratic-minded person in the country. His rabid outbursts incite violence and terror in New York City, in the State and nation.

"Bilbo should be brought up on charges in the Senate for conduct unbecoming a member of Congress and expelled from that body." 2-1-46

THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Birmingham, Ala.

"To make the worse appear the better cause."

Rev. Herald Ala

True Bilbo, of Mississippi, to make the better cause appear the worse. The Lord gave him to us in the South for humility's sake, I suspect, to make us wonder if we are right even when we are. This section has certain interests so delicate and special that federal interfering is intolerable. They are so vital in our estimate that when interference is proposed there is every right to the filibuster and any other measure or maneuver that may prevent it. But from the Potomac to the Rio Grande—including the banks of the Mississippi—our sense of great right in great cause must be dimmed when Bilbo takes the floor and we see ourselves as he makes us be seen.

* * * 2-4-46

Probably Mr. Bilbo is assuring his reelection to the Senate with his part against the FEPC bill. He is on the right side and it is a dramatic issue and Mississippians naturally thrill to championship by their own man. But Mississippians might note that other men of the South a million miles from Bilbo in manner, point of view, self-control, sincerity and light, are in this fight, too. All is not Bilbo that filibusters at Washington. Let us pray that our Mississippi brothers will so observe.

* * *

If Mr. Bilbo undertakes to filibuster against the loan to Britain, as he says he will, here's hoping and believing his fellow Southerners will let him know the filibuster is a rare and special weapon, not for use whenever he doesn't like anything. Here's hoping, too, that a South which derives more from Britain, depends more on Britain, has more kinship with Britain, than any other part of this country, is not going to contribute to defeat of this loan on which England's future place as a great power may depend. In our American business as a great power we need Britain as one, too. In fact, we can't get along without her. 2-4-46

Bilbo's Texas

New York, N.Y.

Dear Editor:

Former Congressman Ross Collins, of Mississippi, has charged that Sen. Bilbo has paid only a total of $72 in income taxes to the Federal Government from 1913 to 1946. Collins ought to know that there's a clothing shortage and that it takes a lot of money to buy bedsheets to wear when you go out burning crosses. 2-30-46

LES FINNEGAN

Washington, D. C.

Bilbo Faces Roughhouse Brawl

Sunday-Star Herald 2-3-46

By Rod Sparrow
AP Newsfeature Writer

POPLARVILLE, MISS.—Senator Theo. G. Bilbo, of the red necktie and diamond stickpin, the unabashed prejudices and uninhibited tongue, faces a roughhouse fight this year to hold the United States Senate chair he has occupied for Mississippi since 1934.

Mississippi, which takes its campaign oratory straight, has no reason to disagree with Bilbo opponents, who are predicting "a nasty campaign" preceding the July Democratic primary.

Former Representative Ross A. Collins, latest opponent to announce, did so with the remarking that "I realize fully the wrath and denunciation that this announcement will provoke from the incumbent."

Collins, who was a Congressman for 18 years, is confident he is capable of standing up to the Bilbo broadsides and firing back.

issue, he knows exactly what he is doing, that he doesn't figure he's hurting himself with the followers who drop in to talk when he comes home to sit on the porch of his "dream house."

But within the limits of what is considered debatable in a campaign, his opponents expect to find plenty of Mississippi campaign rules are no rules ammunition. There are personalities here against dealing in personalities of candidates. Politics here are based upon men ditionally are based upon men and their followings rather than upon machines.

Bilbo's personality, and its appeal to large numbers of voters, perhaps can best be understood against the background of the State. He has created for himself, there is something about him—"I realize it easier to talk to them."

For instance, the "dream house." It is a handsome, spacious, brick mansion, which reminds one at first glance of a Colonial style mansion, which deals with the Negro question.

The second book will be entitled "Mississippi Politics," and begins to get the feel of his audience of crinoline titled "Mississippi Politics," and begins to get the feel of his audiences as he becomes more vigorous.

foxhunters. But will be based upon his 40-year experience with the subject.

red galluses as the third, not for general pub-

front porch re-

Other announced opponents are Douglas Smith, of Jackson, a comparative newcomer to politics, and Lieutenant-Commander Nelson Levings, USNR, of Gulfport, who has said he would file formally after his release from its active duty. Levings is a lawyer, with property and connections on the gulf coast and in the "delta" cotton empire in the northwest part of the State.

The campaign may not be along the lines the rest of the country might expect from reading of the reactions Bilbo has inspired in Washington. All politically wise Mississippians respect the fact that Bilbo's tactics have kept him in public office almost continuously since 1915.

"Saboteurs Of Democracy!"

BEHIND The HEADLINES

Journal & Guide — By ALBERT L. HINTON — Norfolk, Va.

Mississippi's Bilbonic, Eastland and Rankin Plague

Sat 2-23-46

BECAUSE the State of Mississippi, from time immemorial, has been afflicted with the Bilbonic, Eastland and Rankin Plagues, it has come in for more than its share of unfavorable publicity. It is most unfortunate that this is true inasmuch as there MUST undoubtedly be some good inhabitants of the commonwealth who are immune to the virus of racial prejudice.

MR. HINTON

But it is axiomatic that the good in some instances, must indeed suffer along with the bad, and the Commonwealth of Mississippi is a case in point.

But let's "give the devil his due," even if, as in this instance, his name happens to be Mississippi. For at last something good has come out of the state. Messrs. Bilbo, Rankin and Eastland won't like this, but the leading role in this little drama is played by a Negro Mississippian whose existence the "Unholy Three" probably won't even acknowledge.

There is a slim chance, however, that they've heard of Mound Bayou, a half-century-old all-Negro community in their beloved Mississippi, even if Dr. T. R. M. Howard is a perfect stranger to them. At that, it might do the trio good to make his acquaintance since the good doctor is doing his level best to remove from his state the stigma of the Bilbonic, Eastland and Rankin Plagues.

* * * *

Among other things, Dr. Howard is head of Mound Bayou's Taborian Hospital. The "other things" referred to include the new Good Will Park, a $40,000 recreational development, just one of a number of things Negroes of Mound Bayou are doing to enhance better living conditions under the leadership of the civic-minded young surgeon.

For Negro Mississippians to have a swimming pool of their own is something new under the sun, to say nothing of a recreation park where one may play tennis or croquet, build sand houses, watch a dozen monkeys perform, or hear a parrot talk.

How it all came about is told by Dr. Howard:

"Last fall, Mrs. Howard and I were having a brooder house built. After the sand and gravel had been brought in for the floor, each day the children from the community would come to play in the sand. But when I or some of the workmen would go toward the sand pile, the children would stop their play and stand with bowed heads as though they had committed an awful crime. Sat 2-23-46

"The thought came to me that the children of our community should have a sand pile where they could play and not have to feel a crime had been committed because they did so.

Dr. Howard's idea in founding the Park was to make living in Mississippi so good for Negroes that they would not feel the need to migrate to other sections in order to live fully.

"Since being in Mississippi," he continued, "I have talked to thousands of Negro youths, and have noted that the overwhelming majority of them state that they can only see hope for themselves in other parts of our nation. I have absolute faith in Mississippi and its tremendous possibilities. I want the Negro youth of Mississippi to see the green pastures of opportunity right here in Mississippi.

"There is nothing wrong with Mississippi that hard work, an improved educational system, a practical application of the religion of Jesus Christ, and real Jeffersonian democracy cannot solve."

* * * *

I am intrigued by the term "real Jeffersonian Democracy," which Dr. Howard is doing his best to exemplify. And by the same token, it is quite evident that Messrs. Bilbo, Eastland and Rankin haven't the slightest conception of its meaning.

But there is abundant hope, even for Mississippi, as long as time-tested liberals like author Thomas Sancton, with whom I had a pleasant chat about a year ago at a meeting of the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South in Atlanta, Ga., and others of his ilk, call the commonwealth home.

And there is hope, too, in the fact that no less than three of Bilbo's fellow Mississippians have dared to challenge "The Man" to mortal combat at the polls in the July Democratic primary in a try for the Senate seat he has held since 1934.

From the Readers

G.M. New York, N.Y.

Congress-Inspired

Dear Editor:

On the night of Feb. 13 in Sunnyside, L. I., the plate-glass windows of the store occupied by the Russian Relief were smeared in red paint with the word *Jude*, the Star of David, the hammer and sickle symbol, and the Swastika.

The neighbors were thoroughly aroused. Within 24 hours, several hundred of them turned out to a meeting and, determined to see that it does not happen again, they organized as the Citizens Emergency Committee.

It was the feeling of this meeting that this latest outrage was, in good part, inspired by the recent shameful outbursts in Congress against the Jewish people. We therefore urged our Congressmen to challenge all such insulting remarks made in the Congressional chambers. We urged this because we believe vigorous and steadfast opposition on the part of the Congressmen to the un-American speeches and conduct of the Rankins and Bilbos will go far toward discouraging the subversive forces at home.

NORMAN STUDER, *Chairman*
Citizens Emergency Committee
Sunnyside, L. I.

Times 2-28-46

Nothing is more despicable than to hear a representative of the people clearly show his prejudice toward a particular group.

The sooner guys like Rankin are "kicked out" of Congress, the sooner the country will begin to approach a democracy.

New York CAPT. LOUIS BERKOFSKY

POLITICAL NOTES

Time Chicago, Ill.

"Buttinsky Damyankees . . ."

Outside Mississippi, their names were a byword and a hissing. But if any outsiders thought that national contempt could defeat ugly little Theodore Gilmore ("The Man") Bilbo, 68, or frenetic John E. Rankin, 64, in Mississippi's Democratic primary, they were ignorant of Mississippi—and the South.

Last week, the returns were in, and the most sinister buffoons in the Congress of the U.S. were re-elected. Despite the scandal that has marked his 38-year political career, "The Man" had beaten four opponents to win a third Senate term by a 3,824 majority (fewer than 200,000 of Mississippi's 632,500 whites over 21 voted). Natty, ranting, John Rankin, who had not bothered to stump his district, was returned to the House for the 14th time.

Those who lost are happy too, for they have the satisfaction of knowing that Walter Winchell and a lot of his ilk failed to impress Mississippians . . . from without: BUTTINSKY DAMYANKEES OF NORTH, EAST, PLUS C.I.O., FAIL TO STOP STORMY PETREL.

For those outsiders who wondered what the answer was, Oliver Emmerich of the McComb, Miss. *Enterprise-Journal*, who had fought Bilbo on his editorial page, out." Headline on his editorial: had an illuminating one. Said he: "Those individuals who won with Bilbo are happy.

Senator Claghorn—Magnolia Cum Laude

Times Dispatch

SOMEBODY predicted recently that Senator Beauregard Claghorn — the radio character, that is—would soon fade from view because there aren't enough gags expressing his fervent admiration for the South to keep him going indefinitely. But this statesman who never looks at a compass because it points to the North, who picks his teeth only with Southern pine, who refuses to visit the Yankee Stadium, and who wears only Norfolk jackets, is going strong. Indeed, when we tuned him in, as usual, on Sunday evening, he was going stronger than ever. Richmond, Va.

"When Ah went to college in the Deep South," boomed the Senator, "Ah was voted the member of the senior class most likely to secede. Ah was graduated *magnolia cum laude*." There was also a rather priceless college yell which we were unable to grasp in its entirety, but which contained something about "black-eyed peas" and "Confederacies" (rhyming with one another), and it came to a stirring climax in "Hit that line—MASON and DIXON, that is!" Tues 4-30-46

All of which is highly diverting. Claghorn is really in a class by himself. As we said in an editorial on March 22, "all this is amusing, certainly, to Southerners, who know what nonsense it is." We also said at another point that CLAGHORN "is a laughable cuss, surely." But wurrah, wurrah! CONGRESSMAN HENRY D. LARCADE, JR., of Louisiana, somehow got hold of an abbreviated version of the editorial, which omitted the two paragraphs containing our complimentary references to the Senator. Not only so, but he read the truncated version into the *Congressional Record*. Then *PM*, of New York, carried a story based on the *Record*. The result, as our readers may have noticed, is that we have beeen getting letters from such places as Los Angeles, Brooklyn, Hartford, etc., etc., belaboring us for not having a sense of humor and for making an "attack" on Senator Claghorn for the purpose of diverting attention from BILBO, RANKIN and other ornaments of Southern statesmanship!

It seems almost futile to try and straighten out so many misconceptions. In the first place, the original editorial was not intended as a serious discussion of anything. It was written more in the nature of a divertissement, both for the writer and, it was hoped, for the reader. It did express the hope, in somewhat facetious language, that Northerners would not get the idea that all Southerners went around "roaring in the Claghorn manner," and that we would not all be written down as "nitwits and foghorns like Senator Claghorn."

Obviously the Senator is a caricature, one of the most delightful caricatures we have ever encountered, and he is probably more fully appreciated in Dixie than anywhere else. Some have seen in him an effective antidote to such clowns as BILBO and RANKIN, but we are unable to take him that seriously. He is simply the archetype of the professional Southerner, without any of the professional Southerner's disagreeable characteristics — the julep-sipping, seegar-smoking colonel in broad brimmed black hat, who knows that one Southerner can lick 10 Yankees, raised to the Nth degree.

In this chaotic postwar world, torn with strife and threatened with atomic bombs, Senator Claghorn is like a refreshing breeze, a Dixie breeze, that is.

Miss. Publisher Says Voters Share Bias of Bilbo, Rankin

Balto. American

Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK.—As advocates of racial prejudice and class hatreds, Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo and Congressman John Rankin are representative of Mississippi's voting majority, an analysis by a native son reveals in the May issue of Salute, new veterans' magazine and civilian successor to the famed army magazine Yank. 5-11-46

The writer, Hodding Carter, Greenville, Miss., publisher and former officer is charge of Yank's Middle East Bureau in Cairo, Egypt, pulls no punches, but warns that it would be "dangerously misleading to present Rankin and Bilbo as ignorant, violent men—and nothing more." 5-11-46

Conflict Feared

The article says that to know Bilbo and Rankin better, one must know what Mississippi and its voters are like and why.

"In Mississippi," Carter says, "the man with a foreign name and alien features is suspected, together with Catholicism, inquisitive Yankees and higher education for colored people:" and "a very real expectation and fear of imminent racial conflict exists "among even the more liberal white Southerners." 5-11-46

This conflict is blamed on "the Southern white demagogues on the one side, and, on the other, the colored and white spokesman for the colored race who make proposals or demands presently impossible for Southern acceptance."

MISSISSIPPI'S TWIN STATESMEN HAVE GROWN

The Nation New York, N.Y. Sat. 11-23-46

so used to playing on the wrong side of the aisle in Congress that it took more than a week for them to discover that, like Democrats everywhere else, they were on the losing end of the affair of November 5. That pertinent fact has now been driven home to them by two arresting incidents. First, the Republican steering committee has decided that it will challenge the right of Senator Bilbo to take the oath when Congress convenes in January. Charges that he intimidated Negro voters in the primary campaign and took a toll in graft from war contractors will then be referred to the Rules Committee. Whereas a two-thirds' vote would be required to oust him once the oath were taken, a simple majority is all that is required to keep him from taking his seat in the first instance—and the Republicans, perhaps with an eye on the Negro vote in 1948, apparently intend to use their newly won majority for that purpose. The second blow of the week for the Mississippi coalitionists came in the form of a slap at John Rankin by J. Parnell Thomas, which is news of the dog-bites-dog variety. Mr. Thomas, who is slated to become chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities when the Republicans take over, condemned the "star-chamber proceedings" in which Rankin, sitting as a tyrannical one-man subcommittee, subjected that very distinguished scientist, Dr. Harlow Shapley, to his usual bullying tactics. When Dr. Shapley very properly resisted this invasion of his rights as a citizen, Rankin threatened to cite him with contempt of Congress. But this time the Mississippian overshot the mark and, finding even his usual supporters joining his critics, was forced to back down.

Mississippi's Gift To The Nation

Mississippi's second greatest statesman, Congr. Rankin, has scared himself half to death. He's found a couple of Russian boogey-men. One is hiding in Oak Ridge. The other meets with Sen. McMahon's atomic control committee. If Rankin has his way, he'll save the country from them both. His committee on un-American activities is on the alert. Too bad the FBI didn't get there first. If only Hoover depended on tips from Rankin!

The McMahon bill is now before the House, and the committee members discussing it there seem to be in a great dither. Congr. May, who has another slight worry on his mind, says he thought he was doing what the Army wanted when he demanded that at least one member of the permanent commission be a military man. Maybe he forgot that the commander in chief, the secretary of war, the secretary of the navy and the chief of staff all agreed on civilian control as the best policy. There are so many things that May would like to forget that his memory must play him embarrassing tricks these days.

Sen. Millikin and Sen. Hart, an ex-admiral, are on the McMahon committee. They've had a new experience. They've been called fellow travelers. By whom? You'll never guess. By, of all people, Mrs. Luce. Had those gentlemen lived to be 100, they never could have expected that sort of attack. Well, boys, live and learn.

But, as you might suppose, that shoutin' Mississippian, that lover of American rights, that protector of white supremacy—Rankin—has made the most noise. His stooge, Ernie Adamson, an investigator for the un-American committee, is rushing back to Washington from Oak Ridge with the dope. He's found out that some of the scientists there have been in contact with foreign powers. Maybe he's just heard of the *Physical Review* which carries learned articles on nuclear physics and is read all over Europe, including, presumably, Russia. It makes no difference to Rankin that the one body in the world most likely to know what's going on in Oak Ridge, the Society of Oak Ridge Scientists and Engineers, has sent a telegram to Speaker Rayburn charging that Rankin and his friends are "maliciously trying to mislead their fellow congressmen." If the charges have the slightest bit of truth to them, says the telegram, then "obviously military control is no solution and a change must be made, since military control has always existed in Oak Ridge." But Rankin is a wise man and knows best. He wants an Army man on the commission because he trusts the Army; he never heard, he says, of a traitor in the Army. Is it possible that Mississippi has never heard of Benedict Arnold?

But the situation is too serious for jocular treatment, really. The un-American committee hasn't yet proved to sensible citizens that it's worth what it costs. If, instead of looking for Communists under scientists' beds, it spent a little of its time and money looking for Fascists under a sheet, it would do more good. But Rankin ignores the re-emergence of the K. K. K. as a factor in American life. Is it because it's too much of a factor in his own life? Most of us see far less danger to the world in McMahon's bill than we do in the mouthings of a little old man from Mississippi.

45c 1946 Mississippi (Rankin)

New Campaign to Abolish 'Rankin' Group

P.M. New York Wed. 3-13-46

Reproduced here is an advertisement announcing the formation of Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee—the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The ad is slated for the New York *Times* and other papers throughout the Nation. Chairman of the group, which is planning a mass rally in New York, is Norman Corwin, radio writer and director; executive secretary is Townsend Hand. Members include Albert Einstein, Henry Seidel Canby, Bernard DeVoto, Howard Fast, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Edna Ferber, Rabbi Steven Wise, Arthur Schlessinger, Harlow Shapley, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Fredric March, Jo Davidson, Kirtley Mather, and William Jay Schieffelin.

HOW ABOUT YOU? We don't know who is next, but we do know who is eligible. Other organizations are already under attack. Your organization may be next. It may be you. All you have to do is talk. Talk of freedom . . . talk of peace . . . talk of jobs . . . talk of tolerance . . . talk of international cooperation . . . talk of unity . . . talk against Fascists. You won't talk long. You'll have to stop talking. You know why? It's "un-American"!

Wed. 3-13-46

You can't talk . . . . it's Un-American

Who says it's Un-American?

You Can Help — If You Act

1. WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN
2. WRITE YOUR LOCAL NEWSPAPER AND RADIO STATION
3. SEND THE COUPON WITH YOUR CONTRIBUTION

CITIZENS UNITED TO ABOLISH
THE WOOD-RANKIN COMMITTEE
Suite 170, Hotel Astor, B'way & 45th St.,
New York 19, N. Y.

I agree with you and want to support your effort. Enclosed find contribution for $.....

NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
CITY ..... ZONE ..... STATE .....

Rankin, Unhappy at Vet Report, Asks for Another

P.M. New York Wed. 3-13-46

By WILBUR H. BALDINGER
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Mar. 13—Rep. John E. Rankin (D., Miss.), the tireless tick from Tupelo, started all over again today to try to get his unruly House Veterans Committee to say what he wants it to say against charges that patients have been mistreated in veterans' hospitals.

The shock-haired little poll-taxer, losing an intra-committee attempt to blame abuse of the patients on "conscientious objectors and Negro troops" assigned to Veterans Administration hospitals, said he would name a new subcommittee to prepare a new report on last year's investigation of VA facilities.

The committee headed by Rankin turned down a subcommittee report submitted by Rep. John S. Gibson (D., Ga.). It contained some critical passages which pained Rankin, but ended up with non-sequitur praise for VA policies and practices under the former administration of Brig. Gen. Frank T. Hines, for whom Rankin has been a chief advocate.

Explaining that the committee felt Gibson's report was "too detailed," Rankin said yesterday the new subcommittee would work out "more of a general statement of what we found out" about such VA charges as those documented in PM by Albert Deutsch in a series of stories last year.

As drafted by Gibson, the first findings said that Army assignment of COs and Negroes to duty at VA hospitals "has caused some mistreatment and maltreatment of patients." Wed. 3-13-46

The subcommittee at the same time recommended wide reforms in hospital administration and said the VA should make periodic undercover investigations of its neuropsychiatric facilities.

Such Rankin opponents on the committee as Rep. William J. Green, Jr. (D., Pa.), and Rep. Leo F. Rayfiel (D., N. Y.) objected to the Gibson group's findings as too uncritical. And they did not accept the proposition that blame for hospital brutality should be traced to COs and Negro attendants instead of to the supervisory VA staff under Hines.

It was expected that Rankin would now try to stack his new subcommittee so that its report would be a boiling-down of charges and findings to fit into a bucket of whitewash. In this process, embarrassing details could be eliminated.

MR. RANKIN GROWS RANKER

John Rankin, of Mississippi, who seems to try his best to represent violently the very worst thinking of the Magnolia State, does not mellow with time. He still throws emotional fits when people say or do things that displease him—and Mr. Rankin is hardly ever pleased. Birmingham News

When Jimmy Roosevelt recently was quoted as saying, "The other side can have Bilbo and Rankin, of Mississippi," the Mississippi gadfly came back with a hot one across the back fence. He said, "Poor Jimmy, he may not know it, but he is no longer in a position to speak for the Democratic party. He has now joined the Communists." Ala.

This bad-tempered reply from Congressman Rankin probably did not bother Jimmy Roosevelt. But it came in bad grace from the little mop-haired demagogue from Mississippi, who spends more time on the Republican side of the House than with the Democrats.

Rankin is used by the Republican leadership in the Congress. And he seems to get some of his ideas from people that the Republican chieftains would disown. There is a gross similarity between some of Rankin's wild tirades and the hate poisons that are being spread by some people who would foment all sorts of religious and racial strife.

Rankin belongs to Mississippi—but he does damage to the whole South. 3-25-46

For a decade or so the South was without a storming voice that made Southerners shiver in their boots in sheer embarrassment. But Rankin emerged as the whirlwind with a Southern accent. Monday.

It is too bad he wasn't born in Minnesota or Maine. Then we Southerners could laugh at his antics rather than trying to close our eyes.—Gadsden Times.

Probe The KKK? 'Nonsense,' Says Poll-Taxer Rankin

Bulletin

WASHINGTON—If Rep. John Rankin (D., Miss.) is right, a Congressional appointed committee departed this week on a "nonsensical" mission to Georgia.

Investigators for the House un-American Activities Committee were scheduled to leave early in the week for on-the-spot study of the Ku Klux Klan's menacing revival in the deep South. Queried last week, red-baiting Committee Chairman Rankin hailed investigation of the CIO-PAC and Communist activity, but termed an inquiry on the "hate everybody" Kluxers as nonsense.

Rep. Landis (R., Ind.) cautiously commented that "some complaints" received by the committee resulted in the investigators being dispatched for a preliminary study to "see what's behind the revival." Chicago

Can it be that the "Anti" congressman from Mississippi stopped talking long enough to hear, finally the angry voice of the people? Ed. 6-1-46

Rule House for 3 Hours

Rep. McCormack

Rep. Douglas

They Were Rankinized

Republicans Help Rankin

P.M. New York Jan. 27-46

Vote With Poll-Taxer in Attacks on Liberal Colleagues

By MILTON MURRAY
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28.—An "open for business under new management" sign has not yet been hung on the Republican Party headquarters. But for three hours yesterday Republican Representatives rallied to the leadership of anti-Negro, anti-Semitic John E. Rankin, Tupelo, Miss., Democrat.

By a series of thunderous votes Communists" and anyone else who and in almost a solid bloc, the Re- criticizes the Un-American Activi- publicans enabled Rankin to rule ties Committee. the roost for an attack upon Rep. Adolph J. Sabath (D., Ill.), "the head of conflict with Speaker Sam Rayburn. At another he was shouting challenges interpreted as "the verge of blows" at Majority Leader John W. McCormack.

Highlight of the fray came when Rankin failed by only two votes to apply a parliamentary throttle to the Representative he had attacked, a gag that would have prevented Sabath from giving either defense or reply.

Roll Call Switch

Republicans choked a little on this one. When a roll call was demanded that put them on record, Congress. The blank check power

49 abandoned Rankin—nine switching their votes after the roll had been called.

While Rankin raged and the House raveled its way through a series of parliamentary snarls, the top-priority Housing Bill intended to provide homes for 2,700,000 American families—most veterans'—was sidetracked.

Rankin bounced into action after Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas (D., Cal.) had given a one-minute speech warning that conduct of the Un-American Activities Committee is undermining confidence in

voted the Committee is being used, Mrs. Douglas said, "to attack innocent people, to villify them, frighten and intimidate them."

Mrs. Douglas brought up the charge that Chester J. Niklas, a recently-added Committee investigator, had warned Prof. Clyde Miller of Teachers' College, Columbia University:

"You should tell your Jewish friends that the Jews in Germany stuck their necks out too far and Hitler took good care of them and that the same thing will happen here unless they watch their step."

Thur. 2-28-46

Starts Rankin Off

At mention of the pet committee he fathered on the opening day of Congress with a parliamentary trick, Rankin whooped to his feet with a demand for an hour to reply to "personal attacks."

Ruled out of order by Speaker Rayburn, Rankin appealed the decision of the chair. When Majority Leader McCormack moved to table the Rankin appeal, Rankin frothed at McCormack that he would "take you on anytime." McCormack accepted the invitation but the contest was kept at the verbal stage.

Rankin withdrew his appeal from Rayburn's decision but took the floor on a point of order that Sabath had violated House rules by insertion into the Congressional

Rep. John E. Rankin
Who's Un-American?

Record of Feb. 19 of a criticism of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Rankin accused Sabath of following the Communist Party "line" in deleting the word "activities" from the committee title and in accusing it of "witch-hunting."

Crying that the Committee was seeking "to preserve the Nation and protect the American way of life," Rankin moved that Sabath's criticism be stricken from the *Record*.

A motion to table—which would have shut off the Un-American Committee discussion and permitted the House to proceed with its scheduled business—was twice voted down. Thur. 2-28-46

Rankin then carried on with his blast that the critics of the Committee were all following the Communist line. He defended Niklas and argued that Professor Miller was allied with Communists.

Defending the sounding board offered Gerald L. K. Smith, Rankin said the Committee would "cross-examine any witness that comes before it." And when a Congressman is to be investigated "that member will be notified in advance," he promised.

Rankin did not indicate which members of Congress the Committee may have in mind to investigate.

Defending the Committee's attempt to get the scripts of unfriendly radio commentators, Rankin jumped off onto one of his favorite subjects. Ignoring any record established by Hitler, Rankin shouted:

"Walter Winchell is doing the Jews more harm than any man who ever lived."

(Because of his Congressional immunity, Rankin cannot be sued for such statements.)

As he finished his attack, Rankin, a master parliamentarian, moved the previous question. This motion, if carried, would have ended all debate, preventing Sabath or anyone else from speaking.

With Rankin pointing his finger at the proper time, Republicans rose with only six exceptions to support his gag motion which carried, 139 to 80. But on the following roll call putting House members on record, the gag was beaten, 185 to 161, after 12 members had switched from "yes" or "present" to "no."

Sabath was applauded when he said he had stricken voluntarily from the *Record* any parts of his criticism that could have been taken as personal by Committee members. He stuck to his complaints against agents of the Committee and charged that Rankin has led the Committee away from "investigation of really subversive elements."

The entire brawl collapsed when Rankin then withdrew his motion to delete Sabath's letter from the *Record*. Three hours behind schedule the House took up the question of housing. (See Story, Page [redacted])

Psst: Mr. Rankin:

An Alien! His Folks Came Here in 1634

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

By LOUISE MITCHELL Sat 4-13-46

There are congratulatory wires, thank you wires, singing wires and sad news wires. But Ernie Adamson, fingerman for the Rankin Un-American Activities Committee, yesterday received a wire that thumbs its nose at the recipient.

It was sent by Augustus L. Richards of Remsen, N. Y. who told Adamson that he sent a $5 donation to the National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism and now the bloodhounds can come and get him.

Remsen, a retired Wall Street lawyer whose ancestors, he said, were foreigners who came here in 1634, told Adamson that he hoped Congress would repudiate the Rankin committee. He submitted a series of questions and answers on himself and his family to assist Adamson, who is snooping to find the financial backer of the said National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism.

"Hearing that you are in search of all sources of financing of National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism," Remsen wired, "beg to advise I have just sent a check for $5 to that organization, together with petitions to Congress signed by self and family on form number 25131, praying that body repudiate your committee by passing the Dickstein House Concurrent Resolution 89 condemning the un-American activities you are engaged in."

"Glad any time to submit myself to examination by your committee," stated the wire, "but to save you trouble and expense of coming up here will answer questionnaire by wire, as follows:" Sat 4-13-46

"Q. Full name

"A. **Augustus L. Richards**

"Q. Age

"A. **66**

"Q. Color of skin

"A. **White**

"Q. Color of hair

"A. **Ditto (when last seen)**

"Q. Color of eyes

"A. **Blue**

"Q. Hair straight or kinky

"A. **Neither. None**

"Q. Occupation

"A. **Lawyer (retired)**

"Q. Business address

"A. **None—formerly 1 Wall St., New York**

"Q. Religion

"A. **To the best of my recollection, Protestant**

"Q. Are you of American or foreign stock

"A. **Foreign**

"Q. If foreign, from what country or countries immigrant

"A. **On father's side, Wales; on mother's side, England**

"Q. Names of immigrants, dates and ports of entry

"A. **Mother's side, Thomas Loring, Plymouth, Dec. 23, 1634; father's side, Owen Richards, New York, 1815.**

"Q. Have you a Catholic in your family

"A. **Not at present, but deceased maternal grandmother's middle name was Kelly**

"Q. Are you Jewish in whole or in part

"A. **I hope so, but can't prove it**

"Q. Have you any Jewish names in your family or ancestry

"A. **Yes**

"Q. If so, state each such name with relationship

"A. **Paternal grandfather named Benjamin; paternal uncle, Joseph, Jonathan; father's and grandson's names, David; mother and sister's names, Esther**

"Q. Do you subscribe to or read any Jewish, Negro, Catholic newspapers, periodical, or other publication

"A. **Yes**

"Q. If so, state names of each such publication

"A. **Jewish, New York Times; Catholic, The Commonweal; Negro, The Journal and Guide of Norfolk, Va.**

"Q. Have you any Catholic, Negro, or Jewish books in your dwelling house

"A. **Yes** Sat 4-13-46

"Q. If so, state titles and names and authors

"A. **Too numerous to list. Samples are: Catholic—Author, Frederick W. Faber; title, "Hymns"; Negro—Author, Alexandre Dumas; title, "The Three Musketeers"; Jewish—Authors, Moses, Solomon, Saul of Tarsus, and other Jews; title, The Holy Bible**

"Q. What is your opinion of Hon. John E. Rankin

"A. **He is a — — — —**

(four words deleted by censor)

Rankin Funds

An Editorial in The Washington Post

It cannot be doubted that behind the House grant of a $75,000 appropriation to the Committee on Un-American Activities there lies a sincere apprehension about the efforts of Communists to subvert the American political system. The apprehension being so genuine, the House ought to have found a better instrument for dealing with the problem. The Wood group has had status as a standing committee for nearly a year and a half and has given the House exactly nothing for its money. There has come out of its investigations not a single legislative recommendation which the House has seen fit to approve. There has not even been anything which could be called a report. There have been wild announcements of intention to probe subversion in Hollywood, in UNRRA, in OPA— and all of them have come to naught. There have been endless hearings and smearings—but not a single constructive proposal, not a single indictment, not even an exposure of anything that hasn't been common gossip for a decade. 6-1-46

If the House really wants an investigation of un-American activities, it will have to begin by finding investigators who have some understanding of what is and what is not un-American. The present group takes a somewhat oversimplified view of the problem. Its settled policy seems to be, as Representative Celler put it, that "anyone who disagrees with the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Rankin) is a Communist or un-American." Mr. Rankin himself offered proof of this appraisal in the course of the debate on Friday. "I hold in my hand," he said, "a letter written to a man and his wife in New York by a communistic group asking them to raise $50,000 to send down into my district to defeat me for reelection to the Congress." A desire to see Mr. Rankin retired from Congress seems to us less than proof positive of Communist affiliation. B'ham, Ala.

In giving the Wood Committee a new appropriation, the House has done something a good deal more serious than the patent dissipation of public funds which is entailed. It has acted to nourish an incubus fastened upon its own back. Its own prestige cannot fail to suffer so long as the committee's antics are carried on in its name.

45c 1946

Missouri

EDITOR NAMED TO STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

The Afro-American, Baltimore, Md.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—Gov. Phil Donnelly has appointed Editor J. E. Mitchell of The St. Louis Argus to membership on the new bi-partisan State Board of Education for a two-year term. He is a Democrat. Sat. 7-6-46

45c 1946 New Jersey

Hill Takes Seat As Lone Negro In Jersey Assembly

The Journal & Guide
Norfolk Va
1-19-46

Staff Correspondence

TRENTON, N. J.—The lone Negro member of the State Legislature, Dr. J. O. Hill, was sworn in here last week. The Assemblyman, a Newark physician and civic leader, was presented several floral pieces by numerous well-wishers from Essex County, the county-seat of Newark.

Dr. Hill who sponsored the anti-discrimination legislation which created the State FEPC (Division Against Discrimination of the Department of Education), is a native of South Carolina, and a graduate of S. C. State College and Meharry Medical College.

In addition to his political chores, Assemblyman Hill is affiliated with the Bethany Baptist Church, Newark, where he is president of the Men's 400 Club; member of the executive board of the Newark YMCA and for several years has served as chairman of the board of management to the Court St. Branch Y.—VW. 1-12-46

45c 1946 New York

Vernon Riddick, 7th N.Y. Negro Judge, Sworn In

Chicago Defender, The 2-9-46

NEW YORK—Vernon G. Riddick, New York's second Negro magistrate, was sworn into office Friday by Mayor William O'Dwyer at City Hall.

The 48-year-old lawyer said after the brief ceremony that he realized the responsibility he had been given and would do everything in his power to deserve it.

A former lieutenant-colonel in the Army, Riddick begins a ten-year ten at a yearly salary of $10,000. He was the new administration's first major Negro appointment.

Seventh Negro Serving

Riddick is the seventh Negro now serving in the city's courts. In 1930 Charles E. Toney and James S. Watson were elected to the Municipal Court and share the distinction of being the first colored judges. They were both reelected in 1940 for another ten years.

Justice Myles A. Paige, of Special Sessions, was appointed by former Mayor F. H. LaGuardia in 1936. The first Negro women to serve the courts is Justice Jane M. Bolin, of the Court of Domestic Relations, who was appointed in 1939 for 10 years. Justice Hubert T. Delany also serves this court.

Highest paid Negro judge is Justice Francis E. Rivers. He was elected in 1943 to the Manhattan City Court at a salary of $17,500 per year.

The new magistrate was an assistant attorney general for New York from 1937 until he joined the Army in 1941. He was in the Central Pacific from 1942 to 1944 as commanding officer of the 359th Anti-Aircraft Battalion. A member of the 389th National Guard before the war, Riddick rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel before he was placed on inactive duty on Nov. 2, 1944. 2-9-46

Riddick is a graduate of Howard University and Howard Law School and the senior partner of the law firm of Riddick, Doles and Gill at 209 W. 125th st. During the recent mayoralty campaign, he served as executive director of the Independent Citizens Committee for O'Dwyer in Harlem.

President of the Carver Democratic Club, Riddick lives with his wife and two children, Gail, six years old, and Vernon C. Jr., six months old, at 40 Morningside ave. He is a native of Portsmouth, Va.

The reception room leading into the coutr. Left to right: Magistrate Anna M. Kross, Magistrate Vernon C. Reddick, Samuel Markle, president of the Metropolitan Council of B'nai B'rith, who furnished the rooms, and Chief Magistrate Edgar Bromberger. The New York Times

NY Pastor Named School Trustee

Afro American, Baltimore, Md. Sat 5-11-46

NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y. — The Rev. Clarence M. Long, pastor of Bethesda Baptist Church, last week became the first non-white person to be appointed to the local board of education, when Mayor Stanley W. Church named him to succeed Edward D. Loughman, who requested retirement. The new school trustee was among six prominent colored representatives whose names were presented for consideration by the Mayor's Interracial Committee. The others were:

Dr. William A. Burton, physician; Dr. Uriel S. Gunthorpe, dentist; Thurman O. Hunt, grocery store manager; Dr. Frederick W. Pierce, physician; and Dr. Leon W. Scott, dentist.

Mrs. Minton Almost In

Another strong candidate for the position, backed by an independent group and supported unofficially by the P-TA of Lincoln

REV. CLARENCE M. LONG,

School, was Mrs. Bertram F. Minton, recommended because of her consistent work on behalf of colored children in the city.

While not proposed by the Interracial Committee, it was understood that the fact that three women are already members of the board, militated against Mrs. Minton's appointment, although she was among those favorably considered.

Mayor's Tribute

Mayor Church said of the Rev. Mr. Long:

"He is ably qualified for this position. His experience in several states in education, I believe, will contribute much to the continued efficiency of our school system.

"His distinguished service as a member of the War Council, where he served with Lee J. Eastman, has proven his value to the community, and his unflagging interest in civic affairs."

Fruitful Career

The Rev. Mr. Long, a native of Victoria, Tex., attended and was formerly an instructor in printing at Bishop College, Marshall, Tex., and was an honor student at Upsala Swedish College in East Orange, N.J., being the first non-white graduate there.

He studied theology at Virginia Union University, Richmond; received his master's degree from Drew University in New Jersey; and his doctorate in Sacred Theology in 1929 from Virginia Union.

The Rev. Mr. Long formerly pastored historic Bank Street Baptist Church in Norfolk, Va., where he was active in civic and interracial affairs.

Champions Good Schools

He was a member of the citizens' committee which fought successfully for construction of the $500,000 Booker T. Washington High School, and was their spokesman when the request was made to the Norfolk city council.

In Charlottesville, Va., he led a consistent drive while pastor of the First Baptist Church there for erection of a high school which bore fruit after he was called elsewhere.

He pastored also in Hampton, Va., East Orange, N.J., and St. Louis, in all of which cities he played a stellar role for better schools, and worked zealously with the courts and juvenile officers to reduce juvenile crime and delinquency. Sat 5-11-46

The Rev. Mr. Long is current secretary and former president of the Interracial Inter-denominational Ministers' Alliance here, and member of the Mayor's Interracial Committee. He is the father of three grown children.

Dewey's Chain Gang Politics

Let's Face It

By Max Gordon

Daily Worker, New York 5-24-46

LORENZO REED, escaped prisoner, is back on a Florida chain gang, condemned to years of hard labor, torture and possible murder because of the political ambitions of the Governor of New York.

Reed is not the first Negro victim of Southern barbarism to be sacrificed to those ambitions. In 1948, despite powerful popular protest, George Burrows was sent back to Mississippi by Gov. Dewey.

Last year, James Corley was returned to South Carolina after Dewey had signed extradition papers. A hundred years ago, New Yorkers did not behave that way. They were sending escaped Negro slaves not back to the South, but on to Canada and freedom, despite oppressive federal laws that made a state FEPC. The proposal, in the form of a couple of bills, languished in committee.

Members of the commission, including Dr. Channing H. Tobias, at that time Negro member of the national board of the YMCA and politax had a prominent Republican, made desperate efforts to communicate with the Governor by phone, wire and direct visit, to get him to move out the bill. They found every avenue barred to them.

In the final days of the legislative session, when public clamor for the bill had become terrific and it was about to be forced onto the floor, Dewey sent a message up proposing another commission to "study" the proposals of his own commission. That killed action for 1944. Fri. 5-24-46

Dr. Tobias and eight other members of the Governor's commission thereupon resigned. Later, Dr. Tobias revealed that at the very time the commission had submitted the bill to the Legislature, Lt. Gov. Joe R. Hanley was in the South lining up Republican convention delegates to support Dewey, and the North Carolina Republican Committee had on that day voted unanimously for a "Draft Dewey" movement.

Dr. Tobias charged flatly that Dewey did nothing to back the bills of his own commission "because he did not care to incur the displeasure of the Southern Republican organizations."

* * *

THE GOP may not have many voters down South but it does have a good-sized group of delegates to the GOP national convention who frequently vote as a bloc.

No one can doubt that to the great mass of New Yorkers today, the Governor's actions in returning Negroes to the hell of political "justice" are revolting. Where they had a chance to fight, as in the Burrows case, there was a strong protest movement. Usually, however, the Governor tries to slip the dirty job over quickly and quietly, hoping no one will learn about it. The newly-organized Civil Rights Congress got wind of the Reed case at the last minute. Fri 5-24-46

WHAT makes Dewey behave this way? The answer can be found in a sensational story of two years ago, when the first battle for a state FEPC took place in the Legislature.

A state anti-discrimination commission, set up by Gov. Lehman, and continued, with new personnel, by Gov. Dewey, had proposed the Legislature early in 1944 that it establish a state FEPC.

45c 1946 New York

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NY Pastor Named School Trustee

Afro American Baltimore, Md. Sat 5-11-46

NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y. — The Rev. Clarence M. Long, pastor of Bethesda Baptist Church, last week became the first non-white person to be appointed to the local board of education, when Mayor Stanley W. Church named him to succeed Edward D. Loughman, who requested retirement. The new school trustee was among six prominent colored representatives whose names were presented for consideration by the Mayor's Interracial Committee. The others were:

Dr. William A. Burton, physician; Dr. Uriel S. Gunthorpe, dentist; Thurman O. Hunt, grocery store manager; Dr. Frederick W. Pierce, physician; and Dr. Leon W. Scott, dentist.

Mrs. Minton Almost In

Another strong candidate for the position, backed by an independent group and supported unofficially by the P-TA of Lincoln

REV. CLARENCE M. LONG,

School, was Mrs. Bertram F. Minton, recommended because of her consistent work on behalf of colored children in the city.

While not proposed by the Interracial Committee, it was understood that the fact that three women are already members of the board, militated against Mrs. Minton's appointment, although she was among those favorably considered.

Mayor's Tribute

Mayor Church said of the Rev. Mr. Long:

"He is ably qualified for this position. His experience in several states in education, I believe, will contribute much to the continued efficiency of our school system.

"His distinguished service as a member of the War Council, where he served with Lee J. Eastman, has proven his value to the community, and his unflagging interest in civic affairs."

Fruitful Career

The Rev. Mr. Long, a native of Victoria, Tex., attended and was formerly an instructor in printing at Bishop College, Marshall, Tex., and was an honor student at Upsala Swedish College in East Orange, N.J., being the first non-white graduate there.

He studied theology at Virginia Union University, Richmond; received his master's degree from Drew University in New Jersey; and his doctorate in Sacred Theology in 1929 from Virginia Union.

The Rev. Mr. Long formerly pastored historic Bank Street Baptist Church in Norfolk, Va., where he was active in civic and interracial affairs.

Champions Good Schools

He was a member of the citizens' committee which fought successfully for construction of the $500,000 Booker T. Washington High School, and was their spokesman when the request was made to the Norfolk city council.

In Charlottesville, Va., he led a consistent drive while pastor of the First Baptist Church there for erection of a high school which bore fruit after he was called elsewhere.

He pastored also in Hampton, Va., East Orange, N.J., and St. Louis, in all of which cities he played a stellar role for better schools, and worked zealously with the courts and juvenile officers to reduce juvenile crime and delinquency. Sat 5-11-46

The Rev. Mr. Long is current secretary and former president of the Interracial Inter-denominational Ministers' Alliance here, and member of the Mayor's Interracial Committee. He is the father of three grown children.

Dewey's Chain Gang Politics

Daily Worker, New York 5-24-46

Let's Face It

By Max Gordon

LORENZO REED, escaped prisoner, is back on a Florida chain gang, condemned to years of hard labor, torture and possible murder because of the political ambitions of the Governor of New York.

Reed is not the first Negro victim of Southern barbarism to be sacrificed to those ambitions. In 1948, despite powerful popular protest, George Burrows was sent back to Mississippi by Gov. Dewey.

Last year, James Corley was returned to South Carolina after Dewey had signed extradition papers. A hundred years ago, New Yorkers did not behave that way. They were sending escaped Negro slaves not back to the South, but on to Canada and freedom, despite oppressive federal laws that made a state FEPC. The proposal, in the form of a couple of bills, languished in committee.

Members of the commission, including Dr. Channing H. Tobias, at that time Negro member of the national board of the YMCA and a prominent Republican, made desperate efforts to communicate with the Governor by phone, wire and direct visit, to get him to move out the bill. They found every avenue barred to them.

In the final days of the legislative session when public clamor for the bill had become terrific and it was about to be forced onto the floor, Dewey sent a message up proposing another commission to "study" the proposals of his own commission. That killed action for 1944.

Dr. Tobias and eight other members of the Governor's commission thereupon resigned. Later, Dr. Tobias revealed that at the very time the commission had submitted the bill to the Legislature, Lt. Gov. Joe R. Hanley was in the South lining up Republican convention delegates to support Dewey, and the North Carolina Republican Committee had on that day voted unanimously for a "Draft Dewey" movement.

Dr. Tobias charged flatly that Dewey did nothing to back the bills of his own commission "because he did not care to incur the displeasure of the Southern Republican organizations."

• • •

THE GOP may not have many voters down South but it does have a good-sized group of delegates to the GOP national convention who frequently vote as a bloc.

WHAT makes Dewey behave this way? The answer can be found in a sensational story of two years ago, when the first battle for a state FEPC took place in the Legislature.

A state anti-discrimination commission, set up by Gov. Lehman, and continued, with new personnel, by Gov. Dewey, had proposed to the Legislature early in 1944 that it establish a state FEPC. The proposal, in the form

Dewey is still in the race for the GOP Presidential nomination and still wants the backing of southern GOP delegations, as Burrows and Reed have good reason to know.

Fri. 5-24-46

The same political motives are behind Dewey's refusal to intervene in the Freeport case. There can be no excuse for a Governor not to investigate publicly when a Negro GI in uniform and two of his brothers, one a vet, are shot down by a cop, as in Freeport. When the Army and Navy give the soldier and his wounded sailor brother a clean bill of health, the failure to act is even more shocking.

But Freeport is in Nassau County, which gave Dewey perhaps the largest plurality in the nation in 1944. It is THE Republican stronghold in the state and District Attorney James N. Gehrig, the man Dewey is covering, is a power in county politics. Nassau County boss, J. Russell Sprague, is a close pal of Gehrig and, as the Republican National Committeeman from New York, is the man Dewey is counting on to put him over in 1948 as he did in 1944. Fri. 5-24-46

So Dewey is keeping hands off Freeport.

Politics is also the reason Dewey has put the wraps on the state FEPC. It was passed in 1945 after the greatest popular movement behind a legislative measure the state has ever seen. That pressure could not be denied, especially after the outburst of popular anger following Dewey's 1944 betrayal.

But its passage got Dewey into trouble with some of his Republican and big business cronies. It made things tougher for him as far as the Southern GOP is concerned. He is now engaged in impressing his reactionary associates, who provide the political base for his operations, that the measure is really harmless when administered by the "proper" people with the "right perspective."

N.Y. Welfare Appointment Regarded as Mayor's Best

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md

Sat. 8-24-46

Dr. Heningburg, on Job Three Months, Aids in Handling 100,000 Persons on Relief Roll

DR. ALPHONSE HENINGBURG

NEW YORK — When Mayor O'Dwyer named Dr. Alphonse Heningburg, a lecturer in the School of Education of New York University, to be secretary to the Department of Welfare, approval everywhere signified that this appointment was the Mayor's best since he took office.

No other local person is better suited to handle this important job in a department which is known as one of the most liberal and democratic, where colored employees are fully integrated into all positions and classifications.

$6,000 a Year Job

Dr. Heningburg's term, which began May 31, is four years and carries an annual salary of $6,000. Upon taking office, he fell heir to a backlog of two years' work that needed immediate attention.

"One of the striking facts about the department's work is that the New Yorker, generally, is uninformed on the tremendously important minorities which constitute our present relief load," he said.

"It is extremely difficult for the average citizen to realize that we are working with more than 100,000 persons, all of whom have a definite claim on our services and sympathies."

Specific Duties

Dr. Heningburg's work is threefold: he is in charge of staff and community relations, and represents the department in negotiations to obtain co-operation of other city departments and social agencies in handling community situations.

As director of staff relations, he holds sessions with representatives of grievance committees with relation to problems of the staff.

In the field of community relations, he explained: "It is part of our job to see that relief clients are not exploited, to keep the community informed of what is going on, so that when prices go up, we can state our case for more money for our clients."

He described schemes used against relief clients, and efforts made by the office to rout the would-be-exploiters. For instance, chiselers tell those on relief that if they will give them $5 they'll "fix things" so that they will receive $10 in relief appropriations.

1st Secretary

The Department of Welfare never had a secretary before Dr. Heningburg, the work being handled by a staff relations director.

He has a secretarial staff of three persons. Miss Ella Scott, who is in charge of his office, is a veteran of seven years of experience in the depatment and highly efficient in her work.

The course which Dr. Heningburg offers at New York University is called "Racial Contributions to American Culture." Indicative of his interest in community services is his relationship to the following organizations:

Member of the advisory board of the East-West Association; board member of the People's Institute on Applied Religion, and advisory board member of the One-World Book Club.

Native Alabaman

Dr. Heningburg is 44. He was born in Whistler, Ala. He is a graduate of Tuskegee Institute, Grinnell College, an honor graduate of the University of Paris, and holds the degree of doctor of philosophy in educational administration from New York University.

Prior to his present position, Dr. Heningburg served as personnel director of Tuskegee, headed Department of Education at North Carolina College and was affiliated with the National Urban League.

Hobbies are cabinet making, gardening, fishing and camping. He is married and lives at 112-27 176th St., St. Albans, Queens, with his wife, Willa Mae, and his two sons, Gustav, 16, and Michael, 8.

Dewey Attacks N.Y. Democrats

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md

Hits FEPC Pledge, Denounces Bilbo

Sat. 9-14-46

ENDORSES IRVING

Democrats Reaffirm Civil Rights Program

ALBANY, N.Y. (NNPA) — Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate to succeed himself, on Sept. 5 attacked the plank respecting a fair employment practices commission in the Democratic platform and denounced Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (Dem., Miss.)

Quoting the Democratic declaration in favor of a FEPC, the Governor said that a similar pledge was made in the 1944 national platform and that nothing was done about it.

With respect to Bilbo, he asserted, "They condemn Bilbo but he is theirs and they can't get rid of him."

Liberal Platform Pledges

The platform adopted by the Democratic State Convention, Sept. 5, contained planks pledging the State Democratic party, to support President Truman's "progressive" domestic legislative program.

It also pledged the party to work for the enactment of a permanent fair employment practices act, a Federal antilynching law and abolition of the poll tax throughout the United States.

Bilbo's Elimination Pledged

The Democratic convention also went on record as favoring the dissolution of "the Dies-Wood-Rankin" un-American activities committee, and in the same paragraph added:

"We denounce Bilbo and Bilboism and will support measures legally to eliminate Bilbo from Federal office and influence."

With respect to civil rights, the Democratic platform reaffirmed determination in all its forms.

Governor Dewey's endorsement of Assemblyman Irving M. Ives, sponsor of the Ives-Quinn anti-discrimination law, as candidate for U.S. Senator was approved by the Republican State Convention.

Sen. Jams M. Mead was chosen as candidate for Governor by the Democrats; and former-Gov. Herbert H. Lehman was nominated as candidate for the U.S. Senate.

N.Y. Vet Gets Probation Post

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK—Joseph R. Dorsey, former captain in the South Pacific, recently was sworn in here as an assistant deputy chief probation officer. All others who have held that post in this city have been white.

Mr. Dorsey, who has been attached to the Probation Department since 1936, was born in Omaha, Neb., and was graduated from Western Reserve University. He was connected with the State Division of Parole for two years.

He spent five years in the Army and at the time of his discharge last year, was assistant to the Commanding General of the Transportation Corp at the Port of Embarkation in San Francisco.

New Deal for Harlem

The News and Courier Tues. 1-7-47

The New York Herald Tribune commends this sanctimonious statement of Mayor O'Dwyer:

"Mississippi is a long way from New York, but God knows it is not far enough away". Charleston, S. C.

The newspaper's editorial was praising appointment of a negro as deputy commissioner of housing and buildings in Harlem, with special instructions to be the mayor's general observer and special reporter. The appointment, says The Herald Tribune, "is an important step up for him (J. Raymond Jones) as well as another significant recognition of the negro's right to important public office. The latter, of course, has become almost commonplace in New York, but it is worth recalling".

The new deputy commissioner is a Tammany district leader, and the appointment, so long as the negro constituents of the segregated district known as Harlem are an important voting bloc, is a deserved political reward. The democratic leaders in the South would be passing out plums too if they counted on negro votes to elect them to office. Tues. 1-7-47

Mayor O'Dwyer's instructions to Commissioner Jones are to "spread the word that Harlem is entitled to a decent deal". The inference is that to date, Harlem has not been getting a decent deal, a situation amply verified by reports of squalor and violence long emanating from that quarter.

The News and Courier

If Mayor O'Dwyer succeeds in producing a model city for negroes, with the assistance of New York taxpayers, he will not only pay a political debt, but he will create a haven to draw increasing numbers of discontented negroes. Mississippi may be a long way from New York, as Mayor O'Dwyer says, but it is not too far to travel from by train, bus and airplane. Charleston, S. C. Tues. 1-7-47 His words should be spread among those who care to accept the implied invitation to his city.

45c 1946

As New Magistrate Took Oath in N.Y.

Former Lt. Col. Vernon C. Riddick is shown taking the oath from Mayor William O'Dwyer last Friday to become New York's seventh judicial official. Magistrate Riddick's term extends for ten years at a salary of $10,000. The ceremonies were held in the Mayor's office.

New York

BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR., former president of Wilberforce University and executive secretary of the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, has been appointed an official delegate to the food conference of the United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Administration to meet in Atlantic City March 15. His appointment was announced last week by the State Department.

Dr. Tobias' Blank Check to Governor Dewey

The Worker N.Y.

by Benjamin J. Davis

DR. CHANNING H. TOBIAS, former senior secretary in charge of Negro work of the YMCA, played an important and constructive role in the 1944 elections. Long a Republican, he took an independent position and substantially helped to expose the reactionary Dewey-Bricker ticket of his own party. When Dewey ditched the New York state FEPC early in 1944, he publicly resigned from Dewey's commission and then went on to give factual evidence that Dewey's move was part of a plan to garner polltax support in the deep South for his personal presidential ambitions. Dr. Tobias supported President Roosevelt. Dr. Tobias thus made a contribution to the cause of the Negro, to the alliance of the Negro with labor and other progressives, and to the general progress of the country.

2-3-46

Life moves on, and other events have transpired with respect to Dr. Tobias. He has now become one of the directors of the philanthropic Phelps-Stokes Fund. But most interesting, it seems to me, was his exclusive interview on Jan. 12, in the **Amsterdam News**, unofficial Dewey-Republican weekly in Harlem. Said he of Gov. Dewey: "He has done an excellent job. He deserves great credit. Gov. Dewey has met the test in three major areas: in housing, in employment and in his appointments. The record is there; no one can deny it." Since Dewey is still running for office, the implications of Dr. Tobias' statement are clear.

FIRST, housing: Isn't it true that Dewey has refused to appropriate all of the funds earmarked for housing in the state treasury? Isn't it true that "Stuyvesant Town" is being built as an anti-Negro housing project because Gov. Dewey signed the housing redevelopment law without safeguards against racial and religious discrimination? Isn't it true that Dewey's Republican legislature refuses to enact a law barring discrimination in privately-owned apartments and residences? Why must we have large slum areas with $500,000,000 in Dewey's state coffers?

2-3-46

Second, employment: Isn't it true that unemployment is growing throughout New York, while Dewey thinks only of oiling his Republican machine upstate with tens of millions in road building? Isn't it true that there's widespread job discrimination in New York, right under the nose of the state FEPC? Has Dewey, titular head of the GOP, raised his voice to the Republicans in Congress to sign the discharge petition for a permanent federal FEPC? Isn't it true that we did not get the state FEPC until delegations of thousands pressured Dewey and his Republican legislature in Albany? Isn't it true that the Negro people and other racial and religious minorities, plus labor and progressives got the state FEPC—and not Dewey? What has Dewey said in support of the present wage and full employment struggles of the trade unions?

Third, appointments: Is Dr. Tobias satisfied with Dewey's appointments? The number Negroes have received? Have they helped the conditions of the people? Suppose he had given twice the number to Negroes—as important as that would be—does that solve the problem of the vet looking for home and job, or the worker on the picket line, or the Negro who gets the door of discrimination slammed in his face?

* * *

DR. TOBIAS is right: no one can deny Dewey's record. But it is hardly "excellent," and I have given here only a part of the Dewey record. The vote for Dewey's candidate, Goldstein, scarcely gave Dewey a vote of confidence. Nothing, it seems to me, has appeared in Dewey's record in the last year which would justify Dr. Tobias in issuing a blank check of endorsement to the man he justly denounced 12 months ago, and ought still to be denouncing. 2-3-46

It is understandable how Dr. Tobias, and tens of thousands of other Negroes, are fully disillusioned and disgusted with the Truman-Democratic administration. But that does not mean jumping from the frying pan back into the fire. On the contrary, it requires carrying independent political action a little further for the 1946 congressional elections, so that in 1948 a national third party can save the people from a Truman frying pan or a Dewey fire. Otherwise, the fundamental lesson of 1944—that it, the need to build the Negro-labor-progressive alliance—will be tragically missed.

Wishful Thinking, Reactionary Style

by Benjamin J. Davis

A HANDFUL of self-appointed "guardians of the people" who are short on common sense but crudely reactionary have been asking that Mike Quill, American Labor Party Councilman, be removed from the Council. One may be astounded by their nerve, but perhaps they intend to pursue their wishful thinking further. The information that such an insane proposal exists has already been mentioned on the floor of the Council.

I have received from the City Club of New York a long letter quoting numerous sections of the city charter purporting to "justify" the removal of Councilman Quill. There was, of course, nothing in this document citing any sections of the charter to show what could be done to give the transit workers decent pay, or to eliminate racial discrimination—or to do anything else to make New York a better place to live in. That, it appears, does not interest the City Club. Sun. 3-3-46

MEANWHILE a Brooklyn Catholic priest in the same vein denounced Councilman Quill simply because he is on the progressive side of public issues and because he is not a red-baiter. In the course of this pronunciamento, the priest went on to say quite gratuitously that one couldn't be a Catholic and a member of the Communist Party. Sun. 3-3-46

It is quite clear that with his reactionary views, this priest would never be accepted into the Communist Party. But there is no reason for him to impute his reactionary views to all other Catholics. For there are millions of progressive Catholics in this country and there are some who are members of the Communist Party.

This development shows that once a Frank Fay is permitted to use his Catholic creed to cover outright fascists and reactionaries, it eventually extends to denouncing Catholics who are progressive. Religious freedom must be upheld in this country—we don't have enough of it. Yet when men of the cloth begin to speak politically, not religiously, they must slug it out politically with those who differ from their political views—which is another American freedom we don't have enough of. Sun. 3-3-46

* * *

I WONDER if the City Club happens to know that Councilman Quill is an elected official of New York, receiving over 75,000 votes of the people. I wonder also how many members of the City Club have been elected as "spokesmen" by the people of this city. Mike is a fighter for the interests of labor and the people. Who is the City Club? No doubt powerful interests are behind it.

Needless to say, Councilman Cacchione and myself and other Councilmen will oppose tooth and nail the absurd proposal of the City Club. And this club, incidentally, can take this expression of my views as a reply to its preposterous letter.

* * *

Next week, I shall announce the name of this column. Thanks to all who sent in so many very good proposals.

New York City Pays Its Negro Judges $85,000 Annually

The Amsterdam News, Mar. 30, 1946

Detroit — The recent appointment of Vernon Riddick as a justice by Mayor William O'Dwyer brought New York City's judges up to seven and their salaries to over $85,000 annually.

Justice Francis E. Rivers of the City Court is the highest paid of the seven, receiving $17,500 in his yearly pay check. The only woman among the seven is Justice Jane Bolin of the Court of Domestic Relations whose salary is $12,000. Justices Myles Paige of the Special Sessions Court and Hubert Delany of the Court of Domestic Relations also receive $12,000 per annum.

The two of New York's Negro judges who were first to serve on the bench, Justices James S. Watson and Charles L. Toney, each receives $10,840 per year. They and Justice Rivers hold elective offices while the other four judges were appointees of the mayor of the city. Justices Bolin, Delany, and Paige were appointed by former Mayor LaGuardia. Newest judge, Vernon L. Riddick, receives a salary of $10,000. Thurs. 3-28-46

Headlines and Pictures in its March issue presents the stories of New York's seven municipal judges. Informal pictures of the judges illustrate the story.

HOME TERM COURT OPENS TOMORROW

New York Times, N.Y.

Tues 4-30-46

Newly Established Part of the Magistrates Bench to Handle Only Marital Tensions

KROSS IS NAMED TO SIT

Playroom to Care for Children as Parents Are Interviewed on Their Difficulties

A "progressive step" in court operation is to be made tomorrow when the newly established Home Term Court will open at 300 Mulberry Street. Designed to handle only cases involving martial difficulties, the Home Term, part of the Magistrates Court, is making a complete departure from legal formalism without loss of dignity or decorum.

Preliminary inspection of the court was permitted yesterday by Chief Magistrate Edgar Bromberger who showed the seven rooms comprising the Home Term to Acting Mayor Vincent Impellitteri and Police Commissioner Arthur W. Wallander.

Furnished at a cost of more than $2,000 by the B'nai B'rith Metropolitan Council, the court has four consultation rooms, a reception room, a playroom for children, and a kitchen.

Magistrate Kross Assigned

Chief Magistrate Bromberger, who revealed that Magistrate Anna M. Kross had been assigned to the court indefinitely, explained how it will operate. He said married couples suffering from "post-war tension difficulties" would be interviewed in the consultation rooms. The court's jurisdiction extends to all family disturbances, other than felonies, finding their way into the Magistrates Courts, either through arrest or by issuance of a summons.

If there are children, they will be cared for by a hired staff of social workers in either the playroom or an adjacent outdoor playground equipped with sandboxes and swings, while the parents are discussing their troubles.

The playroom is decorated to fit a child's dream. Two huge play pens, small tables and chairs, comic books, a phonograph, dozens of dolls, high chairs, and other toys complete the lively furnishings.

Old Vault Now a Kitchen

Tues 4-30-46

An old vault now serves as a kitchen where milk can be prepared for the children. In the consultation rooms, plush red, green and blue chairs provide a comfortable atmosphere where family troubles may be explored with less tension than was possible before.

Plans for the establishment of the Home Term were drawn by the Home Advisory Council, composed of a number of social and religious groups, in cooperation with Mr. Bromberger. The court will seek to descover fundamental causes for the differences between the couple and attempt to apply a solution that will preserve the home and assure a proper atmosphere for the children.

A panel of magistrates eventually will be assigned to care for the 3,000 to 4,000 cases expected annually. At present the court will serve only Manhattan, but should it prove successful, similar Home Terms will be set up in the other four boroughs.

Once Police Headquarters

The rooms used by the court served as police headquarters from 1862 to 1910, then as the chief magistrate's office, and through the war as offices for the City Patrol Corps, air raid warden groups, other civilian defense services, and for the Police Athletic League.

"If the plan proves effective," Mr. Bromberger declared, "it will serve as a typical method of approaching the great social problems involved in marital difficulties, and will exert a beneficial influence in the community by restoring harmonious conditions in numerous homes torn by dissension.

"The influence it will exert on children will be of incalculable value when harmony is substituted for discord." Tues 4-30-46

Commisioner Wallander concurred, saying that the court was a "progressive step in the right direction." Also present at the ceremonies were Leonard Probst, Commissioner of Probation; Fannie Hurst, the novelist, and representatives of the advisory council.

BRINGING THE INFLUENCE OF THE HOME INTO THE COURT

The playroom for children in the new Home Term Magistrates' Court

Dean Named To Post In United Nations

The Defender, Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 10-12-46

NEW YORK—Dr. William H. Dean, member of the National Urban League's executive staff and formerly OPA price executive for the Virgin Islands, last week joined the United Nations secretariat as economic affairs officer specializing in the development of backward areas.

In accepting the United Nations post, Dr. Dean resigned as director of the Urban League's community relations project, a position he has held for the last two years.

A top-flight economist in the field of location of industry and economic development, Dr. Dean's writings on the subject have been assigned to students in economic history courses at Harvard and Yale. He read a paper on the technical aspects of locational theory before the Economic History Association at Williamstown, Mass., in 1942.

The new United Nations secretariat member is a graduate of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me., summa cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa. He received his Ph.D., from Harvard, where he held the university's highest award in economics—the Henry Lee Memorial Fellowship.

After serving on the Atlanta University faculty from 1933 until 1942, he became a senior OPA economist and later price executive for the Virgin Islands from 1942 to 1944. While price executive for the Virgin Islands, he installed the islands' price control program and acted as OPA liaison officer with the Agricultural Marketing Administration in arranging shipments of food and essentials into Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands during the war.

In 1939 Dr. Dean served on the faculty of the City College of New York as lecturer in economics. In 1940 and 1941 he was consultant to the National Resources Planning Board, a New Deal agency.

45c 1946 New York

New York Labor Sec. Diggs 'Is Doing a Tough Job Well'

Amsterdam News New York

2-16-46

Nearly two years have passed since the appointment of Mrs. Bertha Diggs to the post of Secretary of the Department of Labor. Many things have happened since that time both in the field of labor and in the department itself.

Working in direct cooperation with the Industrial Commissioner, Edward Corsi, Mrs. Diggs is an administrator in the Department. In the huge organization, which influences and supervises the entire State in the field of labor, she functions as a direct link between the office of the Commissioner and the assistant administrators.

Lesson in Democracy

In her large office in the State Building here Mrs. Diggs talked about some of the high points in her work since she took office in 1944.

"As a member of the Industrial Council," she said, "there is a real lesson in the democracy in our department, evidenced silently by the mere fact that I am at present in a position to aid in the formation of policy."

She explained that the Council was composed of representatives of labor, industry and a group of physicians (the latter important because of the part they play in the administration of Unemployment Compensation.) With these men, and the Commissioner, Mrs. Diggs aids in the mapping out of all-over policy for the Labor Department.

Her Daily Routine

"We work on many things here," Secretary Diggs stated. "Under us, the laws governing labor in the State, including wages and hours, industrial hygiene, safety devices and standards for apprentices, are administrated."

This was just a part of the list of things which come to the attention of Mrs. Diggs each day. There is the Division of Industrial Relations, which includes laws protecting women and children. The Labor Relations Board, Board of Mediation, Workmen's Compensation and the Board of Standards are all a part of her department's field.

Mrs. Diggs laughed when she told of some of the jobs which the department supervises. "We even give a great deal of attention to mattresses,' she said. In order to clear up any doubts that this was a job of the department, she explained that there are certain standards which must be maintained, under the law in all industry. If a mattress, for instance, is marked "all new material" and the analysts in the department find that the statement is not true—charges are brought and an unlawful situation cleard up.

Covers Broad Scope

"We are not concerned only with members of labor unions and management," she added. "Our work touches every person in the State, in one way or another." After the explanation concerning the mattress this was not too hard to believe.

2-16-46

The Department of Labor is so large, so intricately set up, that only those who took time out to make a detailed study of it would be able to understand all of its branches. One thing is obvious, however, even from a short visit. Mrs. Diggs is handling a big job and doing it with gusto.

In the words of Commissioner Corsi, "She is getting a tough job done well." What more could anyone ask?—C. C.

LAUDED: Mrs. Bertha Diggs, Secretary of the New York Department of Labor, "is getting a tough job done well," says Labor Commissioner Corsi. 2-16-46

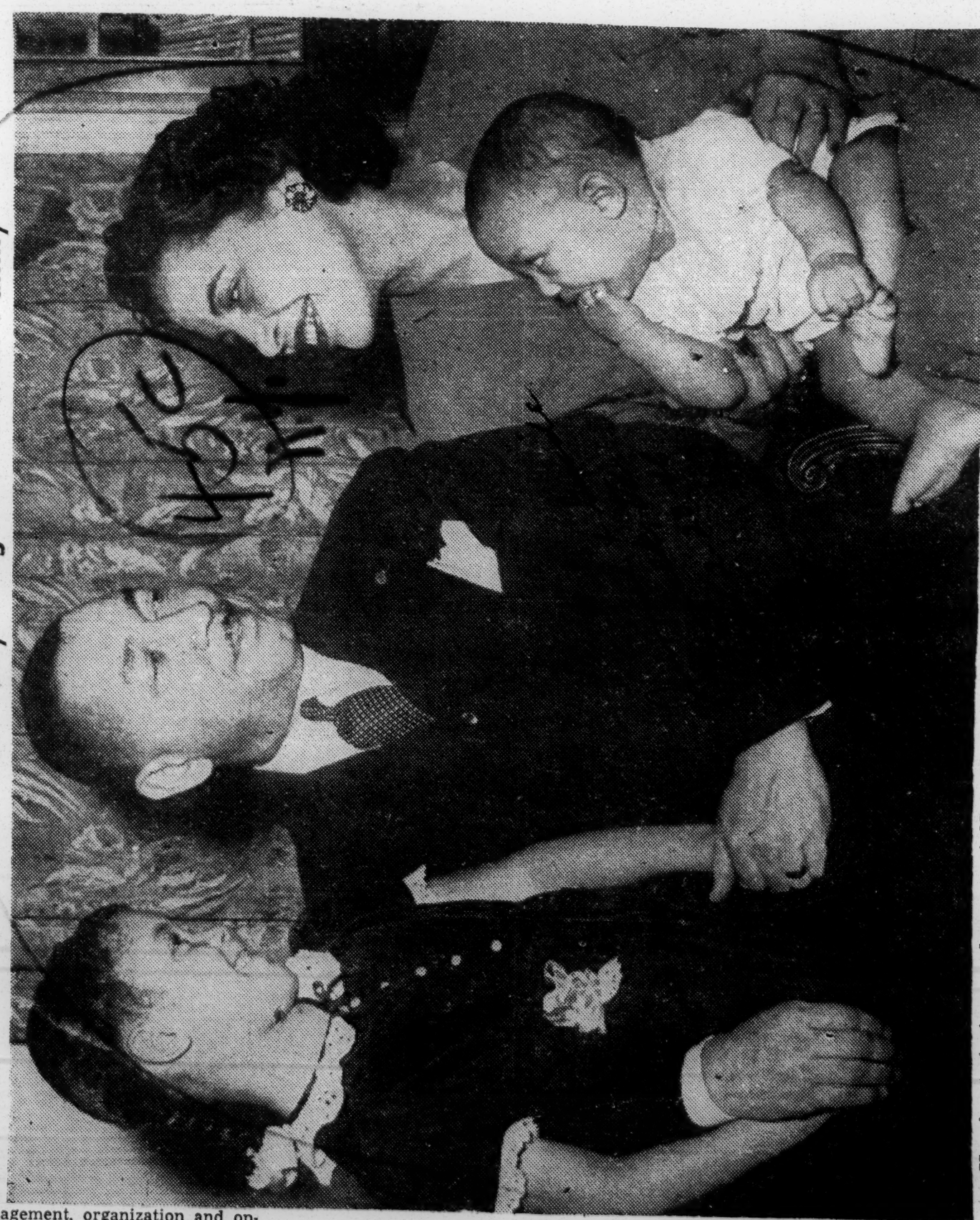
Appointed Supervisor In New York VA

The Defender Chicago Ill. Sat.

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Appointment of George H. Bennett as supervisor in the advisement and guidance division of the New York State branch office of the Veterans' Administration was announced last week by David P. Page, acting deputy administrator for veterans in New York. 10-19-46

Bennett, the top Negro supervisor in this branch, was former chief of the advisement and guidance center for veterans at City College here. He will be responsible for management, organization and operation of centers throughout New York, under guidance of the chief of that section.

Newest New York City Judge Poses With Family



Here's an intimate close-up of New York City's newest judge, Justice Vernon Cornelius Riddick, a native of Portsmouth, Va., who was sworn in on Jan. 31, 1946, as a magistrate by Mayor O'Dwyer. Left is daughter Gail, age six. Mrs. Riddick, a registered nurse, holds the younger Riddick, six-months-old Vernon C. Jr. Judge Riddick and family live in Harlem. Judge Riddick was appointed to the post for ten years at ten thousand dollars per year.

Riddick Sworn in as New York Magistrate

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.

Virginia-Born Former Army Officer Gets 10-Year Term, $10,000 Salary

NEW YORK—Vernon C. Riddick, 48, a reserve Army officer and a former state assistant attorney general, was sworn in as a magistrate by Mayor O'Dwyer in a special ceremony before his wife, family, friends, and city officials Friday afternoon. 2-9-46

This is the first colored appointment of the new administration, and marks the first time in the history of the city of New York that a colored magistrate has been appointed by the Democratic Party, the other six having been elected or appointed by other political parties.

It is a 10-year-job and carries an annual salary of $10,000. Colonel Riddick is severing connections with the law firm of Riddick, Doles and Gill, of which he is a member, and was scheduled to report for assignment to the chief magistrate the following day.

"I am very pleased at being appointed," he told the AFRO, "and feel very happy both for myself and my family. I will do all in my power to see that the trust placed in me is upheld." 2-9-46

Have Two Children

Colonel Riddick and his wife, Dorothy, reside at 40 Morningside Ave. They have two children: Gail, 6, and Vernon C. Jr., age 6 months. All were present at the ceremonies, as well as Riddick's mother, Mrs. Mary Ann Riddick. The crowd got a big kick out of the mayor shaking hands with Gail, and posing for the photographers with all the members of the new magistrate's family.

Mrs. Dorothy Riddick was flushed with happiness. "I hope he'll prove to be everything that is expected of him," she told the AFRO after the ceremony.

Colonel Riddick was released from the service on Nov. 2, 1944, and placed on inactive duty status, after two years of duty in Hawaii, during which he was promoted from the rank of captain to lieutenant colonel and commanded an anti-aircraft battalion in the Central Pacific area.

Prior to that, he held the rank of major in the 369th Infantry Regiment of the New York National Guard. On Jan., 1941, he entered the Army of the U.S. as the first volunteer from the attorney general's office.

Born in Virginia

Born on Nov. 23, 1897, in Portsmouth, Va., he attended grade school, high school, and was graduated from the Norfolk Mission College, a Presbyterian private school, in 1915. 2-9-46

In 1919, he received an A.B. degree from Howard University; and entered its law school, from which he was graduated three years later. While a student at Howard, he engaged in all extra curricular activities, sports, debating, and literary clubs. After graduation, he taught school for one year in Portsmouth, and played with an orchestra for two years.

Coming to New York in 1924, he served clerkship and was admitted to the New York State Bar in 1926. He engaged in the general practice of law, particularly in the Court of General Sessions of the Peace. In 1937, he was appointed an assistant attorney general of the State of New York and was attached to the Criminal Law Division of the General Bureau.

He appeared numerous times in courts on behalf of the attorney general, testing writs of habeas corpus and other matters of criminal jurisdiction.

Belongs to Legion

He is a Methodist; a member of the Veterans' Corps, 15th Regiment; Charles Young Post of the American Legion; Fox Conmet Post Veteran of Foreign Wars (Hawaii); Grand Street Boys' Club; Omega Psi Phi Fraternity; Carver Democratic, of which he is president; Harlem Committee of the NYC Defense Recreation Committee; and during the recent mayoralty campaign served as executive director of the Independent Citizens' Committee for O'Dwyer in Harlem. He has also been very active in the YMCA.

His wife was born in Montclair, N.J.; and was raised there by her aunt, Mrs. Lulu Sims.

Their 14th wedding anniversary day was Thursday, Jan. 31, exactly the day before Riddick was sworn in as magistrate.

Rev. John Coleman First Negro Named To Important Unit

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Tues 3-12-46

NEW YORK—((NNPA)—Rev John M. Coleman, forty-three-year-old son of a railroad brakeman, was appointed last Tuesday to the Board of Higher Education.

Mr. Coleman, who is the rector of St. Phillip's Protestant Episcopal Church, 265 Decatur Street, Brooklyn, is the first colored person to be named to the twenty-one-member board, which supervises the administration of the four city colleges—City College, Hunter College, Brooklyn College and Queens College. The position is non-salaried.

Specific Duties

Mr. Coleman said that among his specific duties will be that of serving with the Brooklyn members of the board who counsel with the faculty of Brooklyn College and represent the faculty in general meetings of the board.

Appointment of Mr. Coleman, who was sworn in last Tuesday by Mayor William O'Dwyer in a brief ceremony in the Mayor's office, followed several weeks of campaigning by local organizations which demanded that a colored person be named by the Mayor to the board.

The term of Mr. Coleman, who succeeds Harry S. Rogers, resigned, will expire on June 30, 1952.

Becomes Magistrate In Gotham

Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.
2-2-46

Son of Portsmouth Tailor To Preside On New York Bench

By VAN WALTERS

Special to Journal and Guide

NEW YORK — On Thursday, Jan. 31, 1946, another milestone in the progressive march of America's largest minority will be passed, when Vernon Cornelius Riddick is sworn in as a magistrate, bringing up to seven the total number of Negro judges currently sitting on the bench in New York City.

William O'Dwyer, who was sworn in as the City's 100th mayor on January 1, named Attorney Riddick for a magistrate's post during the first week of January, but the announcement was officially withheld pending clearance by the Bar Association. On January 19 the Association announced its approval of the Harlemite, who will be sworn in by Mayor O'Dwyer in City Hall, Thursday, January 31, 1946. 2-2-46

The appointment is for 10 years and pays $10,000 a year. Other Negro judges currently sitting on the bench here are Rivers, Paige, Bolin (the only woman among the group), Delany, Watson, and Toney, of the City, Special Session, Domestic Relations, Domestic Relations, Municipal and Municipal Courts, respectively.

MEET THE NEW JUDGE!

Riddick, who stands six feet and tips the scales at 195 pounds was born at Portsmouth, Va., November 23, 1897—the son of William C. Riddick, a tailor, and Mary A., a housewife; attended graded school and graduated in 1915 from the High School of the Norfolk Mission College, a Presbyterian Private School.

Although he has given up the piano, he played professional music with orchestras in Washington, D. C., to help finance his schooling at Howard University where he graduated from the College of Arts and Sciences with a degree of A.B. in 1919, and from the Law School, 1922, with the degree of LL.B. While a student at Howard, Riddick was exceedingly active; participating in all extra curricula activities — sports, debating and literary clubs.

After leaving Howard, he turned his hand at teaching history and economics at the I. C. Norcom High School, Portsmouth, during 1922-1923, but gave it up after one year and came to New York in 1924 to try out his legal mind.

FROM CLERK TO JUDGE

In 1926 he was admitted to the Bar of the State of New York. Since then he has engaged in the general practice of law and practised extensively in the Court of General Sessions of the Peace. In 1937, he was appointed an Assistant Attorney General of the State of New York and was attached to the Criminal Law division of the General Bureau—appearing numerous times in Courts on behalf of the Attorney General testing writs of Habeas Corpus and other matters of criminal jurisdiction.

Since "the Army is the only hobby I've had in the last 17 years," having been a member of the famed 369th since 1927, when it was a National Guard, it was only natural that in January, 1941, he entered the Army of the United States as the first volunteer from the Attorney General's Office. He won a promotion from the rank of Captain to Lieutenant Colonel and commanded an anti-aircraft battalion in the Central Pacific area from 1942 to 1944. On November 2, 1944, he was placed on inactive duty status and returned to the practice of law with the firm of Riddick, Doles and Gill at 209 West 125 street in Harlem, from which he will leave Thursday to devote his entire legal services to the magistrate court. 2-2-46

HIS ASSOCIATIONS

The latest Negro to ascend to the bench in New York City is a Methodist member of the Grand Street Boys Club; Carver Democratic Club; Veteran's Corps, 15th Regiment, Charles Young Post American Legion; Omega Psi Phi Fraternity; Harlem Committee of the New York City Defense Recreation Committee; Fox Commet Post Veteran of Foreign Waters (Hawaii).

In 1932 he married Miss Dorothy Bailey of Montclair, N. J. They reside in Harlem at 40 Morningside avenue, and have two children—a girl, Gail, 6, and a boy, Vernon Cornelius Jr., six-months-old.—V. W.

Appointed Judge In New York City

Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.
2-2-46

Vernon C. Riddick, a native of Portsmouth, Va., has been named a city magistrate in New York by Gotham's new mayor, William O'Dwyer.

7 N.Y. Negro Judges Get $85,000 Yearly

Chicago Defender
1-26-46

NEW YORK—The recent appointment of Vernon Riddick as a justice by Mayor William O'Dwyer brought New York City's judges up to seven and their salaries to over $85,000 annually. Justice Francis E. Rivers of the City Court is the highest paid of the seven, receiving $17,500 yearly pay check. The only woman among the seven is Justice Jane Bolin of the Court of Domestic Relations whose salary is $12,000. Justices Myles Paige, Vernon L. Riddick, receives also receive $12,000 per annum. The two of New York's Negro judges who were first to serve on the bench, Justices James S. Watson and Charles L. Toney, each receives $10,840 per year. They and Justic Rivers hold elective offices while the other four judges were appointees of the mayor of the city. Justices Bolin, Delany, Paige were appointed by former Mayor LaGuardia. Newest judge, Vernon L. Riddick, receives a salary of $10,000.

Headlines and Pictures in its March issue presents the stories of New York's seven municipal judges. Informal pictures of the judges illustrate the story.

HENINGBURG GETS $6,000 WELFARE JOB

The Courier
Petersburg, Pa.
Sat. 6-8-46

NEW YORK—Dr. Alphonse Heningburg, formerly educational director for the National Urban League and for the last two years instructor in sociology at New York University, was sworn in by Mayor O'Dwyer last week as secretary of the Department of Welfare to fill a $6,000-a-year position, vacant for almost a year.

Dr. Heningburg, 44, was born in Alabama, and is a graduate of Tuskegee Institute and Grinnell College. He served for a time as head of the educational department of the North Carolina College for Negroes at Durham. He received his doctorate at New York University. Dr. Heningburg lives at 12-227 176th Street, St. Albans, Queens, with his wife, Willa Mae, and his two sons, Gustav, 8, and Michael, 8.

Council Gangs Up on Davis Over Spellman Resolution

Daily Worker New York, New York

Wed 3-6-46

By MICHAEL SINGER

Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Communist councilman from Manhattan, yesterday challenged the reactionary political activities of the Catholic hierarchy in opposing a City Council resolution to greet Francis Cardinal Spellman, who arrived from Franco Spain yesterday. Davis' position, a restatement of the fundamental democratic principle of separating the church and state, evoked the most demagogic, violent anti-Soviet and red-baiting rampage ever heard in the Council.

The attacks against Davis ranged from an open threat of personal violence against the courageous Negro Councilman by Joseph McCarthy, Brooklyn Democrat, to a call for war against Communists from Hugh Quinn, Queens Democrat. Quinn has always leaned for his support from Coughlinite, anti-Semitic groups in that borough.

The storm in the Council broke shortly after Joseph T. Sharkey, council majority leader, admitted that the Democrats had snared two anti-discrimination resolutions from Davis and Peter V. Cacchione, Brooklyn Communist Councilman. The Democrats palmed off resolutions urging FEPC legislation and a non-bias state university as their own.

Wed 3-6-46

Following the reading of the resolution welcoming Cardinal Spellman, Councilman Davis arose and read the following statement:

"The City Council of New York is a legislative body. As such, it should be guided by the fundamental and democratic American tradition which includes as a basic principle the separation of church and state. The council would violate this principle if it endorses in one way or another a particular creed, or if it officially places itself on record on the relative importance or rank of a position in a particular church.

"I wish to make clear that I respect the right of all people to worship as they see fit and I respect and uphold freedom of conscience for all peoples. But I cannot remain indifferent to the political activities of any person or church leader.

"The only way in which the Council has the power to endorse Cardinal Spellman, through congratulations or otherwise, would be a matter of state—that is, on political grounds. Since there are tens of thousands of New York citizens of all faiths—including Catholics—who are strongly opposed to Cardinal Spellman's political views on foreign policy, I consider it unwise and unrepresentative for this body to adopt this resolution.

BEN DAVIS

"I regret that the gentleman of the majority have forced this issue, but having done so I have no recourse but to vote NO."

With the exception of Stanley Isaacs, Independent Republican from Manhattan, Eugene Connolly and Michael J. Quill, American Labor Party councilmen and the Liberal Party members every other councilman either raved, hurled threats at Davis and the Communist Party or slandered the Soviet Union.

Wed 3-6-46

Quill, while disagreeing with Davis' point of view and supporting the Cardinal's welcome, attacked the red-baiters and the frenzy of the attack.

Seated with Cacchione, Davis listened to the barrage without flinching. His cool, quiet demeanor was in sharp contrast with the oratorical venom surpassing anything veteran City Hall reporters had ever witnessed in those chambers.

None of the speakers who attacked Davis, including Anthony Di Giovanni, Brooklyn Democrat, who led the assault, accepted Davis' challenge on the issues.

Earlier in the session Davis had forced a change in the City Calendar text which referred to Negroes with a small 'n.'

Foster Greets Davis' Service

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

William Z. Foster yesterday greeted City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., on his third anniversary in the city body, which will be celebrated on Davis' birthday, Dec. 7, at the Golden Gate Ballroom.

The national chairman of the Communist Party said both Councilmen Davis and Peter V. Cacchione were "tribunes" of the people of New York in the fight for peace and economic security.

"Ben Davis, by his activity," said Foster, "had made outstanding contributions not only to the Negro people, but towards building a strong workingclass movement and unifying all stratas of the population.

Wed. 12-4-46

"In the important fight ahead to defend the peoples living standards and liberty, all of us will indeed be grateful that we are represented in the City Council by such an able, fighting Councilman."

Davis, Cacchione Offer Bill Scorning Churchill War Talk

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Wed 3-13-46

By MICHAEL SINGER

Three times during yesterday's City Council session a jammed gallery heard Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., stand up and give the red-baiters a lesson in progressive politics. The Manhattan Communist councilman with his Brooklyn colleague, Peter V. Cacchione:

● Introduced a resolution condemning Winston Churchill's speech at Fulton, Mo., on March 5 as **"an incitation to World War III, as a threat to the peace and well-being of our country and the world, and as a threat to the very existence of the UNO which our late Commander - in - Chief, Franklin D. Roosevelt, was a prime architect."**

● Denounced the red-baiting outbreak in the Council last week and linked the Council's anti-Soviet attacks with "Churchill's war inciting address and the whole drive by the reactionary forces in America to incite war against the Soviet Union."

● Forced the deletion from the record of a violent speech against Michael J. Quill by Councilman A. S. Philips, Queens Republican, who introduced a resolution to oust the CIO transit leader from the Council.

ANSWERS SHEAHAN

The resolution was sent to the Committee on Rules, Privileges and Elections.

Davis' first counter-attack against the Council die-hards came after the reading of a letter from John J. Sheahan, chairman of the St. Patrick's Day Parade Committee of Arrangements. Sheahan asked the Council to exclude Davis and Peter V. Cacchione, Brooklyn Communist member, from the St. Patrick's Day Parade on Saturday afternoon, March 16.

Sheahan based his request on Davis' and Cacchione's opposition to the resolution in the Council last week welcoming Cardinal Spellman upon his return from Rome and Madrid.

Wed 3-13-46

The Council red-baiters tried but failed to repeat their fanatical spree of last week.

Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs, Manhattan Independent Republican, assailed the attempt to put the Sheahan letter in the records. He said he would protest such action by "not marching" in the parade.

Even Brooklyn Democrat Councilman Walter Hart, who led the reactionary assault last week, was forced to object to placing Sheahan's letter in the record.

DEFENDS RIGHT TO SPEAK

Davis, however denounced the move to "spread the letter in the minutes" as unwarranted interference in his personal rights to speak out on issues.

He pointed out that last week's expressions were "used first by Hitler and now are connected with the red-baiting drive expressed by Churchill in his speech."

Then, hammering his desk with his fist, Davis said:

"I shall fight as I see fit. Nobody will intimidate me, nobody. If I did any less I would be unworthy of the people who elected me to this Council. I shall continue to speak up on what I think is right or wrong as my conscience sees fit and nobody here or any place else is going to intimidate me into silence."

A Good Example For Pamphlet Writers

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Editor, Daily Worker:

Bob Minor's pamphlet, **Tell the People How Ben Davis Was Elected,** has set an example for writers of popular pamphlets. In 24 pages he conveys the story in very simple language, as if he were talking to a small group of workers or farmers gathered around a stove.

Mon 4-22-46

Particularly striking is the way he described the election of Negroes to office at different periods of history. The description showed the three methods used: 1. During the reconstrutcion period, on the basis of Negro-white unity and suppression of the slaveholders; 2, those who gained office on the basis of elections from segregated districts, and 3, the way Ben Davis achieved office, on the basis of Negro-white unity against the reactionaries of today.

In the course of this description he gives a vivid picture of the history of the Negro people impressing on the reader the part played in the development of America by such Negro leaders as Frederick Douglass and Senators Bruce and Revels.

Although Bob Minor's pamphlet has an especial appeal to southern people it is of equal interest to us in the North. It should be read and sold by every comrade. Wide distribution of this fine exact contents, are difficult for the average person to read. Some pamphlet should be build up a resistance to our party. New members reading pamphlets because of this.

FRED BLAIR.

4-22-46

Davis Grilled by Cops; Councilman Protests Anti-Negro Act to Commissioner Wallander

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Fri 5-10-46

Is the New York City Police Department trying to set up a "pass system" for Negro citizens on the model of the British imperialists in South Africa? Is it aiming to copy the infamous ghetto restrictions for Negroes in Miami, where permits are needed "after hours" in the "white section" of town?

Is it illegal in New York for Negroes and whites to associate together peaceably?

These questions were hurled bluntly at Police Commissioner Arthur Wallander yesterday in an open letter by City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Manhattan Communist, following the stopping of his car on "suspicion" early Tuesday morning.

Councilman Davis was driving on 16th St. near 7th Ave. about 1:45 a.m. Tuesday. With him were George Blake Charney, secretary of the Communist Party of Manhattan, and Robert Campbell, executive secretary of the Communist Party of Harlem, both World War II veterans. Charney is white, Campbell, Negro.

A police car, driven by Patrolmen Baker and Selakowsky of the 10th precinct, stopped them and there followed a series of questions and a search of the car. When asked why that particular car was considered suspicious, the patrolmen said they were "doing their duty" and refused to comment further.

WALLANDER—NO COMMENT

Queried yesterday by the Daily Worker, the Police Commissioner's office had no comment to make. The office acknowledged receipt of Councilman Davis' letter and said the matter "was being investigated."

The open letter, released yesterday to the general press, says in part:

I cannot account for such unjustifiable treatment of citizens. There was nothing "suspicious" about the car. It was an ordinary Chevrolet sedan, in no wise unusual in appearance. I was driving in a lawful manner and at a lawful rate of speed. We were in no wise disorderly, nor was our conduct in any way unusual. The policeman made no such claims.

In my judgment, my car was stopped only because it was in a "white section" of the city at an early hour in the morning and, further, because one of the passengers in the car was white. Other cars passed mine about the same time the police stopped us, but, apparently because their occupants were white, they were not considered "suspicious," nor were they told to "pull over to the curb." Fri 5-10-46

Apparently there is a policy of the Police Department to consider Negro citizens who are outside of the Negro ghetto and in the so-called "white section" of the city as "suspicious" and, therefore, subject to accosting by the police. Apparently, further, Negro and white citizens lawfully and peacefully associated together in various sections of the city are subject to charges of "suspicion."

I wish to protest this policy and procedure of the Police Department as an infringement of the democratic rights of Negro citizens, and also as an abridgement of the rights of white citizens. I charge that it is an attack upon the constitutional right of citizens to go anywhere in this city they wish, and to associate and fraternize with whom they wish.

I would like to know whether the Police Department is trying to bring to New York the imperialist pass system which obtains in South Africa, where the British authorities require that native Africans secure passes before they go from one section of the territory to another. I should like to know whether we are to have, in New York, the fascist-like system used in Miami, Florida, where Negro citizens are required to have special permits if they are found in the "white section" of the city "after hours" in the evening.

We do not intend to permit such fascist-like policies in New York City, and I prefer to believe that the Police Department does not want such policies either. However, the insulting, undemocratic treatment received by me and my friends on May 7 points in the other direction, especially in view of the fact that white citizens have been arrested for being in Harlem "after hours."

I urge you to clarify this situation and to repudiate any such undemocratic and anti-Negro policy being pursued by the Police Department. Inasmuch as many complaints of a similar nature have been brought to my attention, and because this letter is being made public, I urge you to make your announcement public.

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Fri 5-10-46

COUNCILMAN DAVIS

People & Issues

The Worker New York, N.Y.

By Benjamin Davis, Jr.

Sun. 7-7-46

Communist Councilman, Borough of Manhattan

AFTER BEING CALLED a "menace to civilization" by a fellow member of the City Council a couple of days before, it was a pleasant relief to meet with a slightly different reception in Detroit during my trip there last weekend. I had an opportunity to attend the State Election convention of the Communist Party of Michigan, where they adopted a fighting program, nominated a slate of stalwart candidates —Negro and white—women and men—and prepared to build a strong labor-progressive coalition, including the determination to break some records in registering a big Communist vote. It was a real honor to be the guest at a swell Daily Worker picnic.

This was preceded by a reception given by a citizens committee of trade unionists, CIO and AFL, Negro and white leaders, and members of all political parties, religious persuasions and national origins. This affair took place in the Lucy Thurman YWCA in the Negro community and, I am told, was highly successful from the point of view of the Daily Worker which was the theme of the evening. Sun. 7-7-46

Personally I had a grand time and I must say, felt unworthy of the honor thrust upon me, which included a specially prepared scroll containing the names of more than a hundred trade unionists, women and youth leaders, judges and state officials, and representatives of all types of organizations. Then there was a huge union-made cake, which, I know, tasted better than anybody's non-union cake. These honors I accepted in the name of the Negro people of Harlem and their labor-progressive allies.

IT IS MY PAINFUL DUTY to inform Mr. A. J. Phillips, the Hoover-Republican Councilman who gave me the new title of "Menace to civilization," that what I found in the city of Detroit does not bode well for civilization at all. Mr. Phillips gave me this title because on the floor of the Council I pointed out that he regards anyone as a "menace" who is opposed to Dewey, Hoover's fair-haired boy of reaction. I spoke several times in Detroit and talked to many types of people—although I confess I was not banqueted by the Henry Fords—and pretty nearly all I found were "menaces to civilization." There weren't any more good words for Dewey than there were for Dewey's reactionary counterparts among the Democrats. If Mr. Phillips could pull himself away from the coat-tails of Dewey long enough, he might find a lot of "menaces" right here, especially in the ranks of the labor and progressive movement.

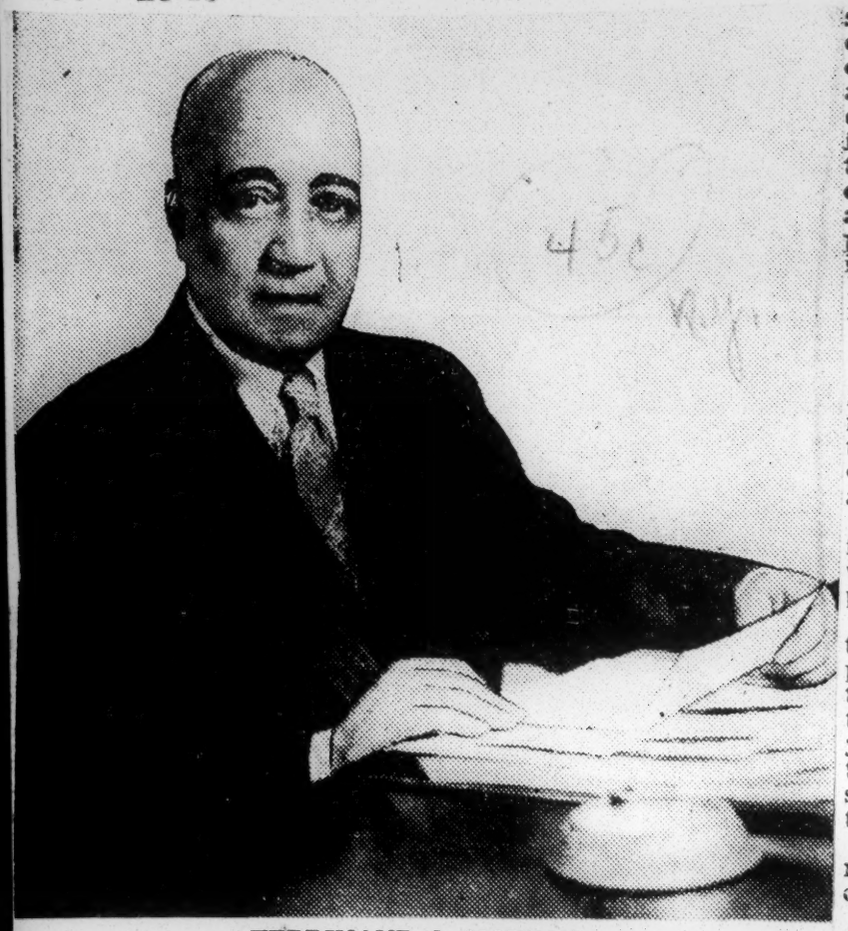
I think Mr. Phillips got a little mixed up in his oratorical flurry. What he meant was that the Communists, as a part of the labor and progressive movement, are a menace to the political aspirations and fortunes of Dewey as they are to the Northern Farley and Southern Bilbo Democrats. Trade unionists and progressives are laying the basis through independent political action in this year's election so that they will not have to choose between a Dewey and a Truman in 1948. To all of this, the Communists are among the most guilty. Sun. 7-7-46

* * *

DURING MY TRIP TO DETROIT, I found abundant evidence that the workers are fed up with the moves of the Truman Administration toward war against the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the double-talking, reactionary policies of the administration at home. Last Sunday was a "black Sunday" for Detroit as it was for America. With the atom bomb test, our Wall Street dominated government was rattling the sword for imperialist World War III. The OPA expired, opening wide the gates for a disastrous economic crisis of mass suffering, while the FEPC went the way of all flesh. Not once did Truman call a special session of Congress to take any emergency action on the OPA or the FEPC, although he was quick to mobilize them for his own strike-breaking bill against the trade unions.

These are the issues of the campaign and the people will not forget them in the coming primaries and elections this year.

45c 1946 New York (Ferdinand Q. Morton)



FERDINAND Q. MORTON

Ferdinand Q. Morton An Ice-Breaker

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 8-24-46

By RICHARD DIER

Occupying one of the most important posts in the N.Y.C. administration is 65-year-old Ferdinand Q. Morton, who was chosen July 17 to become president of the Municipal Civil Service Commission after 24 years of meritorious service with that agency. Until his appointment all commission presidents were white.

Mr. Morton is used to being the first to break the ice in key city jobs. He broke a precedent in Jan. 1, 1906, when he was appointed to the office of District Attorney for New York County.

When he left that position in 1922 to become a Civil Service commissioner, he was assistant in charge of the Indictment Bureau, the largest bureau in that office.

Name by Hyland

Mayor Hyland named him to the commission in 1922 and he has been reappointed by each succeeding mayor, even being one of the few Tammany supporters to survive LaGuardia's tenure.

He was chosen by his fellow commissioners to head that body succeeding Harry W. Marsh, whose term expired last May. He will serve until June 1, 1948, and receive $8,500 a year.

The problems which beset that office have increased three-fold since the war, now that thousands of city employees have returned from the Armed forces and are clamoring for increments in pay which they lost while in the service, promotional opportunities, and new examinations.

An experienced hand like Mr. Morton knows that all these will have to be taken in stride and that the difficulties won't all be ironed out in one day.

Aids Returning Vets

"There are hundreds of questions posed by returning veterans," he told the AFRO in an exclusive interview, in his busy offices at 299 Broadway. "We will have them with us for the next five or ten years.

"Every employee who missed promotional exams while in the service is entitled to special examinations, with the result that thousands of them will have to be given. Remember, there were about 18,000 city employees in the Armed forces."

If any were in the increment group and entitled to regular increases annually, they will get them too.

"Veterans' problems are considered about the most important ones here," he continued. "However, there are equally important and urgent problems, such as general promotional exams. We refrained from holding them during the war because of the absence of so many people. There were also at least 13,000 or more temporary employees appointed during that period. Now we've got to hold open competitive exams to fill these vacancies."

Believes in Merit Plan

Mr. Morton is a firm believer in the merit system: "I think the merit system has done more for the ideals of democracy and for our governmental institutions than any other agent," he pointed out.

He is a heavy smoker. His offices are always crowded with advisers and employees with special problems.

Mr. Morton knows all there is to know about the commission's policies, and he answers all questions slowly and carefully, an art that can only be acquired with years of experience. Outside in the lobby, there are always a score of people waiting to get in to see him.

He has no great plans for any radical changes in the workings of the commission:

"The commission is about 50 years old, pretty well established; and civil service regulations require competitive exams and promotions according to the merit system. We have the basic provisions to go by. There could not be any radical reorganization of the commission."

Democrat 38 Years

An enrolled Democrat for the past 38 years, Mr. Morton has been very active in political life. In 1911, he became a member of the United Colored Democracy, becoming its leader in 1915, and serving until it was abolished in 1930.

He continued political activity in an advisory capacity to the county leader until 1938, when the new charter was adopted, which prohibited political activity on the part of members of the commission.

"When I took over the leadership, the Democratic party was receiving only 5% or 6% of the colored vote, and at the conclusion of my leadership, we were a majority party," he said.

He is an avid baseball fan, and a regular attendant at Sunday ball games. He has lent support in the fight against jim-crow baseball, and talked with major league baseball managers in an effort to get them to drop the color ban.

A decade ago, Mr. Morton was known as the "czar of baseball teams," serving in an honorary capacity for several seasons. His best friends include prominent theatrical entertainers, such as Cab Calloway and Duke Ellington.

Lover of Poetry

He loves to read poetry, and occasionally writes a few lines himself.

Born in Mississippi on Sept. 9, 1881, he moved to Washington with his parents ten years later. His father was employed there in the Federal Government.

After public schools in Washington, he went to Phillips Exeter Academy; then to Harvard College for three years. He left in 1905, completed his work at Boston University Law School, where he was a member of the debating team.

He came to New York in 1907; finished the study of law in a New York law office, and was admitted to the bar in 1914. He is a bachelor and lives at 108 W. 111th St.

Morton Heads Up N.Y. Civil Service

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK (ANP).—Ferdinand Q. Morton, 65, after 24 years service with the municipal civil service commission, was chosen president of the agency at a special meeting last week, thus becoming the first of his race to hold such a post in the nation.

He succeeds Harry W. Marsh, whose term expired on May 31. Mayor O'Dwyer named Joseph A. McNamara of Brooklyn to succeed Marsh on the commission.

Mr. Morton, who is single, was first appointed to the commission by Mayor John Hylan on Jan. 1, 1922, and was reappointed by Mayors James J. Walker and F. H. LaGuardia.

Sat. 7-27-46

He was one of the few colored persons to hold a high municipal office in the old Tammany days and also one of the few Tammany appointees to survive the LaGuardia administration.

He had been a staunch Democrat and one of Tammany's most ardent leaders in Harlem until 1930 when he transferred his allegiance to the American Labor Party, the group supported by Mr. LaGuardia. Since that time, Mr. Morton has made little political news. Sat.

He was born in Macon, Miss., attended Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire, graduated in 1909 at Harvard, studied law at Boston University, and was in private practice until 1916. 7-27-46

He became one of the first members of his race to be named an assistant district attorney in the New York County as head of the indictment bureau. He remained there until Mayor John F. (Red Mike) Hylan appointed him to the commission. The Afro-American

Mr. Morton will receive $8,500 yearly as commission president instead of $8,000 which has been his salary. His term expires May 31, 1948, when he is expected to retire on a pension. Baltimore Md

The municipal civil service is one of the largest employers in the country, having 18,000 police and 12,000 firemen and an almost as large number of teachers.

Able, Sincere, Ferdinand Morton Modest About Job

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 8-10-46

NEW YORK—Bachelor, nature lover, amateur poet and avid baseball fan with a love for debating and no capacity for hatred; this is the picture of Ferdinand Quinton Morton, first Negro president of the New York Municipal Service Commission.

This is the picture known and loved by his many friends, but it is not complete. Under the easy good nature, and affable manner is a Morton with an amazing capacity for work and a penchant for efficiency. After 24 years of dogged effort on the city Civil Service Commission, paralleled by an almost equal interest in politics and baseball, the 60-year-old, baldish Morton was named head of the agency where he spent most of his career.

Stocky, and sporting a slight paunch, Morton takes a humorous view of his appetite, which is just what one would expect of a man who uses up so much energy. "I am quite a hearty eater," with beefsteak number one on the bill. Occasionally I go in for amateur cooking," Morton, who is fond of anecdotes and cigarettes, confesses with a twinkle in his eye.

One can readily understand Morton's absorption in his work. His career has been a long and arduous one. Born in Mississippi, he worked his way through school as a waiter. He attended Philips Exeter Academy and Boston University, where he won a law degree. He was a member of the debating teams at both schools.

After graduating he practiced law, and became one of the first Negroes to join the New York district attorney's staff. He was also the first Negro named to the Civil Service commission. Now, as president of the commission, he in-book handy. Every Sunday he is apply all his drive and energy to the new job.

I have no grandiose statement to make about changes and methods in the commission, he says. It has been the commission's policy not to interfere with the work of examiners who are all experts in their fields. It takes years to make a good examiner. About the commission itself, Morton says that the merit system has contributed more to developing democratic institutions, than any other single thing.

Speaking of his fondness for politics, Morton revealed that he has been a Democrat for 38 years. He likes to make campaign speeches, and can deliver as many as seven or eight in a single evening.

Although he met with more than his share of prejudice in his career as a lawyer, Morton said, "I do not think I have ever hated anybody, just the things people have been taught to believe sometimes."

Several years ago, he was known as the "Landis" of Negro baseball. Still an ardent fan, the commissioner always keeps a rule known and loved by his friends, the Harlem barbershop quartet. Some of his best friends are musicians, even though he has long relinquished the art. Every time Duke Ellington, or Cab Calloway, two of his friends, see him they greet him familiarly with "His commish," because everybody likes Ferdinand Q. Morton.

Jokes About Appetite

O'Dwyer Pledges 'No Politics', Davis in 2 Key Council Posts

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

By HARRY RAYMOND

A pledge that no "partisanship or politics" will sway his administration was made by Mayor O'Dwyer yesterday in his message to the first 1946 session of the City Council.

He told the councilmen his sole interest during the next four years would be to give the people "the best kind of administration."

The Mayor warned, however, that extension of municipal services will depend on availability of funds. He repeated his appeal made last Sunday to State Comptroller Frank Moore for a one percent increase in the sales tax for subway rehabilitation and a general increase in the city's share of state tax funds.

VOWS WAR ON BIAS 1-10-46

Part of the Mayor's message dealt with racial and religious bias and what he called "some tendencies toward intolerance." He said:

"I intend to do all I can to eliminate them. The churches and synagogues are doing their share. The city must get to the root of the evils of intolerance right in the schools. We can do that."

O'Dwyer told the Council he will appoint a Commission on Group Relations — a continuing commission that will be alert to "wrongs of intolerance." He said if any further legislation was necessary to carry out a program against any form of discrimination he would recommend it to the Council.

The Mayor arrived in the Council chamber at 1:40 p.m. after the council concluded a brief organizational session in which Joseph T. Sharkey, Brooklyn Democrat, was reelected vice-chairman and majority leader and Mrs. Genevieve B. Earle, Brooklyn Republican, was again designated minority leader. Thos. S.

DAVIS ON KEY GROUPS

Two key Council committees were elected—the rules and finance committees—and Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Manhattan Communist, was elected as a minority member to both.

Members of the Rules comittee are: Walter R. Hart, chairman, Frederick Schick, Hugh Quinn, Samuel DiFalco, Charles Keegan, Edward Vogel (all Democrats), Benjamin J. Davis (Communist) and A. J. Phillips (Republican).

Elected to the finance committee were Charles E. Keegan, chairman, Frederick Schick, Anthony DiGiovanna, Hugh Quinn, Edward Vogel, William Carroll (all Democrats), Benjamin J. Davis (Communist) and Stanley M. Isaacs (Republican).

Due to the pressure of strike news we are compelled to eliminate the radio in this issue.

Later the Council accepted the resignation of Carroll from the body. He resigned to take an appointment as Deputy City Clerk, a post vacated by Murray Stand. Stand was elected by the Council as Chief City Clerk. Former chief city clerk H. Warren Hubbard is retiring. Carroll, a Manhattan Democrat, will be replaced in the Council by a person designated by the Democratic organization and approved by vote of the Council.

SHARKEY EDGES OUT EARLE

When the election of Council vice-chairman took place two Democrats, DiGiovanna and L. G. Clemente, were absent and J. A. Phillips and Hugh Quinn, Queens Democrats, declined to vote. Thus Sharkey won the post by one vote, he receiving 10 votes and Mrs. Earle nine. DiGiovanna arrived at the meeting later, cast his vote for Sharkey, giving the later 14 votes or a two vote edge over Mrs. Earle.

The Queens Democrats, it was learned, refused to vote for Sharkey because they were insisting the majority leadership and vice-chairmanship go to Quinn. Quinn, however, was elected to represent the Council at hearings outside of the body on the capital budget. Councilman Keegan will represent the Council at executive budget hearings. 1-10-46

City Council President Vincent Impelliteri told the municipal legislators their main problems were subway conditions, housing, general social and industrial unrest, unemployment, juvenile delinquency and crime.

FINANCIAL PICTURE

Mayor O'Dwyer painted a not-too-happy financial picture for the councilmen. He said Mayor LaGuardia had left him a budget deficit of $6,000,000 which might grow to $13,000,000 if the state does not assume at least 80 per cent of unemployment relief expenditures.

The next budget, the Mayor said, will have to be $65,000,000 higher, pension contributions will have to be raised $9,000,000, debt service will increase $15,000,000 and 2,000,000 must be provided to replace outworn automobile equipment.

He called for department increases totaling $26,000,000. He said the three-platoon (eight-hour day) system be restored in the Fire Department.

At the same time O'Dwyer told the councilmen: "We must cut our cloth to fit our means."

He said he would not be swayed in his course because it does not have unanimous support, or "because some toes are trodden on, or some vested interest of one kind or another disturbed." He warned the councilmen not to introduce legislation that would increase the cost of government. 1-10-46

The only piece of legislation introduced at yesterday's session was a majority bill to create the post of City Construction Coordinator. O'Dwyer said he proposes to appoint Park Commissioner Moses to this post. Under this proposal, Moses would become the boss of all city capital construction and at the same time maintain his job as Park Commissioner and be member of the City Planning Commission.

45c 1946

New York (Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.)

POWELL BREAKS TIES WITH HARLEM PAPER

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. announced yesterday that he "completely severs all connection" with The People's Voice, a weekly newspaper circulated in Harlem.

Friends of Mr. Powell said his decision to withdraw from association with the paper followed a conference last week with Negro national political leaders who advised him to end his ties with all left-wing groups. Many of Mr. Powell's supporters expressed the view that any connection with organizations of Communist persuasion would handicap his activities in the next Congress, which will be under Republican control.

In announcing his withdrawal from The People's Voice, which has been accused by its critics of following the Communist party line, Mr. Powell said that most readers regarded the paper as being under his personal supervision.

"This is not true and has not been for the past year and a half," Mr. Powell said. "Now that the Eightieth Congress is about to convene I am divorcing myself from all activities except minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church and chairman of the People's Committee." Wed. 12-25-46

Mr. Powell said his sole partner in The People's Voice at the time it was organized in 1941 was Charles Buchanan, now general manager of the Savoy Ballroom. The present general manager of the paper is Dr. Doxey Wilkerson and the treasurer of the Powell-Buchanan Publishing Corporation is Max Yergan. Both are active in the promotion of the National Negro Congress and the Congress on African Affairs.

Adam and Hazel Buy Riverside Drive Apartment

Miami Herald Sat. 4-6-46

NEW YORK.—(ANP)—Adam Clayton Powell and his pianist wife, Hazel Scott, are joint purchasers of a 10-story apartment house on swank Riverside drive. The property, measuring 99.11 by 105 feet, contains 49 apartments. Its assessed value is $345,000 and the sale was made for cash above a first mortgage of $228,000 held by the Metropolitan Life Insurance company.

The building was purchased from Owner Albert H. Graham through the brokerage firm of D. H. Smith, who handled the transaction. Sat. 4-6-46

Thus the congressman becomes one of the first Negro holders on Riverside Drive and it is possible that his house will contain mixed tenants. No announcement has been made concerning the house which is fully occupied at present, although it may be expected that the congressman will have as his tenants New York's upper crust who will be able to carry the freight in rentals. No mention is made of the size of the apartments in the building. Further, no information as to disposition of the present tenants has been made public. The sale was consummated Tuesday, March 26.

Powell Says He Won't Vote For Truman In '48

Chicago, Ill. Chicago Defender

COLUMBUS, O.—(ANP)—Addressing a capacity crowd of persons attending the Vanguard League mass meeting Sunday afternoon in St. Paul A.M.E. Church, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of New York City, declared, "My mind is not made up on some things, but there is one thing of which I am certain. I will not vote for Harry Truman for President in 1948." Sat 3-2-46

"So many mistakes have been made that an old saying is being revised into, 'To err is Truman'." Powell severely criticized Truman's advisers, directing most of it toward George Allen.

Speaking on the subject, "What's Going On in Washington," Congressman Powell stated that, "We are now going through the period of the second Missouri compromise. The death of the FEPC bill is a terrible blot on our record. We had an FEPC during the war and can't have one during the peace. Evidently it is more profitable to have war."

CIO Rejects Powell Support In Drive South

Chicago Defender Sat 4-27-46

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—The CIO has asked Rep. Adam C. Powell, (D. N.Y.) to keep out of its one-million dollar southern organizing drive.

In cold uncompromising terms, Van A. Bittner, director of the drive to organize workers in the South, flatly rejected support from the newly organized "Help Organize the South" group, headed by Powell and took a broadside crack at assistance from other organizations outside the CIO, including the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Chicago, Illinois

Powell's organization has planned a parade and a unity rally ned a parade and a unity rally to be held in Harlem on May 5 to raise funds for the CIO's drive. They have asked Allan S. Haywood, CIO organizational director to be the main speaker at the affair which has been endorsed by the Greater New York Industrial Union Council, CIO.

'Members' Only

At a news conference here Bittner declared that "no crowd whether Communist, Socialists or anybody else, will be permitted to 'mix up' in the campaign." He added, "that goes for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and any other organization living off the CIO." He said, "this is a CIO affair. We don't want people to get us mixed up with all these organizations." Sat 4-27-46

In a letter to M. Moran Weston, coordinator for the "Help the South" group. Bittner stated: "We will tolerate no interferences from organizations outside the CIO," adding, "your so-called committee has no connection with the CIO . . . we do not need your money."

Continuing, he said, "I want to get our position to the people of New York especially so they won't give funds to this orgarization under the impression that they will be turned over to the CIO."

Bittner said he wanted to emphasize the CIO organizing drive has "one purpose and one purpose only—getting unorganized workers into unions affiliated with the CIO." Sat 4-27-46

Question CIO Policy

Bittner's broad assertion against the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, pioneering organization for political and economic equality for Negroes in the South, has raised the question in some quarters here as to the real intentions of the campaign as far as Negroes are concerned in a section where certain CIO unions have been credited with downright discrimination, and their policies designated as decidedly reactionary.

The Textile Workers Union, strongest CIO union in the South, said to control CIO policy in that section, reportedly sponsors a union policy which excludes Negro textile employees from other than menial employment. According to reliable information, there is not a single Negro employed as an operator in the southern textile industry regardless of seniority or other qualifications. It is moreover charged that opportunity for Negroes to advance in this industry are virtually nil.

In Birmingham, Ala., heavy industrial section of the South where the CIO organizing campaign is scheduled to be launched, it is reported on good authority that the CIO backed Eugene "Bull" Conner for Police Commissioner. Conner's record in Birmingham with respect to police brutalities against Negroes is said to be lousy. Under his term of office, several Negro veterans are reported to have been unjustifiably killed by police with the murdering officers being exonerated on the grounds of "justifiable homicide."

POWELL VOTES AGAINST DRAFT EXTENSION BILL

Afro-American

WASHINGTON (NNPA). — Adam Powell, New York representative, voted against the bill to extend the draft nine months after its expiration May 15, exempting those under 20 years of age. 4-27-46

Powell Against Case Bill; Dawson Silent

The Call

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA) — The votes of Representatives William L. Dawson, of Illinois, and Adam C. Powell Jr., of New York, both Democrats, on the important roll-call vote on the House resolution accepting the Senate amendments to the Case strike-control bill and sending the measure to the White House, adopted 230 to 106, were as follows:

Dawson, not voting; Powell, "nay." Kansas City

The Case bill as finally adopted would create a Federal Mediation Board, under whose authority unions working in industries affecting interstate commerce would be required to "cool off" for 60 days, after asking a collective bargaining conference, before they could strike or engage in a "concerted slow-down." 6-7-46

Violation of this provision would mean the loss by the strikers of their status as employes and their protection under the Wagner Act.

Congressman Powell made the following speech before the House of Representatives on Thursday:

Pittsburgh Courier

THE SUPREME COURT of the United States has just handed down a decision which marks the most important step towards winning the peace since the conclusion of the war. The decision abolishes separation of races on interstate transportation. It strikes at the heart of the un-Christian, un-Democratic hypocrisy of some Americans. The eminent Justice of Alabama, Mr. Hugo Black, in his concurring opinion, said it was to be regretted that such action had not been taken by Congress. This morning's Washington Post, in editorial, stated likewise. I agree with them. Sat 6-15-46

It so happens that on February 1, 1945 I submitted a bill—H.R. 1925—to this Congress to abolish jimcro on interstate transportation. That bill was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I wrote the Chairman of that Committee, after waiting for many months, asking for a hearing. He replied that the Committee was "too busy." I have talked to members of that Committee and they assure me that they would have been willing to have met at any time to have considered that bill. I am now asking the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to give Congress a chance to act. If I do not receive favorable word within the next few days I will place discharge petition on the Speaker's desk.

It is ridiculous that Negro veterans who have fought all over the earth for democracy, returning to the United States must ride in inferior, separate jimcro cars while prisoners of war from Germany are allowed first-class accommodations on all trains. It is a travesty that we can fight two wars to make a world safe for democracy in one generation and do nothing whatsoever about our own democracy here. When I say here, I mean here in the Halls of Congress.

We have not passed a single Win-the-peace law since the conclusion of the war. We have sat by and allowed the Supreme Court to do what we are paid to do. The salaries of Congressmen should not be increased one bit until we are ready to get down to the business of earning what we get now. Filibustering, gagging at and swallowing camels, is not earning ten thousand a year. One reason why we have not increased our pay is because our own consciences have not allowed us to do it. There's going to be a lot of changes made in this body before the next Congress rolls around. In the language of Abraham Lincoln, **"You can fool some of the people some of the time but not all of the people all of the time."**

Powell has been attacked on several issues by Reynolds, who last week blasted the incumbent for not being present when the Truman Anti-Strike bill came up in the House two weeks ago.

James Ford, Powell's right hand man, reported last week that the Harlem Representative has been named as the Democratic candidate for re-election, and has also been endorsed by the American Labor Party. In 1944 Powell easily won the GOP Democratic and ALP primaries. Chicago

Powell Will Not Enter GOP Primary In Harlem Battle

Afro-American

NEW YORK — Congressman Adam C. Powell has announced he will enter the race for the Republican nomination in the June primaries in an attempt to repeat his tri-party victory of 1944. Sat

This was the opening gun in what political observers predict will be a hotly waged battle between Powell and Grant Reynolds, former chaplain and now a parole commissioner. Reynolds has been designated by the GOP as its candidate for Congress.

Meanwhile, after much bickering it was announced by James Pemberton, Harlem's 14th district leader, that Congressman Vito Marcantonio, ALP chieftain, has been assured the support of Tammany Hall for reelection. Pemberton said that this would have to campaign without active backing from Tammany. Marcantonio told reporters several days ago that he intends to invade both the Democratic and GOP primaries. Like Powell in 1944 he won handily in these two, also.

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Chicago

Amsterdam News
New York, N.Y.
45c
N.Y.
(Pub)
8-10-46

Introducin' Adam, III

Introducing for the first time Adam Clayton Powell 3rd, first child of Congressman and Mrs. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. The youngest of the Powell clan will be a month old next Saturday. His mother, pianist and singing star of Broadway night clubs, is Hazel Scott. Baby Powell, who is perhaps one of the most talked about babies in New York, started out in life with plenty of social security in the form of gifts (financial and otherwise) from his famous parents' many friends.

Barney Josephson, Miss Scott's former employer, reportedly gave Adam 3rd a $1,000 bill and sportsman Johnny Walker, of Sugar Hill, sent along a gold spoon with the explanation that most scions of prominent parents are born with "silver spoons" but Adam 3rd had to be different.

(Morgan Smith Foto)

What Powell Earns

Have you ever stopped to figure out just how much being a Congressman is worth? Let's take the case of Adam Powell, Harlem's gift to Washington.

In addition to his $15,000 per year legislative salary, Powell preaches on the side, draws another $10,000 from Abyssinia Baptist Church. The Afro-American

He also draws both dividends and salary from his newspaper—The People's Voice Baltimore, Md.

He collects anywhere from $100 to $300 every time he makes a speech, employing a top-flight booking agency to handle his engagements, and royalties from his recent book, "Marching Blacks," run into several figures.

He is allowed a total of $15,000 per year for office help in the House Office Building. Sat. 8-10-46

Last week in presenting his record he listed the following employees: Mrs. Phoebe Nelson, $4,500; Mrs. Hattie Freeman Dodson, $3,500; Miss Wilhelmina Adams, $2,000 and Corliss Crocker, $2.000. have never seen anybody there but Mrs. Nelson.

Furthermore, it is said that Mrs. Dodson is also secretary at Abyssinia, Mrs. Adams operates a flower shop in Harlem and Corliss Crocker is not known to me.

Moreover, Powell has been busy collecting campaign contributions from everybody that he can.

In addition to all this, Mrs. Powell (the former Hazel Scott) pulls down around $75,000 annually for her concerts which of course were stopped when the heir apparent to the Powell throne arrived.

This isn't bad chicken-feed for two bright young people.

Baltimore, Md.

Powells Have Son

The Afro-American

NEW YORK—An 8-pound, 7-ounce son was born to the Adam C. Powells Jr., (Hazel Scott) at Sydenham Hospital here Wednesday morning. Sat. 7-27-46

Mrs. Powell, who was reported resting comfortably, re-entered the institution Tuesday after having been examined two weeks ago.

Born. To the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., 37, New York Congressman and preacher; and Hazel Scott, 26, boogie-woogie artist; their first child, a son; in Manhattan. Name: Adam Clayton Powell III. Weight: 8 lbs. 7 oz. Time Magazine New York, N.Y. 7-29-46

Powell's Record in House Revealed

18 Months' Work Told by N. Y. Congressman

INTRODUCED 11 BILLS

Assistance to GI's, Workers Detailed

Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK.—A comprehensive review of the activities of Rep. Adam C. Powell (Dem., N.Y.) during his first 18 months as a Congressman is given in a release sent out from his office here on July 16.

In it, Representative Powell, the first colored person elected to the Congress from the Eastern Seaboard, is cited as the first colored Congressman since Reconstruction to have any legislation passed by both Houses and signed by the President.

The measure in question was the Powell Amendment to the Flanagan School Lunch Bill which [illegible]red distribution of $100,000,000 to any State which discriminated against colored school children.

'Firsts' Listed

The release also points to the successful nomination of Cadet Wesley Brown to Annapolis and Mr. Powell's raising of the question of segregation in Federal prisons, a practice later abolished in Danbury, Conn.

Among "firsts" attributed to him are: Sat. 7-27-46

Consideration of DAR discrimination, a vote on the question of segregation in the District of Columbia, insistence that a colored journalist be seated in the Senate and House Press galleries;

Introduction of a bill to abolish jim crow in transportation, and of a bill to prohibit segregation in the armed forces.

Introduced 11 Bills

During the 79th Congress, Mr. Powell also introduced 11 bills calling for:

Permanent FEPC, naturalization of Filipinos, naturalization of Virgin Islanders, naturalization of Indians, abolition of lynching, naturalization of Koreans;

Abolition of jim crow in transportation, abolition of poll tax, abolition of jim crow in armed forces, pension for Matthew Henson, and sick and annual leave for war service postal employees.

Aided GI's Cause

Also pointed out is favorable action guaranteed in some 800 cases of court-martial injustices sent to the Congressman. Some of the most popular cases and changes effected included:

The freeing of two sentenced to death for criminal assault; the restoration to duty of former Capt. Leroy Clay, sentenced to 50 years;

The case of the 18 men court-martialed because of an incident in North Africa, some of whom were given an opportunity to re-enlist in the service, and others' sentences reduced;

Led to Appointment of Davis

The reduction of sentences given 100 officers at Seymour, Ind., given by Colonel Selway at Freeman Field and Colonel Selway's replacement by Col. Benjamin O. Davis Jr.;

The restoration to duty of four Wacs in Massachusetts sentenced to one year hard labor and dishonorable discharges; the freeing of eight men condemned to death in Germany for mutiny;

The reinstatement of Bernard J. Mason, sentenced to life for an incident which occurred in Pazkin, Iran, and the reduction of sentences of five soldiers court-martialed at Camp Claiborne, La., for mutiny, with possible restoration to duty for some.

Helped Others Advance

In addition, the release lists the Congressman's activity in obtain[illegible]tter paying jobs for several [illegible]deral workers, including the [illegible]owing:

Wilhelmina Adams, $3,500; Corliss Crocker, $2,000, all in the House Office Building.

Dodson, $2,000: [illegible]

Thomasina Johnson, director of minority section, USES, $7,500.

J. Ida Jiggetts, medical and psychiatric social worker, Veterans' Administration Hospital, $4,500.

Harry F. Edwards, director of personnel, Europe, UNRRA, $4,000.

Elizabeth McDougall, assistant director of personnel, Europe, UNRRA, $4,000.

Roland Sawyer, headquarters, personnel office, UNRRA, $4,000.

Blanchard A. Baker, headquarters, personnel office, UNRRA, $4,000.

Mary C. Nelson, welfare worker, China, UNRRA, $4,000.

Edna Fraser, Red Cross, London, $4,000.

Phoebe Nelson, $4,500; Hattie F. [illegible]

AGAINST

Work-or-Fight Bill.

Insurance "Grab" Bill.

Funds for the Rankin Committee.

Transferring OPA activities to the Department of Agriculture.

Court procedure appeal from OPA.

Military Censorship Bill.

Abolition of the National War Labor Board.

Hobbs Anti-Labor Bill.

Prohibiting discrimination against colored nurses.

Amending the Constitution relative to making treaties.

Bretton Woods plan.

Abolition of the poll trax.

Increase in salary of Federal employees.

Original OPA act.

Bill to make people from India eligible for naturalization.

Reducing taxes.

Veterans' housing.

UNRRA.

FOR

Nursing care for the armed forces including the amendment which was passed after the Powell

Instigated Probes

During the period, according to the release, Mr. Powell urged the Despite absences and death of illness and death of mother and personal illness, it is pointed out that Mr. Powell voted as follows.

Governor Dewey to appoint special investigation of Freeport, L.I., lynch murder, and urged Senator Mead to reject Bilbo as a member of the Senate.

Voting Record Cited

In February, it is revealed, the New Republic placed Representative Adams on its Congressional Honor Roll for meritorious work in the House of Representatives in fighting against discrimination.

New York, N.Y.

45c 1946 Ohio

CLEVELAND JUDGE BEGINS DUTIES.—A triumph for liberalism in Cleveland during 1945 was the election of Judge Perry B. Jackson to the Municipal bench. Votes of Negro and white citizens of both major parties gave the Forest City's first Negro judge his second chance to administer justice. The judge-elect, who assumed his duties Jan. 2, in the Civil branch, is shown being sworn in by Municipal Chief Justice Burt W. Griffin.

The Call, Kansas City, Mo.

In Cleveland, Ohio

45c

Appoint Woman Police Prosecutor

The Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 12-14-46

By CAPERS DUNMORE

CLEVELAND—Attorney Jean Murrell Capers was appointed assistant police prosecutor for the City of Cleveland last week by Mayor Thomas A. Burke. This is believed to be the first time that a Negro woman has been named to such a position in the United States.

This attractive 33-year-old attorney first attracted local and national prominence when she missed being the first Negro Councilwoman in Cleveland and the Nation by a slim margin of 140 odd votes when she was defeated by the incumbent Councilman Augustus Parker as representative of the Twelfth Ward. Political prognosticators had predicted that she would be a sure shot for this position in the coming elections.

In appointing her to the post as assistant police prosecutor Mayor Burke stated that because of her contributions to the community it was felt that she deserved a place in the city government. "This appointment," the Mayor said, "is also in recognition of the service Negro women have given towards better city government" Pittsburgh, Pa.

FROM TEACHING TO LAW.

The modern Portia has taken a keen inters in the social problems of her community. A graduate of Western Reserve School of Education, she entered the Cleveland elementary school system as a teacher in 1932 and in 1934 became the first Negro Physical education instructor in the City's High School System. She held this position in her high school alma mater, Central High.

On the advice of a close friend, Atty. Clarence Sharpe, prominent member of the Clevand Bar, she turned her talents to the pursuit of law. Graduating from Cleveland Law School in the class of '45, she took the Ohio State Bar Examination in June of 1945 and was admitted to the Bar in July, 1945. Since that time she has maintained offices as a practising attorney and intends to further her studies in law, specializing in labor and real estate law. The Courier

SPORTS FIGURE

Fostered perhaps by her work in physical education, Attorney Capers is a keen devotee of sports. She was Cleveland Citywide tennis champion of 1941, and with Hazel Franch won the national badmition doubles champion at the Chicago meet in 1941. She was also a member of one of Cleveland's leading girls basketball teams and is rated among Cleveland's top flight bowlers. Next season her athletic talents will be put to work on the golf links where she will play in competitive matches.

Attorney Capers has always taken part in the civic life of her community. She has served as physical ed director of the Phillis Wheatley Association and had worked with the NAACP, Future Outlook League, Urban League, League of Women Voters and Town Meeting of Greater Cleaveland. Sat. 12-14-46

She was also the first Negro in the editorial department of the World Publishing Co., holding the position of editorial assistant. As a writer she has also done work for The Pittsburg Courier and the Call and Post.

ASSISTANT POLICE PROSECUTOR IN CLEVELAND—Jean Murrell Capers became another national first last week when she was appointed Assistant Police Prosecutor for the City of Cleveland, Ohio. She is believed the first colored woman in the United States to hold a post of this type.—Snead Photo.

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 12-14-46

DR. CRAMPTON NAMED ASSISTANT TO HEALTH SECRETARY

Sat. 1-26-46

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Dr. Charles Crampton was appointed last week assistant to the Secretary of Health of the State of Pennsylvania. Dr. Crampton's appointment carries the salary of $5,000 a year, makes the second high ranking position given to Negroes in this department. Horace Scott of Philadelphia is also assistant secretary of health.

Rainey Wed to White Divorcee

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Flies to Vermont in Surprise Ceremony

BURLINGTON, Vt.—Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey of Philadelphia was married here Friday morning to the former Mrs. Evelyn Titus Coplin, white, of 506 W. Coulter St., Germantown.

Mr. Rainey was divorced last week in Philadelphia by Mrs. Frances Wright Rainey, his third wife, on the grounds of indignities to the person, after having been married nine years.

The marriage was performed by Judge Wilkie E. Brisbin, who waived Vermont's usual five-day waiting period. The only witness was Miss Elizabeth Daniels, Canadian businesswoman. Both the jurist and Miss Daniels are long-time friends of Mr. Rainey.

Wife from Midwest

The new Mrs. Rainey is 31, the daughter of a Grand Rapids, Mich., physician and was formerly married to Sol Coplin of New York City. She has one child, 11-year-old William Coplin.

Mrs. Rainey was educated in Michigan and is a graduate of the University of Michigan.

Honeymoon in Canada

After staying here until Saturday the couple left for Quebec, Canada, where they will spend a seven-day honeymoon. On returning to Philadelphia, the Raineys will live at 1709 Jefferson St.

The couple flew out of New York City early Friday morning, arriving here by Colonial Airlines airship several hours later and were immediately married. 3-16-46

"I'm Happy"

When reached at the Hotel Vermont after the ceremony, Mr. Rainey said, "Naturally I'm happy! I think I have found a person who is understanding and who understands me." Sun

Referring to the interracial side of the new union the 45-year-old member of Philadelphia's minor bench said:

"Regardless of who you are, people of the world can join hands to fight reaction if they see fit, and that means reaction wherever it's found, either here or abroad."

Not Sure of Reaction

When asked by the AFRO reporter what reaction he thought Philadelphia might receive the announcement, Mr. Rainey said, "I don't know—I'd better wait before making any statement in that regard."

Mr. Rainey was the first colored Democrat elected to a magistracy in Philadelphia and is now serving his second term at 2406 N. Broad St. 3-16-46

He is president of the local chapter of the NAACP and once served Pennsylvania as a secretary of the Athletic Commission. His name most recently has been mentioned as a possible Democratic candidate for Congress from the Fourth (North Philadelphia) District.

Cheyney Head Elected to Safety Conference

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

CHEYNEY, Pa. — Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, president of the Cheyney State Teachers' College, has been elected to membership of the President's Highway Safety Conference. Sat 5-4-4

As a member representing this area, he will attend a meeting of the conference to be held in Washington on May 8 to help work out some of the details of a program for National traffic safety.

Philadelphia Politico Blasted

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Norris Support Of Tax Hike Scored

Sat. 9-21-46

PHILADELPHIA — J. Austin Norris, $10,000-a-year Negro member of the Board of Revision of Taxes here, was virtually read out of the Democratic party recently by Congressman Michael J. Bradley, chairman of the Democratic City Committee.

Norris, long time Democratic leader and for the last three years editor of the Philadelphia Edition of the Pittsburgh Courier, was accused by Congressman Bradley last Thursday of "going over to the Philistines."

Bradley's blast followed Norris' urging increased real estate assessments for 1947. Most of the city Republican administration leaders favor hiking the tax rate for next year.

Shortly before Bradley's condemnation of Norris, Norris admitted:

"I favor this increase. As a matter of fact, I recommended an increase last year, in line with the tax rates generally in effect in cities of similar size and character."

Congressman Bradley said Norris did not consult him regarding the proposed increase in assessments, and added, "As far as I am concerned, the action is still reprehensible and unjustified. I had nothing to do with the appointment of Mr. Norris to the Board of Revision of Taxes."

U. S. Senator Joseph F. Guffey, Democrat, is being opposed for reelection by Gov. Edward Martin, Republican, and Democratic politicians fear resentment against Guffey may be created by Norris' action.

GOP Leader Gets High Police Post

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

Nelson Takes Office In Philadelphia

Sat. 6-22-46

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Robert J. Nelson, 61, this week was sworn into office as assistant director of public safety, the post left vacant when Herbert E. Millen, first Negro to hold the $4,250-a-year job, resigned recently.

The ceremony took place in the office of Director of Public Safety James H. Malone, who administered the oath. Also present were Superintendent of Police Howard P. Sutton; Assistant City Solicitor James Ryan; Detective Captain Joseph Kerns; and Harry Battis, personal friend of Nelson.

Nelson, the second Negro to serve as State Athletic Director, is a veteran Republican politician.

"Double-Cross" Charged

He replaces Millen, who resigned in a huff June 4 charging the GOP city and state leadership with double-crossing him on what he claimed was a promised appointment to a municipal court judgeship.

A few hours before Nelson was sworn in, Millen was closeted with Mayor Bernard Samuel for twenty minutes in what was reported as a last minute effort by Samuel to persuade Millen to withdraw his resignation. After the conference neither would make any comment.

Nelson began his political career 30 years ago in Harrisburg, working in the State Treasurer's office before World War I. Years later, for a brief period, he transferred his political activity to Wilmington, Del., where he lined up with the DuPonts. He published the Wilmington Advocate, which was influential among Negroes throughout the state.

Weds Poet's Widow

Returning to Philadelphia when former Governor Pinchot was rising to power, he was sponsored by Stephen Stahlnecker, Pinchot's former secretary, and headed Pinchot's campaigning among Negroes throughout Pennsylvania. Both Nelson and Stahlnecker are natives of Reading, Pa.

Payoff for Nelson during Pinchot's second term was his appointment as State Athletic Commissioner in 1932, a post he held until 1935.

A widower, Nelson's wife was the former Alice Dunbar, widow of Paul Laurence Dunbar, noted Negro poet. A school here at 12th st. and Columbia ave. is named in honor of Dunbar.

45c 1946

Philippine Islands

TO MANILA

EDGAR F. LOVE

8-31-46

Of Kansas City, Mo., who recently accepted an appointment as administrative assistant in ordnance at Manila, Philippine Islands.

The Argus St. Louis, Mo.

JOSEPH L. McLEMORE

Friends here have received word that attorney Joseph L. McLemore and his wife have departed for Manila in the Philippines where the former St. Louisan will serve as War Crimes Prosecutor. Fri. 8-23-46

Attorney McLemore's appointment, which is for one year, came through the Civilian Personnel Division of the War Department. It carries a salary of $5,905 plus 25 per cent for overseas service, a total of $7,380.

Mr. McLemore was prominent in democratic politics here and was once candidate for Congress against L. C. Dyer. For the past three years McLemore has been consultant in the Office of Price Administration in Washington, D. C., where he made his residence.

ORDNANCEMAN

Defender

Chicago, Ill. Sat.

Sen. Claghorn Makes Record

Congressional, We Mean, And It's No Joke

WASHINGTON, Apr. 11.—Sen. Beauregard Claghorn (NBC) has finally been admitted by Congress and by unanimous consent.

The Dixie foghorn has ceased to be a joke down below that Mason and Dixon's Line that he's been riding on Fred Allen's Sunday night radio show.

A Joke, Son

It all happened when Rep. Henry D. Dar-cade, Jr., a Southerner from the old school—Opelousas, La., that is—asked permission of the House to reprint in the *Congressional Record* an editorial attack on Claghorn by the Richmond (Va.) *Times-Dispatch*. The House agreed unanimously, as it does to all such requests.

Here's what the *Times-Dispatch* had to say about Claghorn:

"For years, yes, decades, we've been battling to bring some measure of rationality into the fried-chicken - watermelon-mammy-magnolia-moonlight-mocking bird-moon June-croon school of thinking on Southern problems, and now we've run up against the toughest proposition yet. We refer, of course, to that bombastic blumbling, brou-ha-ha of the air waves, Sen. Beauregard Claghorn, 'from the Deep South, that is,' whom a writer in *Life* has just referred to as 'the most-quoted man in the Nation.'

"This amazing character on the Sunday evening Fred Allen program must have given millions in the North and West the notion that Southern Senators spend their time in making frightful puns, and bellowing 'that's a joke, son!'

"We 'Southronehs' have been kept sufficiently busy asserting to our Northern friends that we aren't all morons and degenerates a la Tocabbo Road, or banjo-picking mammy-singers, a la Jolson, but now we have to go around protesting that we aren't all raucous nitwits and foghorns like Sen. Claghorn, 'from the South, that is.' Cad!"

Helpful, That Is

[Cincinnati Enquirer]

WE beg to differ from the Richmond Times-Dispatch, which is a bit disheartened by the meteoric popularity of radio's "Senator Claghorn," because of the implication that all Southern Congressmen are like that, and because it makes just one more thing for Southerners to contend with, after all these years of "Tobacco Road" and other not-so-true-to-type depictions of what life is like in the South.

In the first place, the radio characterization is gently satirical. It does not inspire a cruel laugh at the South—and we've always believed being the butt of a good-humored laugh does no one any harm—quite the contrary. It's our guess that the net result of Claghorn's career (which necessarily will be limited by the available stock of North-South puns) will be a better feeling between North and South. Perhaps a little more laughter a la the Claghorn and "damyankee" variety would have gotten feelings in their proper proportion some years back. When we can laugh at and with each other, it's a good cement of friendship. Only the laughter of sarcasm—which isn't true humor anyhow—makes enmities worse.

Anyhow, for our money, Senator Claghorn is a better typification of a Southern member of Congress than some of the specimens who have been and are still on Capitol Hill from below the Mason-Dixon Line. To name but one of each category, there was Huey Long and there is "That Man" Bilbo.

So, of a friendship rooted in the South, we say to Claghorn, keep on staying away from the "Union Stations" and "thee Yankee Stadium" and avoiding those "Northern winds"; we think you're doing good. Good, that is.

The South Will Knuckle Under

Southern politicians take themselves seriously, but no one else will much longer. They talk too much to do so little. They shout that they will not obey the supreme court's decrees about Negroes, and then knuckle under.

A while back it was Negroes' right to vote that the court acted on. Promptly these beneficiaries of the southern system of politics that disfranchises whites as well as blacks, went into their act—only over their dead bodies should Negroes go to the polls. Negroes are voting and there have been no suicides.

A few days ago segregation drew the high court's scrutiny. It ordered no more separating of passengers travelling interstate by bus. Promptly the politicians made their bid for attention. They declared segregation would go on. They did that though they know separating travelers is an expense, uncompensated.

Segregation in travel imposes dual facilities and inflicts a corresponding loss of service. These champions of hate would see that if they could think. But think or not, in ten years Negroes will be out of gun shot of the devil of prejudice. The ballot will armor them against attack by law. Once the law makes all equal, the American people will share common carriers with Negroes, as freely as they now share streets and highways.

BEHIND THE SCENES

The Afro-American, Baltimore, Md.

WITH RALPH MATTHEWS

SOMEWHERE IN THE SOUTH—The most ironic and amusing thing I have discovered about the South is the attitudes of the people of one Southern State toward those of another. A taxi driver in Atlanta, carrying me to the airport was deeply annoyed when I told him I was going to Jackson, Miss. "You're surely not going down there among those crackers," he said, "Well take care of yourself."

Ralph Matthews

It was amusing, for I had just finished reading some of the speeches of Gene Talmadge who is running for governor of Georgia which were more imflamatory than Bilbo's worse tirades.

Talmadge had gone to great lengths in a half-page ad explaining just how he planned to circumvent the Supreme Court and the Constitution to keep colored voters from participating in Georgia's elections.

Other aspirants for office were equally vehement in their tirades against all but whites. But still my taxi driver felt very sorry because I had to go into a dreadful State like Mississippi.

Pot Calls Kettle Black

By the time I reached Birmingham, I found the same condition obtained. A distinguished citizen had me sit down and relate to her all of the terrible things I had seen in Mississippi.

"It's just terrible over there," she said. "Mississippi is so backward," her tone was that of some one living in New York or Boston. She absolutely forgot that Alabama had given the country the infamous Scottsboro case and other national and international scandals.

Continuing on to Nashville, I found the people there keenly interested in the Bilbo case and deploring the fact that he had not been defeated.

"It's a shame that a man like that should be sent back to the Senate," they observed mournfully, forgetting that Tennessee's own Kenneth McKellar has been one of the worst enemies of civil liberities ever to serve in Washington and stands a good chance of going back if he keeps in with the Crump machine.

How Do They Think?

However, if the minds of the segregated Southerners are hard to fathom, the mentalities of whites are even more unpredictable. The Jackson (Mississippi) Daily News opposed the Bilbo candidacy. Examine its argument attests to its own weakness.

Editor Frank Sullens said editorially:

"Bilbo has got to go. Mississippi is entitled to, and should have a senior senator who will represent the State with decency, honor and ability.

"We have a junior senator who is doing that, and Senator Eastland is entitled to a colleague who will work with him in harmony and restore the prestige our State once held in the upper branch of the nation's lawmaking body.

"Today the name of Mississippi is spoken with derision and contempt throughout the nation and all because of the demagogy of Bilbo."

Poor, Innocent Eastland

How is that for a sense of values? It was Eastland, who in an attempt to out-Bilbo Bilbo, issued the blackest smear ever leveled against a minority when he told his evil lie about colored troops raping a whole town in France.

It was the same Eastland who stood for days reading the crime records of every city in the United States during the filibuster against FEPC trying to prove that colored citizens committed most of the crimes in the U.S.A. and the lawmakers were resorting to every subterfuge and technical device to keep all from registering. Bilbo's crime was that the sheer audacity of his challenge pelled some leaders to get back times bragged bone enough to resist those pressures. To this extent he was a quarterback.

Just a Passel of Skunks

But Bilbo was only the most odoriferous of a whole passel of smaller political skunks. All of the candidates ran on the artificial issue of white supremacy, varying only in degree.

Just how were the lawmaking bodies and the conservative leaders handling the situation? Well, his antics in Congress but Congressman Dan McGehee running for re-election in the Seventh District in a quarter-page ad said of himself:

"Dan McGehee has consistently fought the passage of the FEPC, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and such other legislation so vital to the interests of Mississippi. He has fought and voted to qualify to keep going."

Mississippi Altruism

"It is different now. He charged that citizens by the number of times they had been up and failed to qualify. One man had failed after 46 trips, but he kept every day.

In addition, conservative leaders were calling leaders at businessmen and putting all of economic pressure on them to persuade their friends and followers to renounce their right to vote.

"Dan McGehee feels it is not necessary to state his record in Congress—it has been only in degree.

John Rankin gets most of the

has been good."

But here is McGehee's clincher which is vitally important:

"If Dan McGehee is not sent back to Congress, he will be replaced as chairman on important committees by a Northern member who does not have the interest of the South at heart.

"His place could not be taken by any new man from the Seventh District. A new man will go to the foot of every committee on which he is placed."

Between Two Fires

But did the voters of Mississippi have a choice in the Seventh District? Not on your life. Here is the advertisement of his opponent, John Bill Williams:

"I will fight with all the energy and resources at my command all legislation and measures designed to destroy our traditional white supremacy and government, such as FEPC, anti-poll tax, antilynching and such other bills.

"To the white Democratic voters of the Seventh Congressional District, I have fought a hard but clean campaign, if elected I will make the Seventh District a useful, active, unselfish and sober member of Congress."

Ignorance Out of Atlanta

The Times and Courier
Wed. 10-30-46

A loose and incorrect saying in an Associated Press dispatch, dated Atlanta, October 19, and telling that one Scott, a negro who had announced as a candidate for coroner, has been taken to a mental hospital is that "he stood a good chance of becoming the first negro officeholder in the Deep South since Reconstruction days". Those days ended in South Carolina in April, 1877, and negroes (not many) were office-holders in South Carolina until 1896. Negro Democrats were members of the general assembly from at least four counties in the 1880s and held other offices in two or three counties. The complete exclusion of negroes from elected offices was caused by the substitution of the primary for the convention system—and the negro "Democrats" are now struggling to get into the primary instead of asking for the restoration of the convention plan of making nominations. Presumably, the Associated Press was referring to state and county offices. Many negroes have held postmasterships and other federal offices. The capital city of South Carolina had a negro postmaster in the middle '80s. There were others. Charleston, S.C.

THE LEOPARD'S SPOTS

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 9-28-46

Jimmy Byrnes—1919 And Today

WASHINGTON — Continuing whirlpool of discord in the Paris Peace Conference of which State Secretary James F. Byrnes is the center may well be explained by the uncompromising anti-minority background which the former representative from South Carolina disclosed in Congress in 1919.

The Secretary of State is now demanding unity and self rule for the peoples of Germany. He has informed the Polish government that the U. S. feels justified in directing the conduct of its elections. And he has supported the Australian proposal for a Human Rights court to review the grievances of white minorities only in former enemy countries.

Paradox Over Greece

Since Secretary Byrnes loudly proclaims the democratic principle, it may be supposed he did not know, as Herbert Evatt admitted, that the Australian court proposal did not apply to non-white minorities. But a paradox reveals itself in his approval of the Greek elections. For four years the Greek people fought and died for freedom, while their king lived at ease in London. Secretary Byrnes now feels that it is the free will of the people that called the exiled monarch back to rule the masses. He even arranged for a U. S. aircraft carried to visit Piraevus, and for 143 planes to fly over Athens, congratulating the Greek people on their choice.

Byrnes, who was appointed to represent U. S. foreign policy, apparently is not far removed from his background. As a member of Congress after the last war, he launched a vicious attack against Negroes and Negro leaders, while decent people throughout the world and the nation were reacting with horror to the race riots in Washington and Chicago.

Pits God Against Negro

Speaking on the floor of the House, Aug. 25, 1919, Byrnes, fresh from South Carolina, said, "As to social equality, God Almighty never intended that a white race and a black race should live on terms of social equality, and that which the Creator did not intend, man cannot make possible."

With Secretary Byrnes, however, there are different types of violence. He continued in his remarks, "Whenever a Negro commits an assault on a white woman, the white man does not reason. He acts . . . It must be said that the mob rarely, if ever does violence to any but the guilty Negro. The mob may lynch the 'guilty' man, but the law-abiding Negro knows he is in no danger," he explained.

"If the two races are to live together in this country," he continued, "it may be well understood that the war has in no way changed the attitude of the white man toward the social and political equality of the Negro." Byrnes referred to World War I, which was fought against the same enemies with the exception of one, for the same principals. He has progressed from a Congressman to Secretary of State, and apparently his bias has expanded to include non-white populations of the whole world.

Hints Deportation

Byrnes told Congress that if the Negro had come out of the war with the determination not to live in the U. S. without social and political equality, then he should depart for some other country, and that his departure would be facilitated by whites, who desired "no disturbing factor in their midst."

". . . There are in this country, 90,000,000 white people determined not to extend political and social equality to the 10,000,000 Negroes . . . Neither political equality nor social equality is essential to the happiness of the Negro," Byrnes concluded.

This was in 1919, less than a year after the first war for world democracy. Now, 27 years later, the proponent of second class citizenship for colored people, as representative of U. S. foreign policy is in a position to apply his theories on a world wide scale. His record at the peace conference indicates that he is doing just that.

Dustin off the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

Defender

JAMES F. BYRNES OF "TOBACCO ROAD" SECRETARY OF STATE.

Chicago, Ill.

(This was written before Henry A. Wallace resigned.)

THE CONTROVERSY over what Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace said on our foreign policy and what President Truman okayed at variance with the declared interest of Secretary of State James F. Byrnes recalls many such diplomatic slip-ups down through the years of political history centering around the White House. A Secretary of State really speaks "the mind" of the administration. A weak or even a strong Secretary can either make or break a president.

Lucius Harper

Sat. 9-28-46

It is conceded by best authority that at the most crucial hour in our nation's history we have the weakest Secretary of State. Sending James F. Byrnes of South Carolina to aid in establishing world peace is like assigning a jackass to do an elephant's job. His political training and association has actually fitted him to do everything contrary to the formation of a peace program. It just isn't in the man. He was long a troublesome cancer on every attempt to establish peace in South Carolina, and he was forever in the company of the worst demagogues that ever sat in the House and Senate. He was a bosom pal of Pat Harrison of Mississippi, and it was the Byrnes-Harrison combination that worked with clock-like precision in the third session of the Seventy-fifth Congress that filibustered the anti-lynch bill in January 1938.

Defender

Byrnes has always been a "Tobacco Road" politician. He betrayed President Roosevelt in 1936 when he told voters of South Carolina that "a vote for Byrnes is a vote for Roosevelt." When he won the senate seat for six more years, he immediately joined the reactionary group and fought the President's relief measures bitterly. On the Senate Appropriations committee of which the old Virginia fossil, Carter Glass was chairman. Byrnes was the dominating influence and the two stood as bottlenecks through which all relief appropriations were squeezed to the marrow. He always spoke for the Northern corporate and industrial wealth — then fighting Roosevelt — which has enslaved his own people in South Carolina.

Chicago, Ill.

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THE NOW SECRETARY of State Byrnes, who is talking so loudly about bringing peace in Poland, the Balkans and the Middle East, where people are starving, actually tried to starve the laborer in this country by joining with Pat Harrison to defeat the wage-hour bill which passed the Senate over their bitter protest. When a member of the House, he could be relied upon to hold up government appropriations for Howard University. He delivered some of his most venomous tirades against the government "spending the taxpayers' money to educate a bunch of Negroes."

Sat. 9-28-46

For twenty-six days he stood in the midst of the fight to block passage of the anti-lynch bill, which cost the taxpayers $9,000 a day. Southern senators, led by Tom Connally of Texas, now head of our Foreign Relations committee, filibustered against the bill although the majority of the senators favored it. Byrnes and Connally (who, incidentally is trying to make the Balkans better, but not Texas) prevented the bill from coming to a vote. When Jimmy Roosevelt, then a presidential secretary, telephoned Byrnes and asked politely: "Father would like to know what likelihood there is of the filibuster's ending," Byrnes retorted, "Tell President Roosevelt not until the year 2038, unless the bill is withdrawn before then!" And this is our great Secretary of State who wants to save lives in the Balkans, but permit Negroes to be lynched in South Carolina. What a secretary!

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HERE IS A SPEECH that Byrnes and Harrison prepared to defeat the anti-lynch bill, and delivered by Byrnes on the floor of the senate. "We see the people of the South," he began, "confronted with the terrible situation of a Democratic majority betraying the trust of the Southern people, destroying the things that they have idolized and in which they believe. I read the other day that the Negro representative from Illinois had introduced a bill to abolish Jim Crow car laws in the States, to abolish those laws which provide for the segregation of the races. The next thing, in all probability, will be a bill to provide that miscegenation of the races cannot be prohibited, and when that has been accomplished, they will come back here and seek the help of the majority party in power to take away from the states the right to say who shall vote in their elections, to say that every colored man in every southern state should take part in the primaries in the state." In the event there are any black people in the Balkans, this is the type of democracy our "great" Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes, will bring them. Out of such "peace," Europe will be rebuilt.

Knowing Byrnes' record as he does, is there any wonder that a gentleman like Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace would try to save the world and President Truman from the lowly aims of this "Tobacco Road" politician? It is a tragedy in the annals of civilization that at the very hour when real men are needed at the helm of the government to promote progress and peace that such narrow-minded, prejudice - ridden souls as James Byrnes and Tom Connally are at the forefront. America, with such representation, has reduced our diplomatic relations with foreign countries to its lowest estate.

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GO BACK OVER the list of Secretaries of State under former presidents and see how they compare with Byrnes of South Carolina. Theodore Roosevelt had the great New York lawyer, Elihu Root, a master at constitutional law; Taft had Philander Knox, the great Philadelphia lawyer and aristocrat; Wilson had William Jennings Bryan, free from smallness and bigtory; Harding had Charles Evans Hughes, later Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court; Coolidge had Robert Lansing, gentleman and scholar; Franklin Roosevelt had Cordell Hull, Southern gentleman, diplomat, and free of prejudice. Now look at Byrnes, and die laughing.

Biographical Information

The News and Courier

By sending seven cents to The Lighthouse and Informer, a newspaper of negroes, 1022½ Washington street, Columbia, S. C. one may have a copy of its edition, November 3, containing a carefully compiled and comprehensive, though condensed, record of the deliverances of Dr. James F. Byrnes of Spartanburg, secretary of state in President Truman's cabinet, relating to the "negro question". The newspaper of the colored people is distinctly unfriendly to Dr. Byrnes, but that is not an argument of weight with us reactionaries to admit him to our fellowship. The disposition of the negro members of the New, or Rooseveltian, party toward Dr. Byrnes is evidence of dissensions in that party. The News and Courier does not contend that negroes' dislike for a white statesman makes him a good and great white statesman though it does count in one's favor in the minds of many white South Carolinians, especially if they are holders of offices.

Charleston, S.C. Wed. 11-6-46

Tenn. Town Elects 1st Minority Councilmen

Baltimore Md. Afro American

SEWANEE, Tenn. (ANP) — In an unprecedented action for this unincorporated community, location of the University of the South, Rayford L. Bailey, 36, last week was elected a representative to the city council.

Bailey, a native of Roanoke, Ala., and first colored member of the council, will function with other members in the disbursing of charity, sponsoring the community chest, employment of law enforcement officers, and in liaison activities between the town and university. Sat 3-4-46

Tennessee community gets Negro councilman

Pittsburgh Courier Los Angeles

SEWANEE, Tenn.—Rayford L. Bailey, 36, was recently elected first Negro city councilman of Sewanee, Tenn., an unincorporated community which houses the University of the South. Sewanee is situated on 10,000 acres owned by the Episcopal Church and has 170 Negroes among its 1,170 population. 3-23-46

Virginia Liberal Blames Carter Glass for State's Sorry Political Plight

John Locke Green Tells AFRO Reporter Why He Fought Deeds of Venerable Rebel

By RALPH MATTHEWS

ARLINGTON, Va. (AFRO National Bureau) — It was but a few short hours after 88-year-old Senator Carter Glass marched into eternity that I walked into the office of County Treasurer John Locke Green in Arlington County Courthouse.

The timing was almost perfect, because it was lanky John Locke Green who has for years carried on a one-man crusade against the deceased Senator.

Asked Displacement

Even as Carter Glass was giving up his long struggle for life, Treasurer Green was preparing another shot at his venerable head.

The attack was in the form of a letter to Senator Byrd — a letter which was never mailed — calling upon him to declare Glass's seat vacant.

The letter was the culmination of a long crusade to oust the aged Senator ever since he became inactive, more than four years ago.

But Mr. Green wanted to rid the State of Glass's influence not only because of his inability to serve, but also because he blames Glass for the backwardness of the State in general.

Sought Constitution Ban

Senator Glass began to wield an influence in Virginia politics as early as 1902, Mr. Green pointed out.

He was one of the fathers of the movement to renounce the Constitution under which the State was readmitted to the Union after the Civil War, Green said.

Writing of the period which ushered Glass into Virginia public affairs, Mr. Green had this to say:

"After the Civil War, with the reconstruction days behind her, Virginia began to recapture some of her past influence and importance in the Councils of the Nation.

Resurrected Mistakes

"However, the song of hate took over the song of Sherman's march to the sea.

"Those Virginians who sing the song of hate refuse to let the dead sleep. Even the peace and quiet of Hollywood Cemetery had no appeal for them in this direction.

"Not content to let the dead alone, they resurrected the mistakes and follies of their ancestors for political purposes.

"Then, as a result of this political hate there was conceived in iniquity a convention. It met in Richmond in 1901 and was in continuous session for over a year.

"It cost the Commonwealth over $100,000. At the conclusion of its deliberations, to make the scene of its action more complete, it was baptized in fraud.

"It returned the representative government of Virginia to caste rule, generally known as 'class rule.'"

Bill of Rights

The George Mason Bill of Rights, insuring civil liberties for all people of Virginia, was originally written into the Constitution.

Many of the delegates, however, balked at taking the oath to uphold the Constitution as long as the clause protecting the rights of white and black alike was a part of the document.

While others wavered, Carter Glass put all sham aside and, gaining the floor, declared:

"Mr. Chairman, . . . I desire to state a practical objection to taking this oath, which makes it a question of conscience with us.

"The oath proposed to be administered provides that we shall 'support and maintain the Constitution of the United States.'

"There can be no objection to that. But it further provides that we shall 'support and maintain the Constitution and laws of Virginia.'

"I can see a very serious objection to that. It means that we are to be bound by oath to 'support and maintain' an instrument that we were sent here to tear to pieces and reconstruct.

"It particularly means that we are to bind ourselves by oath to maintain, and not to alter, that very feature of the existing Constitution of Virginia which we were sent here to change radically.

"To illustrate: Article XII of the exisiting Constitution of Virginia (1867), providing for future changes and alterations in the Constitution says:

"'No amendment or revision shall be made which shall deny or in any way impair the right of suffrage or any civil or political right that is conferred by this Constitution, except for causes which apply to all persons and classes without distinction.'

Blocks Our Plans

"This provision of the existing Constitution (1867) stands directly across the purpose for which this convention was ordered.

"In short, it says in terms that this convention (1902) shall not do the exact thing for which it was designed; that we shall not perform the mission for which we were sent here.

"If we are not to alter the franchise clause of the existing Constitution (1867) without regard to the provision above quoted from Article XII, we had as well not alter it at all.

"If we are to change it, why in the name of reason should we be required to take an oath to support and maintain a thing which we propose deliberately to tear up by the roots?

'The chief purpose of this convention (1902) is to amend the suffrage clause of the existing Constitution (1867)."

This was the creation of the poll tax which disfranchised former slaves and poor whites.

Continued Glass:

"It does not require much prescience to foretell that the alterations which we shall make will not apply to 'all persons and classes without distinction.'

"We were sent here to make distinctions. We expect to make distinctions. We will make distinctions. Hence, I object to taking an oath which will bind me not to make distinctions.

"Indeed, I really believe I would sooner permit myself to be expelled from this convention than to bind myself by oath not to alter the suffrage clause of the Underwood Constitution.

"That Constitution was unquestionably designed to prevent the white people of Virginia from ever again getting possession of their government."

Must Be Repudiated

Mr. Green, who has been a noted liberal and long a battler for the rights of all citizens regardless of race, creed or color, concludes:

"The principle of government declared for by Carter Glass on the floor of the Constitutional Convention of 1902, and embodied in the Constitution of Virginia is solely responsible for Virginia's predicament of today.

"It is the reason why Virginia has only one Senator. That principal is why Virginia has had no son to serve on the Supreme Court of the United States since 1860.

"That principle, initiated by Carter Glass, and written into our State Constitution, is the direct cause why Virginia stands 42nd from the top in education.

"It is why it stands fifth from the top for tuberculosis, first place for Armed Forces turn-downs on account of illiteracy and bad health, and first and second place for major crimes committed.

"Until Glass's principle of distinctions is repudiated and destroyed by Virginians, which cannot be done until we have a new Constitutional Convention, we will continue to occupy the position as above stated."

Dustin' off the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

OLD CARTER GLASS, FOE OF NEGROES, GOES "SOMEWHERE"

SENATOR Carter Glass of Virginia died in Washington last week at the age of 88. His death, of course, brought sadness in his immediate family circle, but beyond that it was a sort of blessing to America as a whole. He was actually clogging up a useful seat in the senate and was too hateful and contrary to resign and permit his state to be represented by someone with advanced and progressive ideas. He called himself an "Unreconstructed Rebel." He was that and more: he was a demagogue of the worst type. He never did represent the people who voted to elect him. He was the rich man's darling in politics.

Lucius Harper

He had no faith in the rank and file of humanity. He believed that the right to rule belonged to the aristocrats who had the wealth and leisure to cultivate the graces of life. His own humble beginning seemed to have intensified his respect for the wealthy, and likewise strengthened his contempt for the poor and underprivileged. In his youth, he admitted, he went to bed hungry many a night. He believed that democracy took a downward step when the people were given the right to vote directly for their senators. He clung to the old-fashioned idea that the state legislators were more competent to select a senator than the electorate at large. What he was actually confessing was that it was easier for rich men to buy their senators this way than to control general elections in the process of the purchase.

WHEN Roosevelt took over the government after the Hoover debacle, Senator Glass became his bitter enemy. He had a hatred for all the welfare programs Roosevelt instituted in behalf of the millions of unemployed. His lashing tongue was forever active in criticizing the president for his many alphabetical set-ups, especially the WPA. "I have lived too long," he said on his eightieth birthday. "It does not make a man happy to see his country repudiate his work. That is enough to make anyone sorry that his life has extended beyond the allotted span. Today we no longer have democracy; we have mobocracy. I shall remain an Unreconstructed Rebel until the policies of the government are changed." He was a small fellow, in both mind and height. He weighed just 100 pounds and was five feet, four inches tall. His habit of speaking from the extreme corner of his mouth prompted Woodrow Wilson to say: "Carter Glass is the only man I ever saw who can whisper in his own ear."

It was Carter Glass who actually disfranchised the Negroes of Virginia. After the Civil War there were approximately 700,000 whites and 510,000 Negroes in Virginia, with slightly more than 100,000 of the Negroes registered as voters. Usually the Negroes allied themselves with the poor white farmers to defeat the rule of the aristocrats. They were successful until the aristocrats in 1869 began a campaign of race hatred and split the Negro-white farmer coalition. They ruled for ten years until the Readjuster Movement and Populism shook the South, and the Negro-white farmer coalition was reunited. The cry of "Africanization" of Virginia went up, and again the alliance was broken. These tough political encounters convinced the Democrats of Virginia that the Negro must be disfranchised so that he could no longer tie up with the white farmers to overthrow the rule of the aristocrats.

BY 1900 disfranchisement was practically accomplished through dishonest elections and terrorism which kept the Negro voters from the polls, but the Bluebloods decided that legal disfranchisement would be safer and less likely to react against them than open corruption. To this end the Constitution Convention of 1901 was called, and there Carter Glass played his first major role in Virginia politics in ousting the Negro; taking away his citizenship. On June 12, 1901, the 100 delegates met in convention. Glass was in charge. The overwhelming opinion was that "no matter what the costs, no matter what the method, this one fact stands out supremely true: that the Anglo-Saxon race is now and forever will be master wherever it exists." The crux of their problem was to disfranchise the Negroes without alarming some delegates who were afraid that disfranchisement would be imposed on the poor whites beyond the Blue Ridge. Glass advocated a poll tax, and it was adopted. This seemed fair to all, but Glass added a second measure to save the whites and outlaw the Negroes. He introduced an "understanding clause" whereby the Negro applicants for the right to vote could be easily disqualified by white election officials for failure to understand and interpret constitutional questions, a legalized fraud that put learned Negroes at the mercy of ignorant white electors who kept them from voting.

Near the end of the convention Carter Glass took the platform and proudly announced: "In the midst of differing contentions and suggested perplexities, there stands out the uncontroverted fact that the law, of the law. Discrimination! Why, characteristics of the black race poor whites were tricked, too. precisely what we pro- and not against the 'race, color, or exactly is what this previous condition' of the people 1900, only 264,095 ballots were was elected for—to themselves. It is fine discrimina- cast in the presidential election to the very extremity tion, indeed, that we have practiced in the fabrication of this government, the new constitution now proclaimed in force by the delegates and was never submitted for ratification by the Federal Constitution with a view to the elimination of every voter who can be gotten rid of, legally, without materially impairing the numerical strength of the white electorate. As has been said, we have accomplished our purpose strictly within the limitations of the Federal Constitution; that will be done "by any plan." In response to Negro voter as to the floor as to the disfranchisement of was not being done "by discrimination," Glass of the white electorate. By fraud, no; by discrim- been said, we have accomplished our purpose strictly within the letter of the Federal Constitution within the letter of itations of the Federal Constitution, its effect was and not in violation tution by legislating against the not limited to the Negro vote. The law. Discrimination! Why, characteristics of the black race poor whites were tricked, too. precisely what we pro- and not against the 'race, color, or From a potential vote of 477,501 in exactly is what this previous condition' of the people 1900, only 264,095 ballots were was elected for—to themselves. It is fine discrimina- cast in the presidential election to the very extremity tion, indeed, that we have practiced under the limitations of the fraud that put learned Negroes at the mercy of ignorant white electors who kept them from voting.

AS A final blow to democratic government, the new constitution now proclaimed in force by the delegates and was never submitted for ratification by the Federal Constitution, its effect was not limited to the Negro vote. The poor whites were tricked, too. From a potential vote of 477,501 in 1900, only 264,095 ballots were cast in the presidential election

that year. Four years later the number of votes cast in the national election shrank to 129,000, less than half. The Negro vote, thanks to Carter Glass, had been reduced to 25,000. Recently the figures showed that out of 25,000 potential colored voters in Richmond, for example, there were only about 1,800 Negroes eligible to vote under the "Carter Glass restrictions." Probably the recent decision by the U. S. Supreme court in outlawing strictly white primaries may relieve this situation. For this noble work in Virginia, Carter Glass was sent to Washington by the aristocrats who have controlled Virginia ever since. He remained there for 40 years or more until God removed him, not the voters of Virginia.

Carter Glass, who was as undemocratic in his ideals as any man who ever occupied a senate seat, now goes to join a fantastic parade of political charlatans who once joined in the chorus to drown democracy here. He will be at ease in the company of Ben Tillman, Cole Blease, Tom Watson, Tom Hardwick, James K. Vardaman, Pat Harrison, Tom Heflin and "Cotton Ed" Smith. Let us hope that their prejudices won't ruin Heaven or the other place, if once they gather around the fire and start debating the race issue.

6-8-46

Another 'Rebel' Passes On

Courier

The passing of Senator Carter Glass of Virginia will not be mourned by colored people.

Saturday

Actually dubbed "The Unreconstructed Rebel" by the late President Roosevelt, Carter Glass lived up to that designation throughout his life.

6-8-46

Born in 1858, his family's fortunes were lost during the Civil War and thereafter he was bitter against Negroes whom he apparently held responsible for his poverty.

As soon as he attained political office, he wrote Virginia's basic jim-crow law and throughout his life was insistent upon its enforcement.

Pittsburgh

He was the leader of the diehard Southern political band which lost no opportunity to smear and hamstring colored people in every way simply because they were colored.

Pennsylvania

He could always be counted upon for an anti-Negro speech or action and throughout his long service in both houses of the Congress he remained what he was when he first came on the scene, always riding with the Cole Bleases, the James K. Vardamans, the Tom Connallys and the Jimmy Byrneses.

Significant and comforting is the fact that men such as he are much more in the minority and much less influential than they were when he came to office, and that fact indicates that America is far closer to the democratic ideals it espouses than it was when he raged.

45c 1946

Virgin Islands

Judge Moore, of Virgin Islands, vacationing here

Los Angeles Sentinel

California

Federal Judge Herman E. Moore, of the district court at the Virgin Islands, is in Southern California on his first visit, resting and amusing himself by comparing the climatic attractions of the southland with his post, a United States territory in the Carribean.

"The Virgin Islands", he told reporters mischieviously, "have the kind of climate Southern California boasts about". He is stopping in Long Beach as the guest of his wife's sister, Mrs. Guy Weaver, 1458 Myrtle ave., but he is making the office of Attorney Loren Miller his Los Angeles headquarters. Mrs. Moore is with him.

Appointed to the federal bench in 1939 by the late President Roosevelt, Judge Moore had the honor of succeeding the recently appointed governor of the territory, former Judge William Hastie. Another recent Truman appointee, Federal Judge Irving Mollison, of the New York district, was for 15 years associated with Judge Moore as a law partner.

Judge Moore is between court sessions. Only federal jurist in the islands, he holds court every two months in each of the three principal islands, St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix. His bench also serves as a superior or supreme court of appeal from the local or municipal courts and he hears from five to 600 cases a year. Sat 2-23-46

Native Mississippian, Judge Moore was an attorney for the Boston Transit system before going to Chicago. At the time of his appointment, he was a member of the Illinois Commerce commission.

The Virign Islands, Judge Moore considers more American" than any island in the Caribbean (which he pronounces Car-rib-bean). The natives seemed traditionally to have a proclivity for either the British or the Americans, despite the fact that the Danes first settled the islands.

The Danes, who brought in African slaves, were soon outnumbered by them four-to-one, Judge Moore pointed out. Passing up the language of their masters, the slaves learned English and soon their owners followed suit. In 1846, considerably before the freedom of the slaves in America, the Virgin island slaves rose up and overthrew their yoke.

Some of this initiative might be attributed, the jurist believes, to the fact that education was widespread in the islands. Where it was a crime for American slaves to be sent to school, it was mandatory in that territory. As a consequence, only two percent of the islands' population is illiterate today.

Quiet, meditative and urbane, Judge Moore is remarkably Oriental in appearance. He expressed great satisfaction with his post and amiably defended it against mainland condescension. Life in St. Thomas, the judge's headquarters, is very much like that of a small American town, he pointed out. There is no racial discrimination, although some of the whites do keep to themselves socially. The 35,000 persons living in the islands are largely Negro, some 85%; 5,000 are Puerto Rican, 2,000 Danish, 1,000 American white, and 1,000 pure French. The last is the lowest level of Virgin island society, the judge revealed; because of inter-marriage among themselves and consequent degeneration.

Conditions are not as bad in the islands as they are painted by American publications, Judge Moore asserted. Although the native wage scale is small ($12 to $14 per week), that is a remarkable advance over the period preceding the first world war when common labor was not worth 35 cents a day. The United States government is continually seeking to improve conditions there, he said.

The political set up, as outlined briefly by the spokesman for the islands, is as follows: the governor is appointed by the President. There is a separate legislature for each of the two largest (St. Thomas and St. John are combined for political purposes). The members are elected by the people to two year terms. Legislation, which is not contrary to federal law, can be passed over the veto of the governor, but must be sent to the President of the U. S. for confirmation. If he vetoes them, they may not be passed. Sat 2-23-46

Virgin islanders, the judge considers a fusion of the West Indian and the American Negro influence. American Negro publications are widely read in the islands, and the natives have come to feel that their welfare is linked with that of minority groups here.

The judge will be here two weeks, following which he will go East and embark from there to the islands.

Name Ex-332nd Sergeant to VI Municipal Council

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

By B. M. PHILLIPS
AFRO Foreign Correspondent

CHARLOTTE, AMALIE, V.I.—Carlos A. Downing, a former sergeant with the 96th Service Unit of the 332nd Fighter Group, was elected to the Municipal Council here Tuesday. 3-16-46

The 37-year-old veteran received 536 of the 836 votes cast, twice as many as his two opponents, Louis Lindquist, who tallied 227, and Amadeo Francis, 45. There were 28 defective ballots.

Mr. Downing was elected to fill the unexpired term of Valdemar Hill, who was named tax assessor. His term expires in November when he and the other six members of the council will be up for reelection. 3-16-46

Before going overseas with the 332nd and serving two years in Italy, Mr. Downing was stationed in the States for three years. He is a native of St. Thomas and has four children.

New VI Councilman

AFro-American 3-16-46

45c Sat

Baltimore, Md.

CARLOS A. DOWNING, former sergeant with a service company attached to the 332nd Fighter Group, who was elected to the Municipal Council at Charlotte Amalie, V.I., last Tuesday.

Election day here was a holiday and resembled election day in any rural community except that taverns remained open and electioneering near the voting booth was not banned.

Polls opened at the town's police station (formerly Fort Christian, one of the town's landmarks built in 1671) at 8 a.m. and while 835 of the 1600 qualified voters had registered their choice at 6 p.m. when the polls closed, most waited until 4 p.m. to journey to the voting place.

Eligible for voting were all U.S. citizens 21 years of age and over who have resided here for a year and who had indicated their intention to vote 15 days before the election.

Voters used no machines. If their names were properly entered on the voting book, they were handed a slip and entered a curtained booth where they registered their choice with a pencil.

No Name-Calling

Absent was the name-calling and deep enmity found in many a U.S. election. The Photo News, a local paper, commenting on this angle, said editorially:

". . . the election has been surprisingly free of the billingsgate exchanges and guttersnipe tactics of previous campaigns. Perhaps we are beginning to learn that voters are not interested in such trivial matters . . ."

Counting of ballots, which took only three hours, began immediately after the polls closed at 6 p.m. and a crowd which gathered outside the police court room to watch, let out enthusiastic cheers when the results were announced.

The winner himself was on hand to thank voters for their action, restating his promise to serve all the people (no special interests), and to help secure better educational, recreational and hospital facilities; to aid returning veterans and work for the establishment of AC electric current.

(At present, St. Thomas has direct current requiring 220 volts instead of the usual 120 and necessitating special electrical equipment.)

Pay Is $7 a Day

In the Municipal Council, which represents the people of St. John as well as St. Thomas, Mr. Downing will receive $7 a day as well as $4 additional for membership on various committees. Six of the seven members represent St. Thomas and one St. John. St. Croix has an independent municipality.

However, all representatives of both municipalities come together once a year in the Legislative Council of the islands and can be called together at the will of the governor.

Army Frees New V.I. Police Head

The Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Capt. Dudley W. Stevenson, provost marshal and chief of security and intelligence at Lockbourne Army Air Base, left this week for the Separation Center at Fort George G. Meade, Md., where he is to be given his discharge.

Following his separation from the service, Captain Stevenson will assume command of the police department at St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, to which he had been nominated by Gov. William Hastie several weeks ago. Sat.

A Washingtonian, Captain Stevenson attended Dunbar High School and Virginia State College. Appointed a flying cadet in Virginia in June, 1941, he later joined the 99th Fighter Squadron and spent 26 months overseas.

Col. B. O. Davis Jr., Lockbourne commanding officer, has appointed Capt. Gordon Southall, also from the "nation's capital," to replace Captain Stevenson in the provost marshall assignment.

9-7-46

Judge William H. Hastie, who has been nominated for governor of the Virgin Islands.

A hasty interview with Governor Hastie

JUDGE WILLIAM H. HASTIE, whose nomination as governor of the Virgin Islands was confirmed by the Senate Wednesday, was in town for a few hours Monday. It required some effort to track him down, for he was lost in a maze of appointments and meetings. We finally got him on the phone late in the afternoon, and he promised us a brief interview, after which he would have to rush off to more appointments, meetings, a dinner, and a late train for Washington.

We were to see him at 4 p.m. at the offices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, but when we got there he was in conference with Walter White, the executive secretary, and other Association officials. (They were blocking out a program to combat educational inequalities in the South.)

The conference ended at 4:30 and Hastie, handsome and distinguished-looking, left the meeting room. He shook our hand, apologized for having kept us waiting. He was ready to talk with us, but, it seemed that there were no offices where we could have a private session.

"The ladies' sitting room is about the only place," said Walter White, who stood at Hastie's side.

The ladies sitting room, which had flowered upholstery and soft lights, looked all right and we had the interview there.

Hastie's appointment—which has made him the first Negro governor of a U. S. territory—had been opposed by the reactionaries in Congress. How did he feel about the Communist charges they had hurled against him?

"I suppose anyone would prefer an appointment of this kind to go through without opposition," he said, leaning forward and clasping his hands. "But I think the opposition was valuable in two respects. It aired the false red charges that literally thousands of people have been subjected to, and it resulted in an amazing stand of unity among the people of the Virgin Islands. They were unanimous in their resentment to the opposition in Congress. It was one of the most heartwarming experiences of my life."

Resigned in protest

In 1943 Hastie resigned as civilian aide to the Secretary of War in protest over the "discriminatory practices" against Negroes in the Army Air Forces. In view of this, did he think there would be some opposition to his nomination?

"No. As a matter of fact, I had no such suspicions until the New York *Sun* ran a three column story, indicating that I was believed to have Communist leanings, and that my nomination had caused trouble and disagreement in the ranks of the administration. There is nothing like reading about yourself in the newspapers," he added, thoughtfully.

There was a knock at the door and a pretty stenographer put her head in to say that Hastie had a telephone call. He sighed, gave us an apologetic look, and followed her out.

Hastie, who was born 41 years ago in Knoxville, Tenn., received his law degree at Harvard in 1930, and is at present dean of the Howard University Law School. In 1937 he was appointed by President Roosevelt to serve two years in the Virgin Islands as a Federal District judge.

When he returned from his telephone call, we asked what the Islands were like.

"That isn't very difficult to answer," he said, smiling. "You find a different and surprising kind of scenic beauty there. The sun is very brilliant, and the sea always seems very clear.

People with simple dignity

"The people? They have a simple dignity, good manners that would strike any observer. The Danes (from whom the U. S. A. purchased the Islands in 1917) left a heritage of continental manners. Gentlemen tip their hats to each other on the street, shake hands before and after every meeting. These formal observances are a very important part of their lives."

There was another telephone call, and Hastie went off to answer it, murmuring, "Oh, what a day." He returned a few minutes later and continued:

"During the war the Islands enjoyed a boom. The expansion of Army and Navy bases meant more civilian employment. There was a great war demand for sugar, a large proportion of the young men were in the Army. Everybody was relatively prosperous. But now," he said, looking worried and detached, "things have undoubtedly slackened, and I can't talk about reforms or plans until I see firsthand what the conditions really are."

Hastie looked at his watch and we made ready to leave. "It's five o'clock," he sighed, "and I've got to keep a four-thirty appointment."

HASTIE DENIES 'RED' CHARGE; HEARING ENDS

Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh Pa. Sat. 4-13-46

WASHINGTON—In a stirring summation closing the hearing on his nomination to the Governorship of the Virgin Islands, William H. Hastie, dean of Howard University Law School, denied that he is a Communist and declared his appointment would not hinder business and tourist trade in the islands.

Addressing his statement to the Senate Territories and Insular Affairs sub-committee last Friday, Mr. Hastie warned that the branding of all liberal persons as Communists or communistic sympathizers "on questionable evidence will afford great danger to this country if there should be a break in friendly relations between the United States and Russia."

SOUTHERNERS ABSENT

Only one member of the subcommittee was present at the start of Mr. Hastie's statement. He was Senator Abe Murdock, Democrat of Utah and chairman of the body. Senator Warren G. Magnuson, Democrat of Washington, put in his appearance shortly after Mr. Hastie began talking, but left before the hearing was ended. Conspicuously absent were Senators Allen J. Ellender, Democrat of Louisiana; James O. Eastland Democrat of Mississippi, and Owen Brewster, Republican of Maine.

Upon finishing his summation, Mr. Hastie thanked the subcommittee, particularly Senator Murdock, for the patience, objectivity and fairness with which the hearing was conducted.

MURDOCK OFFERS THANKS

"My only regret is that the entire Senate of the United States could not have heard your statement," replied Senator Murdock in thanking Mr. Hastie.

In his rebuttal, Mr. Hastie limited himself to a discussion of the questions of whether his appointment would retard development of the tourist trade and expansion of business in the Virgin Islands, his ability to represent the Islands adequately before Congressional appropriation committees, and whether he had communistic leanings.

Mr. Hastie told the subcommittee what the Caribbean Committee is doing to stimulate the tourist trade throughout the West Indies and pointed out that the Caribbean areas—the French West Indies—had not suffered in the enjoyment of the tourist trade on that account.

THINKS ISLANDS WOULD PROSPER

He denied that his appointment would hinder business in the Virgin Islands and also denied that investors representing Danish capital had become alarmed and were liquidating their holdings because of his appointment. He said the Danish Minister, Henrik de Kauffmann, was enthusiastic about his nomination and expressed the belief that the islands would prosper under his administration.

Mr. Hastie also revealed that the trustee resident in the Virgin Islands of the Danish-Asiatic Company, which has investments in the islands, is his father-in-law.

In denying that he is a Communist, Mr. Hastie declared: "Categorically, I am not a Communist. Any statement to the contrary is a simple lie."

NOT A "RED BAITER"

He added that he has no intention of becoming a "red baiter" and said he disagrees sharply with the ideology and methodology of both the Communist party in America and the present regime in Russia.

"I disagree with the Communist party in America because it is my impression that the position and views of that party, by either coincidence or otherwise, seem to change when the views of the Russian government change on a particular situation. I could not be in agreement with a political group when it appears to me that such is the course of its policy," declared Mr. Hastie.

"I disagree with the present regime in Russia," he said, "because I do not believe the path to freedom and dignity and lasting prosperity of the people is through a totalitarian regime."

NO PROOF OFFERED

Mr. Hastie said he found nowhere in the record any charge that "my personal behavior, anything that I have said, any views I have expressed have been communistic or revealed a communistic ideology."

Senator Magnuson asked Mr. Hastie whether he would take any reprisals against any of his opponents if he became Governor of the Virgin Islands, as was intimated by Leslie F. Huntt, an opposition witness.

Mr. Hastie replied that he held no malice against any person who opposed his nomination, nor is he disposed to grant favors to those who have supported him.

TELLS OF OPPOSITION

Preceding Mr. Hastie as rebuttal witnesses were Frederick Dorsch, executive secretary of the Virgin Islands Chamber of Commerce, and Roy Gordon, chairman of the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John.

Mr. Dorsch testified that United States Marshal Douglas Armstrong had been active in the islands in soliciting opposition to Mr. Hastie.

Testimony presented during the hearing charged that Mr. Hastie worked with groups alleged to be

Communist or had members who were also members of the Communist party. Most of this testimony came from Senator Eastland who said he obtained his information from the House Un-American Activities Committee.

SUPPORTED ROOSEVELT

Mr. Hastie quoted from a speech he made at the annual conference of the NAACP in Philadelphia, June 21, 1940, to show that he favored the late President Roosevelt's defense program.

Referring to the summary of materials supposedly indicating he has communistic inclinations, given to Eastland by Representative John S. Wood, Democrat of Georgia, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, Mr. Hastie said he holds very different political and ideological views than those of James W. Ford, several times Communist Party candidate for Vice President of United States.

Mr. Hastie admitted he was a member of the National Negro Congress from 1935 to 1937 and during that period Benjamin J. Davis Jr., New York City Councilman, and Ford were active in the organization. Sat. 4-13-46

The National Negro Congress, he said, was organized to coordinate the activities of a great number of organizations. If the Congress is to be characterized by its active mmebership at that time, Hastie added, he thought it was pertinent to list the names of other well known members.

LISTS OTHER MEMBERS

Among the persons he mentioned as belonging to the Congress were Lester Granger, Bishops R. R. Wright, R. C. Ransome and William A. Fountain of the AME Church, Bishop Matthew W. Clair of the Methodist Church, Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Miss Marian Cuthbert of the national executive staff of the YWCA, and Judge Irving Mollison of the U. S. Customs Court.

He pointed out that the Supreme Court had held that the activities of the New Negro Alliance were wholly proper and not subject to judicial restraint.

Naming persons of unimpeachable character as active in the affairs of the National Lawyers Guild, including Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone and Associate Justice Stanley Reed of the Supreme Court, and a number of Senators, Mr. Hastie said he did not believe that such persons would associate themselves with a communist-front organization.

His position with reference to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was similar.

Regarding the organizations with which he was charged with cooperating, Hastie said the Conference on Civil Liberties and the Conference on Constitutional Liberties were "exactly what the names indicated" and at these two conferences there wre no conclusions reached which were inconsistent with American traditions.

Howard U. Was a Nice Spot

Ex-Engineer Burns His Bridges

Post Washington, D.C.

By Frank I. Wheeler

THE Senate has confirmed Judge William Henry Hastie, 41, as first Negro Governor of the Virgin Islands.

Harold L. Ickes promoted his appointment while he headed the Interior Department, which supervises the 50 islands, islets and cays which make up the Virgin group.

The islands' 25,000 residents are 69 per cent Negro and 22 per cent mixed Negro and white. Ickes said he thought it was about time they had a chief executive representing the dominant race.

The islands have been under the flags of Spain, The Netherlands, England, France and Denmark. In 1917 we paid Denmark 25 million dollars for this "poorhouse of the Atlantic" to keep Kaiser Wilhelm's U-boats from nesting there.

Judge Hastie is deeply grateful for his appointment as an honor to his race, but he isn't jumping up and down about it. For six years he's been dean of Howard University Law School here, and he likes it. 5-14-46

Goethals Disciple

THE Judge struck match to a very serious pipe as he told me of the bee he had in his boyhood bonnet to be an engineer. It brought him from "back of the tracks" in Knoxville, Tenn., into a world that startled him.

His pharmacist father and his school teacher mother encouraged him. His mother spent long evenings telling him how the French had fought and failed to thrust a canal across the Isthmus of Panama and of the great battle President "Teddy" Roosevelt had with Congress to get authorization and funds to start it again.

He quit playground marbles and buckled down to hard study. He majored in mathematics at college, "firmly convinced I was going to build great canals and dams and stand the whole universe on its head with new and startling things."

A couple of lawyer cousins here got his feet back on the ground by helping finance what turned out to be a very profitable course in American jurisprudence. They made him read law in their offices and finally took him in as a practicing attorney . . . but first they made him get out and paint houses and do other hard jobs to help buy his education the tough way.

First on Bench

Sunday

HE was graduated A. B. magna cum laude from Amherst and won his LL.B. and S.J.D. at Harvard, where he was one of the few Negroes ever to serve on the Law Review.

In early New Deal days he was a protege of Justice Felix Frankfurter, who then was one of FDR's "brain-trusters." Ickes hired him as an assistant solicitor in his department.

At that time (1933-37) "The Ick" was up to his elbows in minority group problems and so was the White House. Hastie helped calm the waters. In 1937 FDR named him United States district judge for the Virgin Islands, the first Negro ever to sit on the Federal bench. 5-14-46

Former War Secretary Stimson persuaded Ickes to let him have Hastie as a civilian aide and adviser on Negro relations in the armed services when the war started. Right off the bat Hastie told Stimson it was a mistake to segregate black and white Army officers.

Half a Loaf

HASTIE smoothed out a lot of dissatisfaction, in large part by convincing Stimson that the Army should train Negro officers in the same camps with white officers. He said nothing about social equality. He simply said that it wasn't fair to the black soldiers for people to think that maybe the Negro officers had "different and inferior training."

The War Department pitched on his side as far as land officer training went. He walked out on his job when the Air Forces said "No." 5-14-46

Hastie is very proud of the battle record made by Negro flying officers trained at Tuskegee Institute, but he opposed their segregation.

Kitchen Exile

THE judge is a member of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He is long and gangling (6 feet, 170 pounds), dresses in sharkskins and is equipped with a wide, high forehead and a pleasing personality. Wash. D.C.

He has a little curlicue mustache, which his wife likes. She sticks detective stories in his pockets when he travels and has to read himself to sleep . . . but she bumps him out of the kitchen when he gets delusions of grandeur about what fine omelets he can make. Sunday

Up North his voice has lost the soft cream of the Old South. He speaks with the crisp consonants of the hard and calculating world he has to battle.

Hastie's Answer to Dixie

Afro American Baltimore, Md.

Senators Eastland and Ellender, Dixie Democrats, were among those who opposed the Hastie nomination as Governor of the Virgin Islands on the grounds that follow:

1. He had Communist inclinations.
2. The tourist trade would fall off if he were Governor of the Virgin Islands. Sat 4-20-46
3. The outside interests would not invest so readily in island business if the Governor were colored.
4. Congress would not be so quick to make appropriations to the islands under a colored Governor.

Judge Hastie answered the last three points by saying that 90 per cent of the people of the Virgin Islands are colored and some of the wealthiest business men on the islands are colored; that agents for outside business interests are colored and it is inconceivable that Congress, which knows the Virgin Islanders are colored people, would be less generous because the Governor and chief representative to speak for the majority of the Virgin Islanders, happened to be colored.

The alleged Communist charges against Judge Hastie, made by Senators Eastland and Ellender, state that he had opposed the military preparedness program of President Roosevelt and that he belonged to such organizations as the NAACP, National Negro Congress, National Lawyers Guild, the New Negro Alliance and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Judge Hastie pointed out that Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas is a vice president of the NAACP and ex-Governor Herbert Lehman of New York is a member of the board of directors.

He said he had not been active in the National Negro Congress since 1937. In those days its membership included a number of bishops, clergymen and Urban League executives.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was termed an organization of Southerners principally devoted to the advance of the cause of liberalism. It too had the backing of such distinguished persons as the President of the U.S., Dr. Frank Graham of the University of North Carolina, Andrew Jackson Higgins of the Higgins Shipbuilding Company and Justice Hugo Black of the Supreme Court.

Judge Hastie pointed out that all of these organizations had large memberships and some Communists belonged to them.

Judge Hastie explained to the committee that colored people, regardless of politics, are confronted with segregation so that when they get together to combat race segregation they do not inquire of the political affiliation of those joining into the specific effort.

If the question is improving housing conditions among colored people and a person is willing to join in such a worthwhile effort we say to him, "Welcome, Brother. We are glad to have you; we are glad to work with you no matter whether you are Republican, Democrat, Socialist or a Communist."

As we see it, the Communist label means much less to us than it does to white people and it is their own fault. They lump us all together and then raise a howl when we unite for our own protection with others who have liberal and progressive leanings. Sat 4-20-46

If the crackpots and reactionaries who cry "Communist" at the sight of anything liberal would spend half as much time and energy in seeing that simple justice was accorded all individuals regardless of race, color or creed, there would be small need for them to keep dragging this red herring across the path of progress.

HASTIE TO U.S. SUPREME COURT, SAY DOPESTERS

The Chicago Defender Sat. 10-12-46

ST. THOMAS, Virgin Islands.—Within the next two years a Negro may be named to the United States Supreme Court, according to political dopesters here and in Puerto Rico.

The dopesters say he will be William H. Hastie, new governor of these islands, first Negro to hold such an appointment. Some say the matter is already settled, that Hastie is only here as a buildup for the Supreme Court appointment.

Political forecasters reason that shortly before the next general election a sweeping political bow must be made to the Negro vote. That bow, they feel, will take the form of the Supreme Court appointment, something Negro leaders long have advocated.

Though harsh words may fly over the racial issue, if these forecasters are correct, any attack on Hastie's mental or legal qualifications may meet a stiff stone wall. His professional rise has been little short of phenomenal for a man of any race.

In his short time here Hastie has earned the respect of both Negroes and whites.

He has steered a course completely clear of petty political bickerings of the municipal councils in the islands.

45c 1946

Virgin Islands (Hastie)

Island Mission

The new Governor of the Virgin Islands accepts the 'challenge of the Caribbean.'

New York Times Magazine N.Y.

By JAY WALZ

New York Times 1 Nov.

WASHINGTON.

WITHIN a few days after President Truman nominated him to be the first Negro Governor of the Virgin Islands, William Henry Hastie received in the mail a copy of a document assuring him a hearty welcome. In a resolution urging the Senate to confirm the appointment, which it did May 1, the municipal council of St. Thomas and St. John said Virgin Islanders were "jubilant over this great act of the President." Sun 5-12-46

The 41-year-old Governor, a law school dean and former Federal judge, expressed his happiness over this show of confidence —as might be expected—in more reserved language. But the feeling was certainly mutual.

A return to the islands, where for two years he presided over the United States Court, means for Hastie another chance to help meet what he calls the "challenge of the Caribbean." The development of effective cooperation among all the West Indian islands to fight a plague of poverty has "appealed strongly" to him for twelve years. During this time he has learned about life and conditions there, particularly those on the group of islands we acquired from Denmark as a defense measure in the first World War. The population of the isles, by the way, consists of about 2,000 whites, 17,000 Negroes and 5,500 of mixed origin.

Shortly after he left Harvard with a Doctor of Laws degree in 1933, Hastie was appointed assistant solicitor in the Department of the Interior. He worked on insular affairs and helped to set up the Virgin Island Corporation, a Government-owned company to rehabilitate the sugar industry on which the islands are economically dependent.

Sun 5-12-46

IN 1937 President Roosevelt sent the solicitor, then 33, to the islands to be judge of the Federal court. He returned to Washington in 1939 to become dean of the Howard University law school. At the outbreak of the war, the President assigned him to the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission and he attended a conference in Trinidad in 1942 to work out defense and other war problems in the West Indian area.

Governor Hastie hopes that the cooperation among the islands, advanced under the pressure of war emergency, can serve the people there in time of peace.

Its attractions notwithstanding, this new role in public life represents for Governor Hastie one more diversion from more cloistered personal interests. An early devotion to mathematics was later transferred to the technical aspects of law. The well-charted courses and the firm, reassuring answers to be found in these fields still hold a fascination for him. But the magnetic force of what he terms "human interests" and "human problems" has lately drawn him away from these pursuits. Sun 5-12-46

DURING a post-graduate year at Harvard in 1932-33, he had his first chance to tackle a "human problem." The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent him to North Carolina to help argue a suit filed against the State university for refusing to admit a Negro student to its pharmacy school. In the last twelve years, Hastie has taken time to handle many other cases for NAACP. He argued the Texas primary case before the United States Supreme Court, which later determined that the primaries in that State must be opened to Negro voters.

William Henry

Gov. William Henry Hastie.

Hastie was born in Knoxville, Tenn., Nov. 17, 1904, of parents who had both been school teachers. His father had decided, however, to make a career in government. Accordingly, he took a Civil Service examination for a vacant clerkship and received the appointment. According to the Hastie records, he was the first Negro clerk in the field offices of the Pension Bureau, later the Veterans Administration. He was in the Pension Bureau, first in Knoxville and later in Washington, for more than twenty-five years. Sun 5-12-46

The Governor's mother, who is living in Washington, may accompany her son when he takes up residence in Government House, St. Thomas. For his wife, the former Beryl Lockhart, the move south will be a homecoming. She is a Virgin Islander, whom Hastie met during his judgeship days. They were married in Washington on Christmas Day, 1943, and have a 15-month-old daughter, Karen.

Governor Hastie

Last Friday William H. Hastie was inaugurated as Governor of the Virgin Islands, the first colored American in history to assume such an important position.

Governor Hastie, a brilliant and worthy American citizen by any standard of appraisal, carries with him the prayerful good wishes of all people of good will who rejoice in the honor which has been bestowed upon him by the United States. 5-25-46 Saturday Rev

As area and people go, the Virgin Islands dependency is extremely small and relatively unimportant economically, but it will loom large politically from now on because the representation which has come to the colored people of the United States through this appointment is the type of recognition which all the surrounding island dependencies crave.

The British and French islands will see in the success of a Negro governor of the Virgin Islands an added argument for similar recognition from their respective imperial masters. Pittsburgh, Pa.

They will certainly regard it as incongruous if radical Socialist Britsh and French Governments continue unwilling to do as much for them as the conservative American Government.

Of course the appointment of a Negro governor will introduce no socio-economic millenium either in the Virgin Islands or any of the surrounding islands because that is beyond the capacity of any one man, but it does tend to arouse their pride and instill confidence in their capacity for effective self-government.

Virgin Islands Acclaim First Negro Governor

Defender

5,000 Attend Hastie Inauguration At Charlotte Amalie

By VENICE T. SPRAGGS

(Defender Staff Correspondent)

CHARLOTTE AMALIE, Virgin Islands—More than 5,000 persons made up a hushed audience in Emancipation Park here Friday, May 17, that witnessed for the first time in history, the inauguration of a Negro into the governorship of a U. S. territorial possession.

Representing a new era in colonial government, former Federal Judge William H. Hastie accepted the historic oath of office from his judicial successor, U. S. District Court Judge Herman E. Moore, also a Negro. 5-25-46

Nor were the 5,000-odd Virgin Island inhabitants, almost one sixth of the total population, who witnessed the ritual, unaware of its significance. A hopeful tenseness settled over the throng as their future governor was introduced by Acting Governor Morris DeCastro prior to accepting his new duties. This hope edged in the direction of realization when Hastie said later in an address to the islanders: Chicago, Ill.

'Two Sources of Power'

"We have two great sources of power—a reservoir of goodwill beyond our shores and a reservoir of ability and energy and wisdom among ourselves . . . I believe we are ready to pool these sources of power and make these islands hum with constructive activity."

The impressiveness of the governor's statement could be read easily on the faces of the gathering, members of which ranged from the humble frequenters of the market square to the holders of high positions in the islands business and government. Defender A large number of U. S. officials, headed by Secretary of Interior Julius A. Krug, were seated on the speakers' platform as Governor Hastie made the statement.

Unable to attend, President Truman sent a letter of congratulations to his appointee, which was read at the inaugural. The President expressed faith in Hastie's ability and pointed out that "a great responsibility has been entrusted to you and I am confident of your ability to shoulder it." In making the Hastie appointment, the President ignored the protests of reactionary southern congressmen, who bitterly opposed confirmation. 5-25-46

From the moment the inaugural caravan, dedecked with palm branches, flags and streamers, began its journey along Charlotte Amalie's main street, an air of optimism seemed to grip the spectators. In true holiday fashion, the caravan was met at the market square by a colorful parade of the municipal police force, a color guard of Virgin Islands war veterans, the St. Thomas home guard units of the Boy and Girl Scouts and the community band. After the merger, the procession continued to the park for the inauguration. Chicago, Ill.

At the close of the formal inaugural, Mrs. Beryl Lockhart Hastie, a large contingent of citizens of the islands, was presented to the Island's sugar magnates, was presented with a bouquet of vari-colored gladioli by a Girl Scout. Governor Hastie, after introducing Secretary of Interior Krug to the audience, presented Robert Lovett, ex-government secretary for the islands and present professor at the University of Puerto Rico. Lovett and Krug received tremendous ovations from the crowd.

Following this final phase of the inauguration, attended by a large contingent of citizens of the islands, was held at Government House. Later, the official family and some 150 persons were guests at a dinner on the balcony of Bluebeard's Castle Hotel, a government-developed facility which is one of the islands' showplaces. Sun 5-12-46

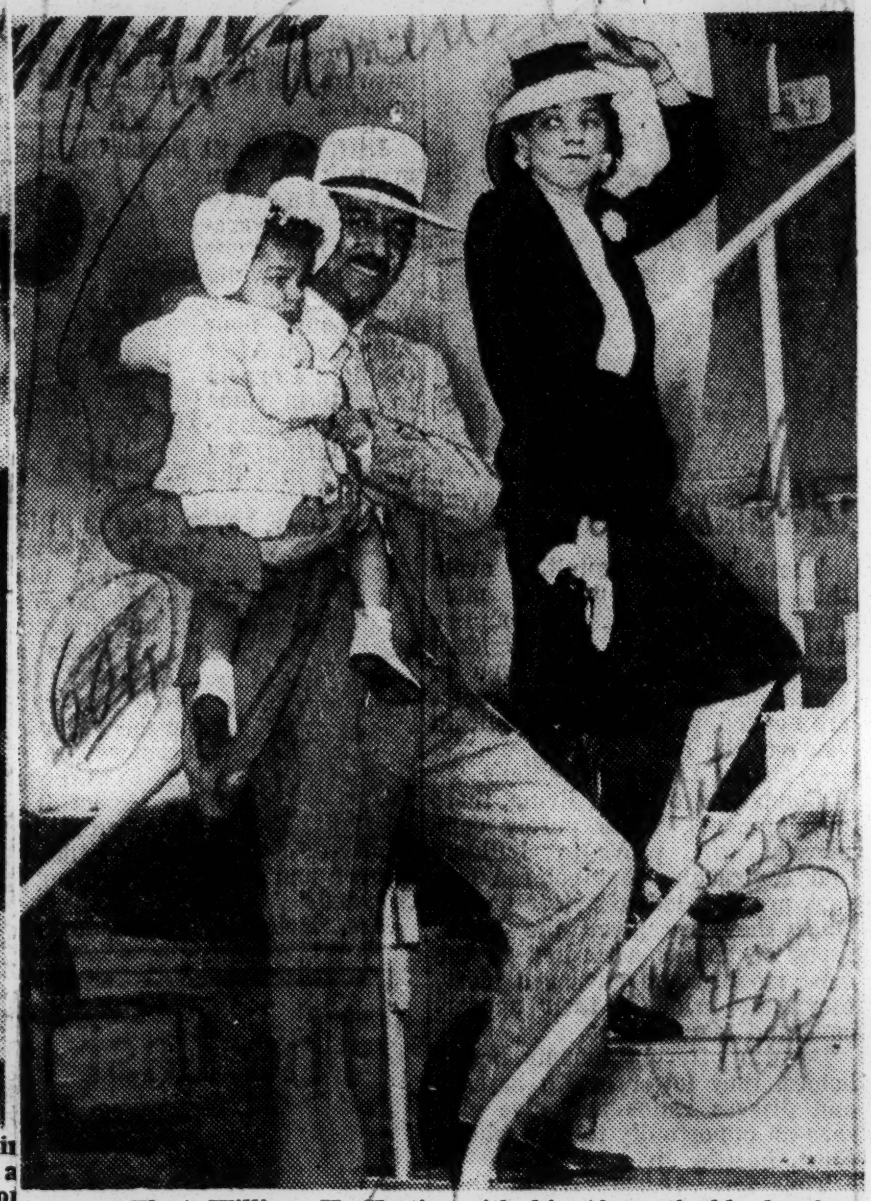
Gov. Tugwell In Party

Included in the official inaugural party were: Secretary Krug, Governor and Mrs. R. Guy Tugwell of Puerto Rico; Joel Wolfson and Creekman Fath, special assistants and Robert Day, assistant to the secretary; Carlton Skinner, director of information; Arthur Goldschmidt, director, division of power; Felix Cohen, acting solicitor; Irwin Silverman, acting director, division of territories; Mason Barr, chief of the Puerto Rican and Virgin Islands branch of division of territories and possessions; Prof. and Mrs. Robert Lovett; Acting Virgin Islands Governor and Mrs. Thomas and St. John; Judge and Mrs. Herman Moore and officers of military and naval units.

As New VI Governor Was Sworn Into Office

Judge William H. Hastie, former dean of the Howard University Law School, Washington, is administered the oath as Governor of the Virgin Islands by Judge Herman E. Moore in Municipal Park at St. Moses, Friday. Thousands of natives witnessed the ceremony in the islands' greatest demonstration.

Hasties Bid Farewell to U.S.



Governor-Elect William H. Hastie, with his 19-month-old daughter Karen, and wife, Beryl, as they boarded a plane at National Airport Wednesday for the Virgin Islands, where Mr. Hastie was inaugurated as the Islands' new Governor on Friday.

Takes Office as Isles' Governor

Commended Publicly by Interior Secretary

QUIET ON PLANS

Pledged Co-operation by President Truman

By RALPH MATTHEWS

(Other Stories, Photos, Page 20)

ST. THOMAS, Virgin Islands—The assumption of duty as Governor of the Virgin Islands by Judge William H. Hastie was hailed by both officials and civilians alike as the dawn of a new era for the Caribbean possession.

Governor Hastie took the oath of office Friday in historic Emancipation Gardens in the presence of Secretary of Interior Julius A. Krug, visiting dignitaries of other Caribbean islands and several thousand natives who jammed the area after giving him a wild ovation.

Reasons for New Hope

Hopes of the islanders for a new period of relations with the mainland centered first around the fact that the new Governor is a racial kinsman thoughly familiar with the aspirations of the islanders. In during his work as assistant solicitor of the Interior Department and later during the 25 months he spent as judge here in the Federal District Court.

Likened to Election

"Your affection and enthusiasm for William Hastie, expressed through communications to the Congress and the President and to the Department of the Interior as well as editorials and news comment in your newspapers have demonstrated your approval of his appointment.

"This expression has given us the feeling that Governor Hastie's appointment is the next best thing to his having been chosen in a popular election. . . .

"Governor Hastie has a great opportunity. I am sure that he will prepare a practical program to build a firm economy for the future development of the islands."

Governor's Responsed

In his response, Governor Hastie declared, "It is my hope, it is my sincere belief that the Virgin Islands stand today at the beginning of a period of significant progress and achievement."

Expressing gratification over the "unprecedented demonstration of the reservoir of good will stored up for us in Washington and in this Caribbean neighborhood," he said that he expected the amount deleted from the appropriation by the House to be restored by the Senate.

New Ecomony Predicted

In addition, he said that he anticipated a change in the common setup, with the increase of exportation and the reduction of importation, thereby balancing the budget.

Insisting that money alone must not be the chief consideration, Governor Hastie gave a verbal spanking to those who criticize the acts of officials without taking any active part in political affairs.

Declaring that responsibility for the wise and unselfish use of power falls fundamentally upon the people, he expressed the belief that self-government is not a too distant possibility.

Hailed by President

In addition, Governor Hastie read a message from President Truman in which the latter said:

'It is with much pleasure that I send you my hearty congratulations and good wishes for a long and successful administration as Governor of the Virgin Islands. . . .

"Great responsibility has been entrusted to you and I am entirely confident of your ability to shoulder it.

"I should like you to tell the people of the Virgin Islands that I share their hopes for and determination to see achieved a great advance in the status of the islands economicaly, socially and politically.

"I shall do all in my power to have extended to the islands an ever increasing degree of self-government as the people demonstrate their capacity to govern themselves."

Never before since civilian administrators succeeded the Navy has this happy relationship obtained, as previous governors have frequently been at loggerheads with the Washington administration, causing the islanders to suffer.

Program to Await Study

In his inaugural address, Governor Hastie refused to chart any course his administration would folow, declaring that he preferred to study the situation with the guidance of the best minds of the island community before establishing his program.

In presenting Judge Hastie to Federal Judge Herman Moore, who administered the oath, Morris De Castro, a native, acting governor, said in part:

Hastie's Fitness Cited

"This is not just another inauguration. I say without fear of contradiction that President Harry S. Truman, in choosing Judge Hastie to be Governor of the Virgin Islands, has selected an outstanding American who is preeminently fitted to direct the destinies of these islands.

"Here is a man of human sympathy and understanding, familiar at first hand, with conditions in these islands, who has served among our people, and who has earned their love, their respect, and their admiration.

"People of the Virgin Islands, today is not Governor Hastie's day alone. Today is our day. Today we can look forward to a stable and steady administration guided by an able and experienced administrator.

"Today we can look forward to an administration which will be dedicated to the promotion of the general welfare of all the people of these islands."

Krug Pays Tribute

Governor Hastie was lauded by Secretary of the Interior Krug, who said in part:

"Governor Hastie has what no other Governor before him has had as he began his term of office: a thorough knowledge of the social and economic problems of the territory and an understanding of the people themselves.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.
JOURNAL
Circ. D. 282,509 - S. 314,548
MAY 25 1946

Negro Governor of Virgin Islands

William Henry Hastie, Law Dean at Howard University and First Member of his Race to Sit on Federal Bench, Has Notable Record as New Deal Trouble Shooter

Frank I. Weller, in an AP Washington dispatch.

THE senate has confirmed Judge William Henry Hastie, 41, as first Negro governor of the Virgin islands. Harold L. Ickes promoted the appointment while he headed the interior department, which supervises the 50 islands, islets and cays which make up the Virgin group. The islands' 25,000 residents are 69% Negro and 22% mixed Negro and white. Ickes said he thought it was about time they had a chief executive representing the dominant race.

The islands have been under the flags of Spain, the Netherlands England, France and Denmark. In 1917 we paid Denmark $25,000,000 for this "poorhouse of the Atlantic" to keep Kaiser Wilhelm's U-boats from nesting there.

Judge Hastie is deeply grateful for his appointment as an honor to his race, but he isn't jumping up and down about it. For six years he's been dean of Howard university (Negro) law school in Washington and he likes it. His seminar is crowded with enthusiastic students.

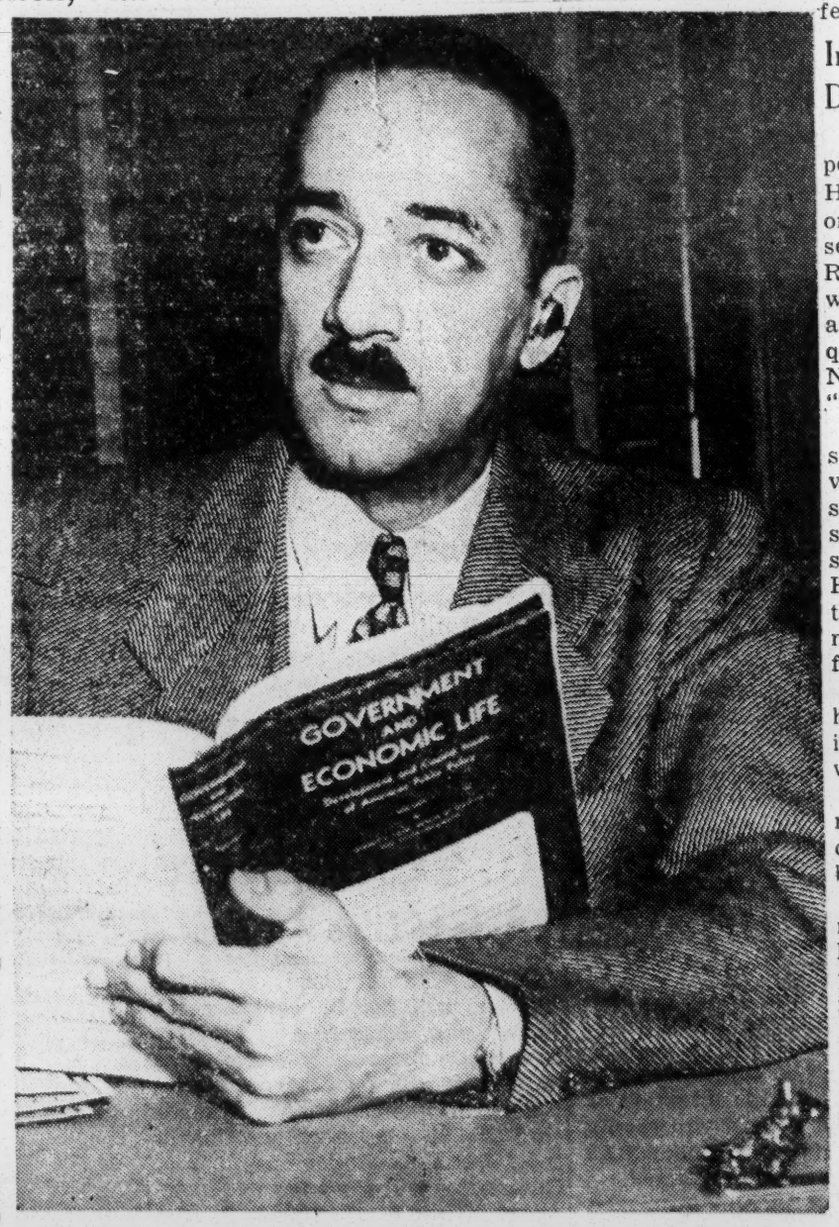
Hastie and his wife, Beryl, a highly educated native of the Virgin islands, are leaders in the capital colored social set, which entertains such celebrities as the famed Negro singers, Paul Robeson and Marion Anderson.

Law Degree From Harvard

The judge struck a match to a very serious pipe as he told of the bee he had in his boyish bonnet to be an engineer. It brought him from "back of the tracks" in Knoxville Tenn., into a world that startled him.

His pharmacist father and his schoolteacher mother encouraged him. His mother spent long evenings telling him how the French had fought and failed to thrust a canal across the isthmus of Panama and of the great battle President "Teddy" Roosevelt had with congress to get authorization and funds to start it again.

Young Hastie quit playground marbles and buckled down to hard study. He majored in mathematics at college, "firmly convinced I was going to build great canals and dams and stand the whole universe on its head with new and startling things."



Judge William Henry Hastie, recently confirmed by senate as governor of the Virgin islands.

A couple of lawyer cousins in Washington got his feet back on the ground by helping finance what turned out to be a very profitable course in American jurisprudence. They made him read law in their offices and finally took him in as a practicing attorney. But first they made him get out and paint houses and do other hard jobs to help pay for his education.

He was graduated A. B. magna cum laude from Amherst and won his LL.B. and S. J. D at Harvard where he was one of the few Negroes ever to serve on the Law Review.

In early New Deal days Hastie was a protege of Felix Frankfurter, now associate justice of the United States supreme court, who then was one of FDR's "brain trusters." Ickes hired Hastie as an assistant solicitor in his department. At that time (1933-'37) "The Ick" was up to his elbows with minority group problems and so was the White House. Hastie helped calm the waters. In 1937 FDR named him United States district judge for the Virgin islands, the first Negro ever to sit on the federal bench.

In War Department During War

Former Secretary of War Stimson persuaded Ickes to let him have Hastie as a civilian aide and adviser on Negro relations in the armed services when the war started. Right off the bat he told Stimson it was a mistake to segregate black and white army officers. There was quite a stir at that time, built up by Nazi-Jap propaganda, that it was a "white man's war."

Hastie smoothed out a lot of dissatisfaction, in large part by convincing Stimson that the army should train Negro officers in the same camps with white officers. He said nothing about social equality. He simply said that it wasn't fair to the black soldiers for people to think maybe the Negro officers had "different and inferior training."

The war department pitched on his side as far as land officer training went. He walked out on his job when the air corps said "no."

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The judge is a member of the African Methodist Episcopal church. He is long and gangling (6 feet, 170 pounds), dresses in sharkskins and is equipped with a wide, high forehead and a pleasing personality.

Up north his voice has lost the soft cream of the old south. He speaks with the crisp consonants of the hard and calculating world he has to battle.

Dec 1946

Virgin Islands (William Henry Hastie)

Krug in New Endorsement

HASTIE'S FOES CHARGE COMMUNISTIC ACTIVITIES

Pittsburg Courier Sat 4-6-46

Pittsburg, Pa.

By JOHN H. YOUNG, Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON—Charges that William H. Hastie is sympathetic with Communistic ideology and that he has been connected with Communistic organizations were addressed to the Senate Territories and Insular Affairs sub-committee last Friday as hearings on the Howard University law school dean's nomination as Governor of the Virgin Islands were resumed.

The opposition also expressed itself as feeling that a Negro governor would hurt tourist trade and

During the hearings last week, Senator Murdock commented that Senator Eastland "is exhibiting a very fair attitude." In a quick reply, Senator Eastland said: "Judge Hastie himself is exhibiting a very fair attitude."

that Congress would not feel justified in allotting necessary funds to islands governed by a Negro.

LONG SESSION SEEN

The trend of Friday's session led observers to believe that the hearings will continue another week.

The latest attack on Mr. Hastie was made by Leslie F. Huntt, certified public accountant here and a former vice president of the Virgin Islands Company, a Government corporation from 1934 to 1944.

Mr. Huntt, who first testified March 28, resumed his attack on Mr. Hastie by submitting to the sub-committee newspaper clippings he said he had obtained from the House Committee on Un-American Activities. His testimony followed closely the line of questioning previously used by Senators James Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, and Allen J. Ellender, Democrat of Louisiana.

MEMBERS IN ROW

The sub-committee, itself, got into a row over the admissibility of the clippings as evidence after Mr. Hunt admitted he knew nothing of their authenticity. Mr. Hastie then straightened out the difficulty by reading the clippings and conceding he was sponsor of the Conference of Constitutional Liberties held June 7-9 in 1940, and that he was and is a vice president of the National Lawyers Guild.

He also said he had no objections to the admission of two articles concerning the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, but questioned their relevancy because they referred to a time when he was not a member of the Southern Conference.

Senator Eastland said Mr. Hastie would be given a full opportunity after Mr. Huntt completed his testimony to answer the charges.

Mr. Huntt was allowed to insert into the record a typewritten copy of an article from the Sunday Daily Worker of Jan. 13, written by Benjamin J. Davis Jr., a Communist and city councilman of New York, approving Mr. Hastie's nomination.

CONSIDERS DAVIS A FRIEND

Sat 4-6-46

Questioned by Senator Eastland, Mr. Hastie said he and Councilman Davis had been friends from the time the councilman was a youth and his father was the Republican national committeeman for Georgia.

"I have not severed that friendship now that he has become a Communist, but I do say I have had no relation whatever to his political activities," Mr. Hastie declared.

During the testimony, Mr. Hastie said he was a member of the National Negro Congress "for two years, around 1935 or 1936."

"When you joined, did you know Communists belonged to the organization?" asked Senator Ellender.

DIDN'T SEE ROSTER

"I do not believe so," Mr. Hastie replied. "I did not have access to the membership rolls."

Mr. Hastie said he quit the organization "around 1936, about the time I went down to the Virgin Islands." His reason for this was that he had "become increasingly active in other organizations."

In reply to Senator Murdock, Mr. Huntt denied that he objected to Mr. Hastie's appointment as Governor of the Virgin Islands because he is a colored man, and admitted that Mr. Hastie had made an excellent Federal judge in the islands.

"What, in your mind, will cause him to be different as Governor than he was as judge?" asked Senator Abe Murdock, Democrat of Utah and chairman of the sub-committee.

"I don't know what his action would be in a war of aggression or a Communistic war," was the reply.

HUNT CONFUSED

Mr. Huntt was somewhat confused at the end of the Friday session and was referring to Mr. Hastie as "Governor." Mr. Huntt was given a week or ten days to get additional evidence to substantiate his charges of Mr. Hastie's sympathy with Communistic ideology and his connection with alleged Communistic organizations.

Secretary of the Interior J. A. Krug personally appeared before the sub-committee last week. Previously he had sent the sub-committee members a statement in behalf of Mr. Hastie.

KRUG PRAISES HASTIE

"I think in Judge Hastie we have an excellent candidate for the governorship of this important territory," he said. "I cannot be too strong in my endorsement of him."

He added that he studied Mr. Hastie's record and feels "he is as good a man as the department can recommend for the job."

Senator Owen Brewster, Republican of Maine, then had his say. He suggested that some persons think Mr. Hastie "is a little too collectivistic in his views," and asked Mr. Krug how he felt as to the viewpoint and background of Mr. Hastie and his own ideas regarding the solution of the problems of the Virgin Islands.

"I can tell you what my policy will be, and I am sure Judge Hastie will cooperate in carrying out this policy," Mr. Krug replied. "I think we will help those people most by putting them into position to help themselves."

WANTS INDUSTRIES

He added that there is no intention on the part of the Department of the Interior to adopt "any new kind of society for the Virgin Islands." A practical approach to the problems, he said, would be to try to get some industries going and people interested in the islands.

Answering Senator Brewster, Mr. Krug said he thought Mr. Hastie would be able to reorganize activities of the islands and would be able to effectively present their case to the Administration in Washington and the Congress in an effort to secure whatever collaboration is necessary.

Senator Ellender then asked Mr. Krug whether he thought the tourist trade to the islands "would expand with a colored man as governor."

"Of all the people I know for this particular job I can think of no better one than Judge Hastie, considering the tourist trade as well as local business," Mr. Krug replied.

Sat 4-6-46

"Do you think the tourist trade will be confined largely to colored people?" asked Senator Ellender.

"I think a great many white people are going to the Virgin Islands," was the answer.

"You are very optimistic," commented Senator Ellender.

During the examination of Mr. Krug, it was brought out that several letters had been received by the sub-committee in opposition to the appointment of Mr. Hastie. Chief objection was that whites are property owners in the islands. These letters will be turned over to the sub-committee.

Mr. Huntt said he was thinking of the welfare of the islands when he suggested that a Negro governor would not be able to obtain necessary funds from Congress. And it was Senator Eastland who suggested that a Negro governor would endanger the future of the islands.

COALITION FORMED

The two-week-old hearings have been characterized by the opposition of a coalition formed by a Northern Republican, Senator Brewster, and two Southern Democrats, Senators Eastland and Ellender.

The coalition has pursued the "Communistic" argument as its main objection. The Democrats have made a direct charge of Communism, while the Republican has indirectly hinted at Communism by expressing great interest in the continuance of free enterprise in the Islands. Underneath both procedures is what many believe to be a real issue: Whether or not a Negro should rule over a white man, regardless of that white man's minority.

The 1940 census for the Virgin Islands listed 17,176 Negroes and 5,477 of mixed race. The remaining 2,236 are listed as whites.

Hastie Foe Squelched

Afro American Baltimore, Md.

Testimony Ruled Out by Chairman

Sat 4-6-46

HEARING RESUMED

Interior Sec'y Krug Reaffirms His Backing

By MABLE ALSTON

(Photos on Page 3)

WASHINGTON

The ruling out of "smear" testimony by a white Virgin Islands businessman and the reaffirmation by Secretary of Interior J. A. Krug of his confidence in the nominee's ability marked last week's hearing on the fitness of William H. Hastie to become governor of the Virgin Islands.

The hearings were resumed on Thursday following a week's recess, due to the absence of Sen. Abe Murdock (Dem., Utah), chairman of the Senate Territories and Insular Affairs subcommittee.

Two witnesses were heard. They were Mr. Krug and Leslie F. Hunt, white Virgin Islands businessman, whose charge that Mr. Hastie was sympathetic to communism, was ruled out by Chairman Murdock on the grounds that he had no evidence to back it up.

Secretary Krug took the stand Thursday and reaffirmed a previous statement read to the committee of his confidence in the ability and integrity of Mr. Hastie.

Sens. Eastland (Dem., Miss.) and Ellender (Dem., La.) squirmed in their seats as the witness testified. When Mr. Krug had finished, both entered into long harangue about Virgin Islands syrup being used for rum instead of being shipped to feed starving Europeans.

It seemed as if they would blame Mr. Krug and Dean Hastie for the rum business in the islands rather than the present administration. Judge Hastie assured both men that if he is confirmed, he would "certainly see what could be done" toward using the "mo-lasses" (as Eastland pronounced it) for food.

After the syrup situation had cooled off, the two-man Dixie bloc then directed their attention toward an attempt to break down Mr. Krug's testimony that Dean Hastie was "an excellent candidate for the governorship."

Senator Ellender took the lead in this, questioning the Secretary of the Interior at length as to whether or not the appointment of a "Nigra" (as he pronounced it) as governor would cut down any tourist trade or lessen the chance for future outside investments.

Sat 4-6-46

Repeats Testimony

Mr. Krug, his faced flushed with irritation at the question, repeated with emphasis his statement as to Dean Hastie's fitness for the job.

Mr. Hastie, unperturbed by the slurs of the Dixie Senators, pointed out to the committee, which also included Sen. Owen Brewster (Rep., Maine) that what the Senators did not take into consideration was that regardless of what color the governor would be, the tourists would not come in contact with him, but with the numerous immigration officials, all of whom are colored persons.

Senator Eastland, who when the going gets rough, chews on a pencil, worked his pencil overtime when Chairman Murdock ruled out the nine pages of testimony introduced by Leslie F. Hunt, who so far is the only witness to oppose Mr. Hastie's appointment.

Senator Murdock explained his action by saying that Hunt had no substantiation of his numerous charges, which he admitted were obtained from an "investigator" of the Rankin-dominated House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Charges Communism

In the document, Hunt accused Dean Hastie of belonging to communistic organizations, asserting that because of this, it would be dangerous to have him governor of the Virgin Islands in the event that America goes to war with Russia.

This danger lies, he said, in the location of the islands, which gives them strategic military importance in relation to the Panama Canal.

Ending up with the statement that "we should not conduct such a social experiment that so obviously brings nothing but discredit to our system of government," Hunt sought to insert in the record numerous photostatic documents.

Senator Murdock interrupted the witness to ask what knowledge did he have on the authen-

ticity of the charges. Hunt reluctantly admitted that he had none.

Senator Murdock then pointed out that the person who made the charges should be brought in to testify.

Ellender Backs Hunt

Senator Murdock then pointed feeble effort to give Hunt some support, pointed out that Judge Hastie had admitted being a member

"What is being attempted here," he continued, "is to have a witness present incriminating evidence that he cannot substantiate in the slightest degree.

"We don't want to take the irresponsible statement of some over-zealous investigator until it has been fully substantiated by a Congressional Committee."

When Chairman Murdock finished, even the two Southern Senators, who at first tried to force the testimony into the record, had to agree with the chairman.

Senator Ellender grudgingly admitted that "Some of those investigators go far afield in their findings."

Sat 4-6-46

Hunt, who by this time was squirming uncomfortably in his chair, nervously replied that his evidence had been collected by the "Un-American Activities Committee" and had been given him by a George McDevitt, committee investigator.

Disgusted, Senator Murdock asserted: "If you want to crucify a man, you have to bring the proper evidence before this subcommittee.

"If you have any witness that you have a Communist and will testify to the fact that Judge Hastie is a member of that group, then have him come here and testify," Senator Murdock snapped back.

"Here," he continued, "we have a witness (Hunt) who testifies that he knows nothing of the truth of statements and charges he is making against Mr. Hastie."

him where would he get his information from this time if he were given an extension time.

Hunt, turning a brick red, replied that he could not say because of the delicacy of the situation, but that he would give it to the subcommittee if they promised to keep the source of of the information in confidence.

Hunt then asked if he could continue. Senator Murdock hesitated, but Judge Hastie asked if he could thumb through some of Hunt's numerous documents and could thereby help him better organize his testimony.

Hastie Helps Witness

The nominee selected some of the organizations which Hunt claimed to be communistic, and told the committee he had no objection to their being entered into the record.

Included were the National Lawyers Guild of which Mr. Hastie is vice president, and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Mr. Hunt, a cunning expression on his face, then asked if he could introduce an article written by Ben Davis Jr., New York councilman, in the Sunday Worker, Communist publication, in which Mr. Hastie's nomination was approved.

After hastily scanning the article, Judge Hastie said he had no objection. Sat 4-6-46

At this point, Senators Eastland and Ellender, who had become dejected, came to life. For almost an hour from their barrage of questions, a listener would have thought Davis was on trial.

Explains Friendship

Finally they asked that Dean Hastie explain his acquaintance with Mr. Davis. Hastie, still calm, said: "I have known Mr. Davis for 25 years and at 21 he was a staunch Georgia Republican and his father a national Republican committeeman from Georgia."

Ellender interrupted: "Where was that, in New York?"

"I didn't say New York," corrected Hastie, "I said Georgia. I was a friend to him when he was a Republican and did not change when he became a Communist."

Hunt, his confidence restored by the new flurry of words, said: "In all fairness to Mr. Hastie I must say I have a very high regard for his legal knowledge. His stay in the Virgin Islands was very commendable and he was respected by everyone."

Senator Murdock, turning towards the witness, asked: "You saw nothing that would allow communistic views to interfere with his high office as judge?"

Hunt replied in the negative.

Witness Cornered

Senator Murdock continued, "Do you consider his educational qualifications high, and him to be liberal and tolerant?"

"Yes, I do," the witness said.

"You admit he is a wise man?"

"Yes."

Senator Murdock, a slow smile spreading across his face, said: "Then, these are the qualifications you stipulate in your article that a governor should have."

Hunt stared bewilderedly and said nothing.

His written testimony designed, he thought, to discredit Mr. Hastie, read:

"The new governor of the Islands must be a wise, a just, a tolerant man and a liberal man. But above everything else, he must be an American, with American methods."

Senator Murdock then asked the witness whom did he represent. Hunt replied, "a large portion of the businessmen in the Islands."

Speaks for 11 Men

When Senator Murdock was through boiling down the "large portion," it became exactly 11. It was also brought out that Hunt wanted to develop tourist traffic and business in the Islands.

Hunt's statement that although 90 per cent of the population was colored, the majority of the business establishments were owned by white people drew nods of approval from Senators Eastland and Ellender. Sat 4-6-46

"Certainly a colored governor could no do worse than some of the white ones have done," countered Senator Murdock, adding, "The mere fact that he is a colored man should not be used against him."

A Virgin Island resident, Roy P. Gordon, who was sent here by the Legislative Assembly of the Islands to testify, told the AFRO that there were only two dissenting votes against Judge Hastie in the Island and that they were in St. Croix. The vote in St. Thomas was unanimous.

(EDITOR'S NOTE:—The three main Virgin Islands, St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix are governed by two Municipal Councils. A seven-man council, of which Mr. Gordon is chairman, operates for both St. Thomas and St. John, while St. Croix has its own nine-man council. Members of both councils meet once a year, at the call of the governor, in what is known as the Legislative Assembly.)

Both councils, he pointed out, met together once a year and hold what is called a Legislative Assembly and the vote for Judge Hastie in that branch of government was also unanimous.

Parade for Hastie

The citizens of St. Thomas, he said, staged a mammoth parade, asking that the Senate confirm the appointment of Mr. Hastie.

Regarding Mr. Hunt's testimony, Gordon had this to say:

"I think that Mr. Hunt has a fantastic imagination. At present there is a Sidney Kessler, a white continental, who is willing to invest $1,500,000 in a tourist and commercial venture in St. Thomas.

"He plans to do this whether Judge Hastie becomes governor or not. Mr. Hunt pointed out that he had 11 persons who were against the confirmation; but is that significant when 25,989 persons of the Islands are for him?"

Four Testify on Monday

Four persons, including Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party, testified in Hastie's behalf on Monday. Absent from the hearing were Senators Ellender and Brewster, and Senator Eastland failed to cross-examine as he has done in the past.

Mr. Thomas termed the communist charge "unfair" and insisted that the nominee was and is not "a fellow traveler" or a Socialist.

Foreman, Bourne Heard

Clarke Foreman, white, of Atlanta, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and James R. Bourne, white, now chairman of a D.C. citizens' housing committee, termed the Communist charge against Mr. Hastie as "preposterous," and "purely imagination."

Mr. Bourne is a former relief administrator or Puerto Rico and consultant or the Virgin Islands, who volunteered to appear before the committee.

Miss Pauli Murray, assistant attorney general of Sacramento, Calif., the fourth person to testify, stated that the communist charge against Mr. Hastie was surprising because like the late Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie, he was admired by all parties.

National GRAPEVINE

By CHARLEY CHEROKEE

Good Morning, Guvnor! Chicago Defender, Ill.

SENATE HEARINGS on naming Bill Hastie Virgin Isles Governor, collapsed gently, after dragging three weeks. Communists themselves said Bill is no communist as charged, and Norman Thomas was there to say he is no Socialist. Charges that white tourists would shun the Isles, were laughed out the window.

Opposition led by Senators Eastland (Miss.) and Ellender (La.) put a witness on who tried to prove white business men in the Isles (whites are 10 per cent of the population) would sell out if a Negro Governor was named. Ellender raised the point of just who is white in the Isles and who is colored, pretty shaky ground for the Senator who comes from an area where many of the best white families have colored members. Sat

Eastland was disgusted with his own witness who proved to be the dumbest white guy we have come across (and that covers a lot of ground, chum). Once the Senator yelled to Chairman Murdock (Utah): "Stop interrupting my witness, give him as much rope as you gave the others." Everybody in the room added under his breath, "and he'll hang himself." Which he did.

Bill was in fine form throughout, looking properly modest when a parade of witnesses said what a fine guy he is, and in his rebuttal referring to the silly charges of the opposition merely as "misapprehension." There'll doubtless be a little flurry when the nomination gets out in the Senate proper, and Bilbo (whew, did you step in something John Henry) will get in some dirtiness for the record, but chum, Bill is in. Good morning, Guvnor!

Field in the company of Secretary of the Interior Krug, Governor Tugwell of Puerto Rico and other high officials.

Angela Durant, a Girl Scout, presented to Mrs. Hastie a bouquet from her high-school classmates.

Mr. Hastie will go to St. Croix tomorrow for a similar ceremony.

"President Harry S. Truman in choosing Judge William Henry Hastie to be Governor of the Virgin Islands has selected an outstanding American who is pre-eminently fitted to direct the destinies of these islands."

Virgin Islands Washington Post, D.C.

In selecting Dean William H. Hastie for the governorship of the Virgin Islands, President Truman made one of those nominations which deserve Senate approval by acclamation. But Senator Brewster of Maine seems to be laboring under the misapprehension that the Senate has been asked to confirm appointment of the Governor of Puerto Rico, Rexford Guy Tugwell. And Senator Eastland appears to be of the opinion that the question at issue is the character of former Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes. Mr. Brewster said he wants to find out if Dean Hastie is "another Tugwell." Mr. Eastland asked if the nomination of Dean Hastie had been proposed by Mr. Ickes. 3-22-46

Of course, Dean Hastie is not "another Tugwell" or another anybody else. He is a man who has, by the peculiar qualities of his own mind, won high distinction in the practice and teaching of the law and rendered distinguished public service in the Federal Government. He has been an assistant solicitor for the Department of the Interior, judge of the United States District Court for the Virgin Islands, a civilian aide to the Secretary of War, and is now, at 41, dean of the Howard University Law School. Thus, he is unusually qualified, both by attainments and experience, for the important responsibility the President chose him to discharge. We trust that the Senate will not permit irrelevancies or prejudices to delay the confirmation of an appointment so manifestly appropriate. Friday

Negro Leader Gives Poll taxers Short Shrift

Special to the Daily Worker

WASHINGTON, April 1. — The poll taxers tried to have a red-baiting field day during the Senate Committee hearings on confirmation of William H. Hastie as governor of the Virgin Islands last Thursday. But one witness, Hope R. Stevens, general counsel for the National Negro Congress, set them back on their heels.

Stevens praised Hastie's character and experience as qualifying him for the job of governing the Virgin Islands with their 90 percent Negro population.

He challenged Ellender's statement that tourists of the "Caucasian race and businessmen would not be interested in the islands if a colored man was governor."

Denial of Hastie's confirmation would be a sign to the world's colonial peoples that America is embarking on a path of oppression of dark-skinned minorities.

He branded the attack on Hastie as an effort to use the red scare to obscure the issues." Only those with ulterior motives would raise these issues, he said. He also stated that opposition to Hastie could only come from "special interests" in the islands.

An unexpected by-product of the Senate Committee hearings was Ellender's attempt to red-bait the prominent Negro attorney.

"Do you know Benjamin Davis, Jr.?" he asked.

"Yes," replied Stevens. "I know him well. He is the only Negro member of the New York City Council. He is a fine man and a loyal American."

Ellender almost jumped from his seat. Tues 4-2-46

"Do you know James W. Ford and his writings concerning the right to self-determination in the black belt of the South?" Ellender asked.

"Yes. Every self-respecting Negro seeks self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt," replied Stevens. "In this we look for and have received the support of many fair minded white people."

Stevens then took the offensive stating it was much more democratic to defend the right of a man to be a voting as "some members of the Senate seem to want to do."

The obvious reference to the poll tax to eliminate the poll tax did not go unchallenged by Ellender. He protested that he had worked for its elimination in his own state. He added, that he did not like the method of "forcing the states from the outside" as the anti-poll tax bill would do.

"When someone's heel is on my neck, I don't much care whether it is removed by his being hit over the head or given a polite push," Stevens replied.

It wasn't quite what Sen. Ellender planned for all in all.

W. H. HASTIE INDUCTED VIRGIN ISLANDS HEAD

By Cable to The New York Times

CHARLOTTE AMALIE, Virgin Islands, May 17.—William H. Hastie was inaugurated Governor of the Virgin Islands today before thousands of natives assembled in Emancipation Garden.

The oath was administered by Herman Moore, United States Judge of the District Court of the Virgin Islands, while a contingent of United States Marines, veterans of World War II, homeguard and Boy Scouts drew up to attention.

Acting Governor De Castro, introducing Mr. Hastie, told the people: Sat 5-18-46

Mr. Hastie arrived at the

Bourbon Fights Nomination Of W. H. Hastie

New York, N.Y. 3-22-46 Daily Worker

JUDGE HASTIE

N.Y. N.Y.

Daily Worker Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 21.—The nomination as Virgin Islands Governor of William H. Hastie, dean of Howard University Law School and prominent Negro lawyer and judge, ran into opposition today from poll-tax Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss). Friday

Eastland questioned Hastie about his associations, laying stress on his membership in the National Lawyers Guild, his interest in PAC, the National Negro Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Scottsboro case.

The nomination of Hastie had received the support of CIO President Philip Murray, former Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes and present Secretary Krug.

Current hearings before the Senate Insular Affairs Committee brought out evidence of Hastie's record in the Virgin Islands from 1937 to 1937 as Federal District Judge, the first Negro to hold such a post. He would be the first Negro Governor, if confirmed, of the Islands—which have a population of 30,000, 90 percent Negro.

Sen. Owen Brewster (R-Me) questioned Hastie on his "social and political views," to which the nominee replied by outlining a program to make the Island self-sustaining, thus reducing the present federal expenditure.

Negro Named To Virgin Islands

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5.—(AP)—President Truman has decided to appoint Judge William Henry Hastie, Negro dean of Howard University of this city, as governor of the Virgin Islands, to succeed Charles Harwood, of New York.

The appointment will go to the senate when it reconvenes Jan. 14.

The White House did not say whether Harwood had resigned. Press Secretary Charles G. Ross simply said:

"The governor serves at the pleasure of the President."

Move Surprises Capital Observers

Afro-American

Dawson Apparently Not Consulted in Action

JOB PAYS $8,000

1-12-46

Nominee's Wife Born in Virgin Islands

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON (Afro Bureau)—In a surprise move which stunned both colored leaders and political bigwigs, President Truman Saturday announced the appointment of Judge William H. Hastie as governor of the Virgin Islands. Judge Hastie, dean of the Howard University Law School, succeeds Charles Harwood, who was appointed by President Roosevelt. Mr. Hastie becomes the first member of his race to hold such an appointment. The position pays $8,000 a year. Sat.

Judge Hastie

In making the announcement Saturday, White House press representative Charles Ross failed to disclose whether Mr. Harwood was still governor or not. The appointment has to be confirmed by the Senate.

From other sources, the AFRO learned Mr. Harwood was in Miami, Fla., apparently en route to his home in New York.

In Elliott Loan Deal

Harwood has served since 1942, succeeding Gov. Lawrence Cramer. A wealthy man of 70-odd years, Harwood's name was mentioned in connection with the financial difficulties of the former president's son, Elliott.

It was charged by Westbrook Pegler that Harwood was appointed after he had extended a considerable loan to the younger Roosevelt. What political difficulties developed recently on the islands to bring about his sudden removal was not disclosed.

Judge Hastie takes into the governorship a keen knowledge of the Virgin Islands, where he has served on different missions. At one time he conducted an investigation for Secretary of Interior Harold L. Ickes during the regime of the late Gov. Paul Pearson. Sat.

He was later appointed judge of the Federal District court there. Resigning this post and returning to the States, he later married Miss Jean Lockhart, daughter of the island's wealthiest and most prominent merchant and land holder. 1-12-46

Resigned From War Dept.

During the war, Judge Hastie served as civilian aide to the Secretary of War until his resignation in 1943 in protest against efforts of the Army Air Forces to by-pass him on matters of policy pertaining to colored soldiers.

His resignation with its attendant blast at the Democratic administration brought him into the ill graces of party leaders like Cong. William L. Dawson, Chicago, who opposed his appointment to the Federal judgeship.

This position, with Dawson's approval was given to Irvin C. Mollison of Chicago. Dawson last week engineered the appointment of R. O'Hara Lanier as minister to Liberia. Sat.

But apparently Dawson was not consulted in the Hastie nomination as he was out of the city when the announcement was made and could not be reached for a statement.

Ickes Behind Move

Political observers here expressed the belief that Secretary Ickes was responsible for Hastie's choice, since they have been close friends since the time Judge Hastie served in the Interior Department as solicitor.

From the island side, it might also be suspected that his father-in-law threw considerable weight in Judge Hastie's direction.

Born in Knoxville, Tenn., Mr. Hastie was educated at Dunbar High School in Washington and Amherst College. He received his legal education at Harvard. He was a ranking student at Amherst and was a member of the editorial staff of the Harvard Law Review.

He entered the practice of law in the District of Columbia with the firm of Houston and Houston in 1931. From 1933 to 1937 he served as assistant solicitor of the Interior Department and from 1937 to 1939 he was judge of the District Court of the United States in the Virgin Islands.

He was promoted to dean and professor of law in the Howard Law School in 1939 and was given a leave of absence in 1940 to serve as civilian aide to the Secretary of War.

Confirm Hastie Without Delay

Memphis World, Tenn. Tues 4-2-46

It appears that the confirmation of William Hastie as governor of the Virgin Islands has been temporarily slowed up by inconsequential objections and petty jealousies. As to be expected, certain white supremacists, North and South, are searching as usual, for some grounds on which they may justify their position against his confirmation. More disconcerting than these even it has been hinted that certain influences among Negroes high in the councils of their parties are actively opposed to Hastie for the post. It seems that their chief objection to Hastie is that he is an outspoken opponent of bigotry, discrimination and injustices to his people and that he lacks a proper regard for party loyalty.

As much as we believe in party regularity and loyalty, we can see in this position no sound and sufficient argument to support the blind and flimsy excuse these Negroes advance against Mr. Hastie's confirmation. There are instances, many of them, where the broad interests of Negroes cut across and far transcend party lines. Hastie is an eminent American lawyer and a citizen of unquestioned integrity. His experience as Judge in the islands prepares him above any other person in this country to work with these people with understanding and sympathy. And it is our genuine hope that his confirmation will be speedily upheld and that no further objections will be registered by Negro leaders. Otherwise American Negroes will reserve the right to place them in the same category as they hold Bilbo, Rankin, Eastland, and the others. For Hastie has the endorsement of all liberals of this country, Negroes and whites alike. Moreover by virtue of his service to the people and because of his marriage to one of the native daughters there, he has won a deep and abiding love in the hearts of the islanders.

Job as Governor of Virgin Islands No Bed of Roses

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

By RALPH MATTHEWS

WASHINGTON — (AFRO Bureau)—When you walk out on the spacious veranda of the Blue Beard Castle Hotel flush against the mountainside and look down on the glittering tops of tin houses which form a patchwork of beauty tied together with flowers of every hue, you think that in St. Thomas, the capital of the Virgin Islands, God worked hand in hand with man to perfect an earthly paradise. Sat.

But when you stroll down the winding mountainside through the narrow streets close to where the turbulent waters of the Caribbean lash the shores, this beautiful illusion takes on a transparent aspect. 1-12-46

You begin to see the ugly bones of poverty, hunger and stark tragedy lurking behind the white stuccoed walls and on the gaunt faces of the thousands who must live and eke out a bare existence with little straw from which to build the bricks of life.

Into this parado soon will move tall, brilliant, humorless William H. Hastie, as the first member of his race to be named to such a post.

But as deceiving as the view from Bluebeard Mountain is the position he has attained. There is beauty in the honor adding as it does another rung to the ladder of achievement up which he has climbed holding one responsible position after another in the New Deal government.

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But underneath, we who know the Virgin Islands best see this appointment as the worst possible thing which could have happened to him if at the age of 42 he is looking for a taste of contentment and happiness in his life.

There is no contentment in the Virgin Islands.

Fromer President Herbert Hoover put his finger on the core quite aptly when he describes the islands as America's poor house. But poverty while being the fundamental cause of discontent there as everywhere else in the world, is not the only cause of irritation.

Love Politics

To this she unwittingly en-have him tie you up in a political possibly the lowest in the world. where which would do In Harlem, they infiltrate most enlightened through the political organizations. From where I sit Judge Hastie keeps his ears and can be counted to make tie's political troubles will reads the latest trouble of an argumentative nat-volve around a number of fundamental issues. PAC. where their bread and butter First, the governship of the s never outgrow are concerned, a lodge meeting Virgin Islands despite its high they migrate to or something as inconsequential sounding title is little more than political con-as a social club. being an office bou for the Department of Interior.

a small child on the street and sciousness among our group is They love the joy of a fight

Here it again it seems like nature went out of her way to put together an incompatible combination. Not only did she set up a tropical island so lacking in self sufficiency that not only 80 per cent of the clothing, food and necessities of life must be imported, but even the drinking water must

an active or passive politician and this even after they love the joy of a fight

Love Joy of Fight 1-18-46

it is no strange experience to stop America where pol

Technically, the governor is supposed to serve "at the pleasure of the President" and can therefore be remove at a minute's notice or with no notice at all.

At the pleasure of the President means, of course, the pleasure of the Secretary of the Department of Interior and the Senate committee on Insular Affairs.

In addition to pleasing the capital bureaucrats, he must also walk a tight rope with the Municipal Council, a sort of figure-head parliament of local big wigs, whih exists more for the purpose of giving the islanders something to campaign over like a baby's rattle.

Has Little Power

The council has little power in alleviating the social or economic conditions of the islands, but it can make it terribly unpleasant for any governor who happens to get in its bad graces or fails to keep its members pacified.

Another little item which the governor will run into is the matter of caste which is deeply ingrained here as it is all of the West Indian islands with as little foundation.

One of the biggest rows ever kicked up in the Virgin Islands occured in 1930 when the United States attempted to take the census and stipulated in the forms that those with colored blood should be classified as "Negroes." All ofthe mulattoes insisted that they be listed as white.

Right there will be one of Judge Hastie's problems. A certain element will look upon his appointment as an insult to the people of the islands and would prefer the worst cracker of the south to themost enlightened person of color.

Whether the true motive of their opposition will be exposed is doubtful, since it may take other forms.

Married to Native

In this particular case, however, Judge Hastie is more fortunate than any other of the 13 million who might have possibly been named in that he happens to be married to the very charming daughter of one of the leading members of the mulatto group and indeed, the most important citizen of the islands barring none, the former Beryl Lockhart.

Her father, not only is the leading importer, bringing in everything from calico to turbine engines, but the Lockhart acres covery every foot of cultivatible land on the tiny island.

But this very blessing may prove to Hastie's disadvantage in that it will automatically identify him with the mulatto caste, whom the darker natives blame for a great deal of their economic troubles. 1-12-46

esv cdc ytdemke faftf faftf fafaf

This may be offset by the pride the islanders in general may take in having a native as the first lady and may spare Judge Hastie a fight from that quarter.

This is because one of the greatest agitations ha been for the appointment of M. DeCastros as governmental secretary, which is in the United States is eqvivalent to lieutenant governor.

Danger of Intrigue

Since the pattern in a number of instances has been for the sudden appointment of the secretary to succeed the governor as in the case of Lawrence Cramer, who was upped to the post while his superior Governor Paul Pearson was in Washington fighting the opposition of islanders in a Senate probe, there might be dager of intrigue should the agitators for a native governor be able to use DeCastros as a tool for their aims. This is just another of the little things Judge Hastie will have to watch.

While all the above has been discussing the difficulties Judge Hastie will face in the islands, there are many virtues in the appointment.

Judge Hastie will carry to the islands and unquestioned record for fighting for high principles for his race, which can easily be transferred from the circumscribed activities of the NAACP at home to the people of the islands. 1-12-46

His only handicap in this respect, will be the fact that natives are so engrossed in their intra-racial struggles that it is difficult for them to conceive of whites in the same aspect that we do here at home.

Would Rally to Bilbo

They would rally as quickly to Bilbo as they would to Wallace provided the former offered them a panacea for their immediate woes.

Judge Hastie will be able to do as governor many things he could not do as a member of the judiciary because in the latter post he could not identify himself too much with any faction or issue without projecting himself into the politics of the islands.

He will also be able to bring about a closer bond between the greater mass of colored voting strength of the States, which can be used to help the people of the islands get some of the things they need and want by identifying themselves with us in a more articulate way through their new governor.

If Judge Hastie can stand the heat, the mosquitoes, the boredom and isolation and knit all of these divergent elements into a whole, he has a great challenge and a great job.

FIRST: The first Negro to be appointed Governor of a U. S. territory, Judge William H. Hastie, dean of Howard University Law School, has been confirmed by the Senate to the top post in the Virgin Islands. The appointment was resisted by the white supremacy gang and supported by all progressives.

Senate Begins Its Hearings On Hastie

By Louis Lautier
NNPA Correspondent

(Reprinted From Last Week's Late Edition)

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Mississippi's rabidly anti-Negro Senator James O. Eastland, a member of the Senate subcommittee on territories and insular affairs, served notice here Wednesday, before the subcommittee hearing on the nomination of Dean William H. Hastie as governor of the Virgin Islands, that he would closely question Mr. Hastie before the hearing was over.

In the first day's hearings, most of the testimony was highly favorable to the confirmation of Mr. Hastie. The first witness, Warren W. Gardner, solicitor of the Interior Department, read a statement on behalf of Secretary of Interior Julius A. Krug, who recommended confirmation. However, Senator Eastland made much of the fact that Secretary Krug took the oath of office only two days before the hearings began and said Eastland, "had not had time to familiarize himself with the Hastie nomination and the problems of the Virgin Islands."

Only four of the seven members of the subcommittee were on hand when the hearings began. One of these, Senator Warren G. Magnuson, of Washington, left for the West Coast a few minutes after the hearing opened but he left his proxy to be voted for a favorable report on the Hastie nomination.

Remaining to conduct the hearings were: Senator Abe Murdock, Democrat, Utah, subcommittee chairman; Senator Owen Brewster, Republican, Maine; and Senator Eastland.

The Republican Senator Brewster, while expressing personal approval of Dean Hastie's nomination, consumed considerable time in attacking the policies and practices of the Interior Department as they affect the Virgin Islands and other territorial possessions.

Chairman Murdock did not reveal, in the first day's testimony, just how he stood on the nomination of the Howard University law school dean to the first governorship to which a Negro has ever been appointed in this country.

BREWSTER GIVES OKAY

Senator Brewster made it known that, insofar as he is concerned, there is no question of Mr. Hastie's ability to be governor of the Virgin Islands since both he and Hastie are graduates of the Harvard Law School and both were editors of the Harvard Law Review.

Before that committee recessed, Mr. Hastie asked the subcommittee what line the inquiry would take so that he might prepare his statement to meet the questions in their minds.

Senator Brewster told him he was concerned only with his concept of how the United States is going to solve the economic problems of the Virgin Islands.

Eastland said he wished to question Hastie. Brewster then warned Hastie that questions would be asked him about his social and economic views.

HARWOOD DISCUSSED

Pointing out that there is a difference in the background and experience of Governor Charles Harwood, the incumbent, and Hastie, Brewster asked Gardner how he reconciled the two appointments under one administration.

"As the devil's advocate or a mean Republican," Brewster said he wanted to know whether the department had changed its viewpoint.

MOST COMPETENT?

Gardner answered that the department has consistently sought to get the ablest and most competent men it could find for its governors.

"I do not know whether at the time of his recommendation it was so considered," Gardner replied." I think it is no secret that during the course of his administration there have been moments when the department has not so considered him."

Brewster then pressed Gardner to have him state whether he considered Hastie's appointment a revolution in the department's viewpoint.

"All have been anxious to adapt our territorial administrations to the needs of dependent areas which are being administered." Gardner replied.

DIVERGENT VIEWS

Brewster then asked Gardner whether he was familiar with the divergent views of Governor Harwood and Robert M. Lovett, former secretary of the Virgin Islands government, whose pay Congress cut off to force Secretary Ickes to get rid of him.

"What I wonder," he asked, "is whether this appointment now represents the views of the department which then prevailed?" His reference was to the Lovett viewpoint.

Gardner said the department believes it important that the Virgin Islands become self-sustaining and work out their own problems.

GAINED RESPECT

Secretary Krug's statement pointed out that Hastie, while assistant solicitor of the Interior Department, worked on the Virgin Island's organic act, which Congress passed in 1936, and because of that work and the two years he spent in the Virgin Islands as federal judge, had gained him the "respect and warm affection of the islanders."

He added that the islanders were reluctant to see Hastie leave in 1939 and "now most gladly welcome him back as governor."

WARMLY REGARDED

The secretary's statement pointed out that the population of the Virgin Islands was 90 percent colored. "Confirmation of the man who is warmly regarded by those he is to govern, who has so well demonstrated his many abilities, and who is also a Negro, would be a convincing display to the world that United States officials have not merely been paying lip-service to abstract principles.

NEXT BEST

Only one other witness testified at the opening session. He was Jesus T. Pinero, resident commissioner of Puerto Rico, who agreed with the statement of the Interior Secretary that appointment and confirmation of Hastie is the next best thing to the Virgin Islanders electing their own governor.

HASTIE TAKES STAND

On Thursday morning, Dean Hastie outlined to the subcommittee his views on the reconversion of the Virgin Islands econony from a war-time to a peace time basis.

Because private capital was unwilling to invest and attempt rehabilitation of a large plantation and the sugar refinery which had been the largest employer in the Virgin Islands had failed, Hastie said, the only feasible thing was for the federal government to attempt as a public project the rehabilitation of industry.

At the time in 1930, Virgin Island economy was prostrate, Hastie said, and it was estimated that the Red Cross was feeding 25 percent of the people.

CHOICE SOUND

"My own attitude toward that sort of thing is that if there had been any substantial chance of private enterprise coming in and doing that job, the government should not have fostered it, Hastie said, "but when the choice was between putting the people on the dole and supporting the enterprise, I believe the choice was sound."

He told the subcommittee he believed the Virgin Island economy could be improved in the post war period by encouraging the people to produce food-stuffs for their own consumption in. Expected pyrotechnics developed. The chairman and Ellender and Brewster were present. Both Senators Murdock, other senators, were present. Expected fireworks did not yet developed. Hastie is making a great advance in the status of the Virgin Islands economically and politically." 1-3-18-46

Hastie Takes Oath As Islands Governor

CONFIRMATION EXPECTED

Charlotte Amalie, V. I., May 17 (U.P.).—William Hentry Hastie, first Negro to become Governor of a the islands, was inaugurated as Governor of the Virgin Islands today in a ceremony attended by Secretary of the Interior Julius A. Krug.

President Truman, in a congratulatory message, declared that "I should like to tell the people of the islands that I share their hopes for the determination to see achieved

45c 1946

Hastie's Appointment To Islands Job Seen As Honor To Race

Birmingham News 5-18-46 Birmingham Ala

BY FRANK I. WELLER

WASHINGTON, May 18 —(AP)— The Senate has confirmed Judge William Henry Hastie, 41, as first Negro governor of the Virgin Islands.

Harold L. Ickes promoted his appointment while he headed the Interior Department, which supervises the 50 islands, islets and cays which make up the Virgin group.

The islands' 25,000 residents are 69 per cent Negro and 22 per cent mixed Negro and white. Ickes said he thought it was about time they had a chief executive representing the dominant race.

The islands have been under the flags of Spain, The Netherlands, England, France and Denmark. In 1917 we paid Denmark $25,000,000 for this "poorhouse of the Atlantic" to keep Kaiser Wilhelm's U-boats from nesting there.

Judge Hastie is deeply grateful for his appointment as an honor to his race, but he isn't jumping up and down about it. For six years he's been dean of Howard University (Negro) law school here, and he likes it. Bull. 5-19-46

Hastie and his wife, Beryl, a highly educated native of the Virgin Islands, are leaders in the capital colored social set which entertains such celebrities as the famed Negro singers, Paul Robeson and Marion Anderson.

* * *

HASTIE WAS GRADUATED A. B. MAGNA CUM LAUDA from Amherst and won his LL.B. and S. J. D. at Harvard, where he was one of the few Negroes ever to serve on the law review. Age-Herald

In early New Deal days he was a protege of Felix Frankfurter, now associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, who then was one of F. D. R.'s "brain trusteers." Ickes hired him as an assistant solicitor in his department. At that time (1933-'37) "the Ick" was up to his elbows with minority group problems and so was the White House. Hastie helped calm the waters. In 1937 F. D. R. named him U. S. district judge for the Virgin Islands, the first Negro ever to sit on the federal bench.

Former Secretary of War Stimson persuaded Ickes to let him have Hastie as a civilian aid and adviser on Negro relations in the armed services when the war ended.

Assistants Denied Governor Hastie

Baltimore, Md. Afro-American

$23,360 for Salaries

Refused by House

BUDGET CUT THIRD

5-18-46

Senate Action May Restore $165,760

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — If the House's recommendation stands, William H. Hastie, governor of the Virgin Islands, will have to get along without an executive assistant, an assistant government secretary and commission of finance and a legal counsel.

In appropriating only $224,440 for the Virgin Islands for the fiscal year 1947, the House Appropriations Committee refused to allow salaries for those three positions, totaling $23,360. Sat

The entire sum, included in the Interior Department appropriation bill, reported to the House last week, is $165,980 less than the appropriation for the current fiscal year, including pay act funds to be appropriated.

It is also $165,760 less than the 1947 Budget estimates submitted to Congress by President Truman, who called for $390,200.

The appropriation for the current fiscal year was $383,050, plus $7,370 pay act funds to be appropriated.

Cut Not Final

The House action, however, is not final, but subject to approval by the Senate, which may put back into the Interior Department bill some of the funds eliminated by the House.

The amount recommended for the Virgin Islands includes $184,640 for salaries and expenses, $23,360 less than the Budget estimate. This reduction represents the disallowance for the three assistants refused.

Similar Action Recalled

In connection with the legal counsel, the committee said that it was advised that this work can be performed now by the Department of Justice and that the position of executive assistant to the governor has been unfilled for many months.

The House's action recalls that when the salaries of Federal judges were increased recently that of Judge Herman Moore in the Virgin Islands was kept at the old figure. 5-18-46

An item of $39,800 to operate the agricultural experiment station in the Virgin Islands is also included. This sum represents an increase of $3,200 over the current appropriation and is the same amount recommended by the Budget Bureau.

Oppose Aid to St. Croix

The appropriations committee eliminated an item of $142,400 for defraying the deficit of the municipal government of St. Croix, insisting that St. Croix adjust its expenses so that they will not exceed local revenues.

In addition, the committee directed attention to a letter of Nov. 19, 1945, in which the U.S. Comptroller General quoted from the 1944 report of the governor of the Virgin Islands, stating that St. Croix had invested $56,300 in War Savings Bonds.

The report quoted the Comptroller General as having stated: "The purchase of War Savings Bonds cannot be regarded as an expense to be defrayed from the Federal appropriation 'Defraying deficits in treasuries of municipal governments, Virgin Islands, 1944' either directly or indirectly."

Money Not Spent

In his letter the Comptroller pointed out that of $100,000 appropriated for defraying the deficit of St. Croix for the fiscal year 1945, there was an unexpended balance of $71,825.83 as of Aug. 31, 1945.

The committee took the unusual action in its report to express its appreciation for the services of Governor Charles E. Harwood, whom Governor Hastie succeeds. In this, it is believed it was taking a slap at former Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, who had been accused by Senator Allen J. Ellender (Dem., Miss.) of trying to remove Harwood over a period of years. 5-18-46

Hastie Backed by Ickes

Shortly before Ickes resigned, he persuaded President Truman to name Hastie to the post. The action of Mr. Truman in sending Hastie's nomination to the Senate was equivalent to an acceptance of Harwood's resignation.

Governor Harwood had been accused of not spending much time in the Virgin Islands and of not showing a very aggressive interest in getting its economy on its feet.

Ex-Dean to Head Virgin Islands

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Voice Vote Taken After Dixie Senators Protest

WILL EMBARK SOON

Sen. Murdock Terms Appointee 'Outstanding'

5-11-46 WASHINGTON.

William H. Hastie became Governor of the Virgin Islands Wednesday evening when the U.S. Senate confirmed his appointment on a voice vote, after listening to protests from only two Senators, Eastland and Ellender. By the Senate action, Hastie becomes the first non-white person to be appointed Governor of a U.S. territory. At one time he was Federal judge in the Virgin Islands.

Country 'Fortunate'

Taking the floor after listening to efforts of the two opponents to discredit Mr. Hastie, Mr. Murdock declared:

"In my opinion, this country and its Government are fortunate in having a man of the attainments and achievements of Judge Hastie to appoint to the high position of Governor of the Virgin Islands.

"We talk much about democracy. In emphatic language, in emphatic writing, and in emphatic statements, wherever Americans talk or write, we condemn mistreatment of racial minorities on any part of the globe . . .

"We have an opportunity to show to the world that Americans are sincere when they talk about equality of treatment to racial minorities in their own country." Sat 5-11-46

WILLIAM H. HASTIE

Pointing out that not only members of the colored race but distinguished members of the white race, deans of law schools and others, appeared before the subcommittee to urge Mr. Hastie's confirmation, Mr. Murdock stated that only one appeared to state any opposition.

Continuing, he said that efforts to attribute to Mr. Hastie communistic leaning because of his affiliation with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the National Lawyers's Guild and the National Negro Congress had proved futile.

Has Findings Recorded

Finally calling for the confirmation of the nominee, Senator Murdock asked that a brief resume of the subcommittee's findings be inserted in the Congressional Record as part of his remarks. In the statement, members of the subcommittee declared:

"We were impressed with the nominee's own statement that members of his race, regardless of political affiliation or ideology, have common problems and difficulties in this country; and that they work together in trying to solve those problems although they disagree in political thinking.

Unity Revealed

"It was also significant that Republicans and Democrats, white and colored; Protestants, Catholics, Jews — distinguished Americans representing the respected diversities which characterize our united people, by letter or personal appearance have endorsed this nomination warmly and have denied indignantly any imputation against the Americanism of the nominee . . .

"I doubt whether the entire number of communications unfavorable to this nomination exceeded 10 or 12.

"This is to be contrasted with the hundreds of endorsements already mentioned from representative persons, many of them among the most distinguished leaders in American life."

Shortly after being named for the post, which pays $8,000 a year and carries an indefinite tenure, Mr. Hastie resigned as dean of Howard University Law School.

It is understood that Mr. Hastie will leave for the Islands within 30 days or as soon after his business affairs are cleared up as possible. Sat 5-11-46

The Usual Dissenters

In his protest against the appointee, Eastland (D., Miss.) called him a "racial agitator," "a racial demogogue and a member of five communist-front organizations."

Ellender (D., La.) praised the work of the former governor of the Islands, Charles Harwood, and blamed former Secretary of the Interior Ickes for firing him. The Senate affirming vote was taken shortly after these sentiments were expressed.

The son of Mrs. Roberta Hastie of Washington, Mr. Hastie is married to the former Miss Beryl Lockhart, daughter of one of the Virgin Islands leading businessmen. The couple has one child.

The appointment, made by President Harry S. Truman, has been hailed by residents of the Islands, as well as Americans.

Hastie Approved by Subcommittee

Afro-American

Eastland, Ellender Vote in Negative

Baltimore, Md.

OPPOSITION RAPPED

Confirmation by Senate Predicted by Murdock

5-27-46

WASHINGTON (NNPA).—The Senate Territories and Insular Affairs subcommittee, which held extended hearings on the nomination of William H. Hastie to be governor of the Virgin Islands, voted 6 to 2 for his confirmation. Sen. Abe Murdock (Dem., Utah) chairman, announced last week. Sen. Hugh Butler (Rep., Nebr.) was not present when the vote was taken, but later was allowed to record himself in favor of the nomination. Senator Murdock said.

Favorable Action Awaited

The favorable report was sent to the full committee, of which Sen. Millard E. Tydings (Dem., Md.) is chairman.

Senator Tydings has been away from his desk ill, but he is expected back in time to call the committee quickly and that action of this committee would follow immediately.

Senators Eastland (Dem., La.) and James O. Eastland, Chairman of the full committee, expressed the hope that the committee would give its approval of Mr. Hastie at that time. Only the two Senators who to smear Mr. Hastie as being pathetic to Communism had failed to vote against Hastie in the sub-committee, Allen J. Ellender (Dem., La.) and Owen Brewster (Rep., Maine), Republicans, were expected to vote against the nominee.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Roberta Hastie, mother of the Virgin Islands governor-designate, is reported seriously ill at her home, 453 Irving St., N.W. The illness is the result of the strain she underwent while attending the hearings.

Red Charges Futile

He asserted efforts of opponents to smear Mr. Hastie as being pro-Communist failed. He was also joined in the vote for a favorable report by Senators Warren G. Magnuson, Democrat, of Washington, Frank P. Briggs of Missouri, Democrat, and Warren R. Austin of Vermont. 4-27-46

Virgin Islands Gets Slashed Budget For '47

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill

WASHINGTON — William H. Hastie will have to carry out his duties as new governor of the Virgin Islands on a slashed budget, some $165,000 less than that of the current fiscal year.

The House Appropriations' Committee this week alloted the Virgin Islands $224,440 for the fiscal year, 1947, $165,760 less than estimates in President Truman's Budget recommendations.

As a result, the new Virgin Islands' chief will be without an executive assistant, an assistant government secretary and commissioner of finance, and a legal counsel. Sat. 5-18-46

Senate May Restore Funds

The Senate, however, may restore to the Interior Department bill some of the funds for the Islands eliminated by the House.

The House committee said it had been advised that the Department of Justice could perform the work of a legal counsel, and that the position of executive assistant to the governor had been unfilled for many months.

An item of $142,000 for defraying the deficit of the municipal government of St. Croix was eliminated by the appropriations' committee. It insists that the municipal government of St. Croix adjust its expenses so that they will not exceed local revenues.

The Virgin Island slice of the Interior Department appropriation includes $18,640 for salaries and expenses, which is $23,360 less than the budget estimate.

An item of $39,800 for the operation of the agricultural experiment station in the Virgin Islands is also included in the appropriation. This represents an increase of $3,200 over the sum granted for this purpose for the current fiscal year and is the same amount recommended by the Budget Bureau.

In reporting the Interior Department supply bill, the committee directed attention to a letter of Nov. 19, 1945, in which the Comptroller General of the United States quoted from the annual report of the governor of the Virgin Islands for the fiscal year 1944, stating that the municipality of St. Croix had invested $56,300 in War Savings bonds. Sat. 5-18-46

War Bond Sales

The report quoted the Comptroller General as having stated: "It would therefore appear that if the municipality of St. Croix invested $56,300 in War Savings bonds, as stated, either unreported revenues might have been used or other funds temporarily borrowed and later repaid.

"In either event the purchase of War Savings bonds for the municipality of St. Croix cannot be regarded as an expense to be defraved from the federal appropriation 'Defraying deficits in treasuries of municipal governments, Virgin Islands, 1944' either directly or in directly."

The committee took the unusual action in its report to express its appreciation for the services of Gov. Charles E. Harwood, whom Governor Hastie succeeds. In this, it is believed it was taking a slap at former Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, who persuaded President Truman to name Hastie to the post.

Krug Flies With Hastie To V. I.

By LOUIS MARTIN
For The NNPA News Service

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico.—The inaugural party on their way to install William H. Hastie as governor of the Virgin Islands, stopped over here and was feted by the Puerto Rican government Thursday.

Flying with the new governor were his wife, Mrs. Beryl Lockhart Hastie, a native of the Virgin Islands, their 16-month-old daughter, Karen, and Secretary of the Interior J. A. Krug.

The Hastie party, flying in an Army Transport Command four-motored plane, landed at the San Juan airfield before dawn Thursday after a smooth nine-hour flight from Washington. The plane was met by Governor Rex Tugwell of Puerto Rico, and a host of insular officials.

After a few hours' sleep at the governor's palace, La Fortaleza, the Hastie party was taken on an airplane tour of Puerto Rico. Twenty Puerto Rican officials and newspapermen joined in the tour which was made in three ATC planes brought up from Panama for the trip.

Stopping at Arecibo, Governor Hastie and Secretary Krug were shown the famous Cambalache sugar mills and the proportional profit farms which surround it. Arriving at the mountain resort, El Yunque, at noon, the party was honored with a luncheon tendered by members of the island legislature. There Secretary Krug declared in a brief speech that he would support the Puerto Ricans if they should choose to seek independence. 5-25-46

Thursday evening the Hasties were guests of the governor at an elaborate reception at the governor's palace. Friday morning Governor Hastie left Puerto Rico by plane for St. Thomas, Virgin Islands.

Besides Secretary Krug, the following persons accompanied the Hastie party: J. T. Pinero, resident commissioner of Puerto Rico; Carlton Skinner, Interior department; Joel Wolsohn, special assistant to Mr. Krug; Arthur Goldschmidt, Interior department; Felix Cohen, Interior department; Irwin Silverman, Interior department; Mason Barr, Interior department; Williard Barber, State department; Creekmore Fath, Secretary Krug's office; Peter Edson of the National Enterprise Association; Louis Martin and Scott Tyler of the NNPA.

Hastie To Take Virgin Islands Helm May 17

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill
Sat. 5-11-46

Tentative Date For Inauguration Set Following Senate OK

WASHINGTON — Judge William H. Hastie, confirmed by the United States Senate May 1, will take the oath of office as governor of the Virgin Islands around May 17.

Under-Secretary of Interior Oscar W. Chapman stated that the inaugural date has been set tentatively, pending the approval of the Governor-elect.

Julius A. Krug, Secretary of Interior, will be one of the speakers at the inaugural ceremony, marking his first trip to any of the U. S. possessions since taking over the office formerly held by Harold L. Ickes.

Hastie's approval came on a voice vote over the protests of Senators Ellender (D., La.), and Eastland (D., Miss.), who consistently have opposed the nomination. Sat. 5-11-46

Lauds Hastie

Senator Murdock (D., Utah), who served as chairman of the subcommittee hearing testimony on Judge Hastie's nomination, refuted the demagogury of Ellender and company. Senator Murdock said, "In my opinion this country and its government are fortunate in having a man of the attainments and the achievements of Judge Hastie to appoint to the high position of Governor of the Virgin Islands. We talk much about democracy.

"Mr. President, this nominee is representative, and a very splendid and outstanding representative of the Negro race.

"We have an opportunity to show to the world that Americans are sincere when they talk about equality and treatment to racial minorities in their own country. The population of the Virgin Islands is 90 per cent colored. The business of the Virgin Islands is largely owned by colored people. Here is an opportunity for us to recognize the outstanding ability and patriotism of a member of the Negro race." Sat. 5-11-46

The subcommittee of which Senator Murdock was chairman passed Hastie's nomination by a vote of 6 to 2, with only Eastland and Ellender dissenting. In the full Territories and Insular Affairs Committee, the subcommittee's favorable action was upheld by a vote of 11 to 2, with Eastland and Ellender still voting no.

Hastie told the Defender, "naeturally, I am gratified." He relinquished his post as Dean of the Howard University Law School to take the governorship of the Virgin Islands."

Washington Post
Monday 6/3/46

NEW GOVERNOR — William Henry Hastie, new governor of the Virgin Islands, speaks at his inauguration at Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas. He is the first negro to govern a territory of the United States.

Hastie Confirmed At Last

Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.

At long last the political chicanery and racial maneuvering has been cast aside and William H. Hastie, Truman's nominee for Governor of the Virgin Islands, has been confirmed. The favorable action by the Senate Committee was long overdue.

Now that the smoke in connection with his confirmation has been cleared, we may be permitted to say that Mr. Hastie's confirmation was rather strangely opposed by some of our Negro leaders who, we believe, will find it difficult to explain the basis for their objection, unless they come out and say what is in most peoples' minds—that they had nothing against him except the simple sin of not being a strictly and blindly party man.

As much as we believe in and espouse partisanship we are indeed unable to see how a Negro leader can render effective leadership to his people who fails to see how race should not be placed in front of all other considerations. There is absolutely no acceptable argument a Negro can offer for such partisan action against the larger interests of race. Sun. 5-12-46

Hastie made an eminently successful judge in the Islands. He also made a great inroad to the hearts and affections of its people. He is married to one of its Islanders. And he is by training and temperament, the best qualified lawyer for such a post. Liberal American jurists and statesmen have given high endorsement to his nomination.

This paper extends to Governor Hastie and to his family genuine good wishes for a long and successful career in his new field.

Cocksure Manner of Mississippian Fades

Afro American

Baltimore MD.

Nominee Calmly Replies to Barrage of Questions by Subcommitteemen

3-30-46

WASHINGTON

The cocksure, jaunty manner of Sen. James O. Eastland (Dem., Miss.) faded into an expression of chagrin Thursday as William H. Hastie, speaking slowly and calmly, gave testimony before the Senate Territories and Insular Affairs subcommittee on his fitness to hold the post as Virgin Islands' governor.

Sen. Eastland, aided by Sen. Owen Brewster (Rep., Maine), had launched into a lengthy and grueling examination of Mr. Hastie's social and economic views. Room 335 of the Senate Office Building was filled when Mr. Hastie took the stand.

The hearings which got under way Wednesday and continued Thursday, were adjourned Thursday afternoon until the return to Washington of Sen. Abe Murdock (Dem., Utah), committee chairman.

The confident expression wilted from Sen. Eastland's face after his lengthy questioning failed to develop any damaging evidence against the nominee.

Hides Real Motive

The Mississippi senator's opposition to Mr. Hastie, observers said, was really based on racial grounds, although his questioning hinged on an implication that the former Virgin Islands judge had been engaged in "subversive activity."

Sen. Brewster, who also sharply questioned Mr. Hastie, was apparently motivated by political reasons. Earlier, the Maine Republican had warned Mr. Hastie that he would be examined thoroughly about his social and economic views.

Maybe it was just a coincidence but all the Senators wore deep burgundy ties. Present when Mr Hastie took the stand, besides Sens. Eastland and Brewster, were Sens. Murdock and Allen J. Ellender (Dem., La.).

"What was your viewpoint about America's course in foreign policies before Pearl Harbor?" Eastland asked.

Hastie replied that he did everything he could to support the program and that he "certainly would not have accepted the job as civilian aide to the Secretary of War if I didn't." He added that he had hoped America would stay out of the war. 3-30-46

Goes Back to 1940

Eastland, apparently not satisfied with the answer, asked if Mr. Hastie had been a speaker at "that meeting in May of 1940 in which the late President Roosevelt's policies were criticized."

The nominee smiled and said that he could not recall such a meeting, but that if his memory served him well, there were a lot of people critical of Mr. Roosevelt's policies at that time.

Taking the line obviously suggested by his Mississippi colleague, Cong. John Rankin, ranking member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Sen. Eastland asked.

"Are you a member of the Committee to Abolish Peonage?"

Hastie said he recalled no activities on his part with any committee to abolish peonage, affiliated with the International Labor Defense, but that he had long been interested in the fight against peonage.

Answers in Affirmative

"Are you a member of the National Lawyers' Guild?" persisted Sen. Eastland.

Hastie's reply was that he was vice president of the national organization.

"Are you connected with the Washington Committee on Democratic Action??"

"No," replied Mr. Hastie, adding that he had cooperated with the organization.

Eastland continued his line of questioning, seeking to determine whether or not the nominee was a member of the National Negro Congress, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (a favorite target for Sen. Bilbo), the CIO Political Action Committee, the New Negro Alliance, the NAACP, and the Constitutional Liberties Committee. 3-30-46

In response to this bombardment of questions flung by the Mississippian, Hastie testified:

Although he is a resident of voteless District of Columbia, he was a member of the Political Action Committee.

He did not recall sponsoring a conference on constitutional liberties in Washington in June, 1940.

He was a member of the National Negro Congress before he went to the Virgin Islands as a federal judge in 1937, but not since his return in 1939.

He was associated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Founder of Negro Alliance

He was one of the founders of the New Negro Alliance, which sought employment for colored persons in local stores which had large colored patronage and won a Supreme Court decision sustaining its right to picket Safeway Grocery Stores.

He did not recall the Washington Scottsboro Committee or speaking under its auspices at Metropolitan Baptist Church on April 6, 1936, but was deeply interested in the Scottsboro case as a member of the legal committee of the NAACP.

Eastland then wanted to know if Mr. Hastie had taken part in a demonstration against the blood bank. The nominee, turning toward the Mississippian, looked him straight in the eye and replied: "I most certainly did."

Judge Hastie, in reply to Sen. Eastland's question as to what per cent of the Virgin Islands' population is colored, roughly estimated that about 90 per cent was, and that the majority of the property in St. Thomas was owned by colored persons.

Wife Studies Senators

Throughout the hearings, Mrs. Hastie, who was attired simply in a brown and yellow dress, hardly spoke or changed the expression on her face. She seemed to be making a deep study of the four Senators who were taking her husband through the two-hour grilling.

After the hearings recessed, she said that she was very proud of the showing her husband had made, and was sure everything would be all right.

Mr. Hastie's mother was also present and said: "They tried to catch my boy napping, but they didn't. I have always been proud of my son, but today is one that will stand out forever as a memorable one." 3-30-46

Earlier in his testimony Hastie outlined to the subcommittee his views for reconversion of the Virgin Islands economy from a wartime to a peace basis.

Defends Government Action

Because private capital was unwilling to invest and attempt rehabilitation of a large plantation and sugar refinery, which had been the largest employer of labor in the islands and had failed, Hastie said, the only feasible thing was for the Federal Government to undertake as a public project the rehabilitation of the industry.

At the time, in 1930, Virgin Islands economy was prostrate, Hastie said, and it was estimated that the Red Cross was feeding about 25 per cent of the population.

"If there had been any substantial chance of private enterprise coming in and doing that job, the Government should not have touched it," Hastie said, "but when the choice was between putting the people on a dole and supporting this enterprise as a public project, I believe the choice was sound."

He told the subcommittee he believes the Virgin Islands economy can be improved in the postwar period by encouraging the people to produce foodstuffs for their own consumption and by developing a tourist trade and handicraft or needle work.

Testifies Under Oath

At the suggestion of Sen. Brewster, Hastie was sworn when he began his testimony.

Tracing his background and childhood impressions to indicate his attitudes, Hastie told the subcommittee that his paternal great grandmother was a slave, but purchased her freedom and that of her son. His father, he said, was a school teacher in Knoxville Tenn., and later a Government clerk in Washington.

On his maternal side, his mother's older brothers, small independent business men, were residents of Alabama during the Reconstruction Era.

"They maintained their position through that unhappy period when they literally had to fight—I mean fight with guns—to maintain themselves, to protect the Yankee school teachers who had come down to educate their children," Hastie said. 3-30-46

From his ancestors, Hastie said, there was instilled in him a great belief in "self-reliance, industry and courage which can make for success in the American scene."

Queried About Resignation

"Under what circumstances did you terminate your services as civilian aide?" asked Sen. Brewster.

At the suggestion of Sen. Brewster, Hastie read the statement he made at the time of his resignation. In it he charged the Army Air Forces with having exercised against its colored personnel "reactionary policies and discriminatory practices.

"I should say in all fairness, in the period since my resignation there have been a number of most encouraging and helpful developments" in the Air Forces, he added.

"I assume that this statement was a culmination of strong representations by you in the Department before you resigned?" Sen. Brewster asked.

"That is correct," Hastie replied.

Sen. Brewster then asked Hastie whether former Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, the then Undersecretary of War, now Secretary Robert Patterson, and Gen. George C. Marshall, then Army Chief of Staff, were fully apprised of the situation.

Officials Did Not Know

Hastie replied that because of the heavy responsibilities of these officials during the war period "they could not give personal attention to many matters which I have no doubt they would wish to do." He added that he has always thought that "the basic attitudes of former Secretary Stimson, Judge Patterson and Gen. Marshall were not reflected in Army practices."

"To what extent had you discussed these matters with any or all of them and what was their reaction?" asked Sen. Allen J. Ellender, (Dem., La.).

"I would say a sympathetic interest," Hastie replied. He added that "even then despite the furor over the Air Forces not being autonomous, my experience was that in practice the Air Forces were pretty nearly autonomous; at least in matters in which I was interested they went their merry way."

Sen. Ellender asked Hastie whether he had "ever had it out" with Mr. Stimson. 3-30-46

Recalls Disagreement

"Yes," replied Hastie. "I remember one or two occasions when we specifically took up the Air Forces problem. On one basic thing there was disagreement between me and both Secretary Stimson and Judge Patterson, and that was the feasibility or desirability of unsegregated training and organization in the Air Forces."

"They said it was not feasible?" Sen. Ellender asked.

"Yes," replied Hastie.

Only four members of the seven-member subcommittee were present Wednesday morning. Besides the chairman, they were Sens. James O. Eastland (Dem., Miss.) Warren G. Magnuson (Dem., Wash.) and Owen Brewster (Rep., Maine).

Before the hearing was very many minutes old, Senator Magnuson took his leave but left his proxy to be voted for a favorable report on Hastie's nomination. He said he was leaving for the Pacific coast.

Ex-Harvard Men

Senator Brewster made it known that insofar as he is concerned there is no question of Hastie's ability to be governor of the Virgin Islands since both he and Hastie are graduates of the Harvard Law School and both were editors of the Harvard Law Review.

"Of what I have heard and learned of the record of Judge Hastie," said Senator Brewster, "I do not think his ability can be challenged, certainly not by a fellow-Harvard man."

Gardner Favors Hastie

The first witness called was Warren W. Gardner, solicitor of the Interior Department, who read a statement in behalf of Secretary of the Interior Julius A. Krug.

Mr. Krug had taken the oath of office only two days before the hearings began, and Senator Eastland sought to make much of the fact that he had not had time to familiarize himself with the Hastie nomination and the problems of the Virgin Islands.

Mr. Gardner admitted that the statement had been originally prepared by Erwin Silverman, acting director of the Interior's division of territories, and that he had revised it and the Secretary approved it. 3-30-46

"This nomination was recommended by Secretary Ickes, was it not?" Eastland asked.

Senator Brewster then asked if Hastie's predecessors, and Mr. Gardner replied he believed it was.

Brewster then pressed the witness while assistant solicitor of the Interior Department worked closely with the governors of all territorial areas will welcome the opportunity to cooperate with Dean Hastie," it said.

"Confirmation of the man who is warmly regarded by those who has so well demonstrated his many abilities, and of his work on the Interior, which is also a colored man would come in the Virgin Islands as well that United States officials have not merely been paying lip-service to abstract principles," the statement declared.

Appointment Praised

"The President could not have done a man more likely to provide a ness to have him state whether he considered the appointment of Hastie a revolution in the department's viewpoint.

"All have been anxious to adapt our territorial administrations to the needs of dependent areas which are being administered," Gardner replied.

Popular with People

The prepared statement accredited to Secretary Krug, which Mr. Gardner read, pointed out that Hastie was appointed by Ickes, who had been Department of the Interior, which Mr. Gardner disclosed that Secretary Krug had talked over the nomination with Interior officials and had met Hastie on Tuesday and had been very much impressed by him. 3-30-46

Only one other witness testified reluctant to see Hastie leave in "now most gladly welcome him back as governor."

at the opening session. He was Jesus T. Pinero, resident commissioner of Puerto Rico, who agreed with the statement of the Secretary of the Interior that the appointment and confirmation of Hastie is the next best thing to the Virgin Islanders electing their own governor.

Hastie Tilts With Dixie Demagogues At Hearing On Virgin Islands Post

Chicago Defender

Chicago, Ill.

By VENICE T. SPRAGGS
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — Senator Eastland (D., Miss.) at long last met his match in Judge William H. Hastie, Governor-nominee for the Virgin Islands, appearing this week before the Senate Territorial and Insular Affairs sub-committee.

The brilliancy of the testimony offered by the young Howard University law dean in support of his nomination for the high Virgin Island post so completely floored the Mississippi race-baiter, that when he was prodded by Senator Brewster, (R., Maine) to bring into the open the red-herrings which he was saving up to fling into Judge Hastie's face, his efforts fell flatter than a pancake. Even the members of the sub-committee on which he sat, including Chairman Murdock, (D., Utah) swung to Hastie's side, leaving Eastland sulking.

3-30-46

Although the hearings have been recessed pending a call from the chairman of the sub-committee, in many quarters it is believed that Hastie has proved so conclusively his fitness for the post to which President Truman has nominated him, further consideration will not be necessary.

Dixie Displeased

This is the story. When President Truman last December nominated Hastie for the Governorship of the Virgin Islands, it meant the ousting of the then Governor Charles Harwood, white, of New York, whose regime had not set too well on the stomach of the Virgin Islanders, nor had his administration been too satisfactory to the Department of the Interior under whose jurisdiction the government of the islands fall.

Southerners in the Senate were not pleased with having a Negro replace a white man, moreover, many of them were still smoldering under the shock of having Judge Hastie resign from his post in the War Department as civilian aide to the Secretary of War in protest of the continued "reactionary and discriminatory policy" pursued by the Army Air Forces. They therefore demanded public hearing on the President's choice.

They knew that former Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes was strong for Hastie in the Virgin Island spot, having full knowledge of his outstanding record of performance and accomplishment as assistant solicitor in the Department of the Interior, 1934-1937, and of his later record as Judge of the District Court in the Virgin Islands from 1937-1939.

Over 200 Attend

Sat

Chairman of the Senate Territorial and Insular Affairs Committee, Sen. Millard Tydings, (D., Md.), appointed a sub-committee headed by Senator Murdock to consider the nomination. Other members on the sub-committee were: Eastland, Briggs (D., Mo.), Magnuson (D., Wash.), Ellender, (D., La.), and Butler, (R., Neb.).

The first surprise for the sub-committee came in the form of the overwhelming attendance which the hearings attracted. More than 200 persons were present.

Sharing equal spotlight as a surprise was the unexpected warm, and praiseworthy testimony submitted in support of Hastie's nomination by the newly appointed Secretary of the Interior, Julius A. Krug, which was read by W. W. Gardner, an interior solicitor. Secretary Krug expressed his regret at not being able to testify in person.

It was here that Eastland made his first effort to confuse the issues by demanding to know who wrote Secretary Krug's statement. Mr. Gardner explained that as in all other offices, the statement was prepared by an assistant, in this case Erwin Silverman, acting director of the territories division of the Interior Department. He added that he had reviewed the statement. The Secretary himself had studied it very carefully before he endorsed it, and had called Judge Hastie in for a conference.

Secretary Krug in his statement said, "I could hardly have chosen a better occasion to make my first appearance as Secretary of the Interior before a Congressional Committee than one at which I might have the opportunity of endorsing the nomination of William Hastie as Governor of the Virgin Islands."

Reviewing the many complex problems of the islands in the light of Hastie's record of public office, Secretary Krug stated unequivocally, "The confirmation of a man who is warmly regarded by those he is to govern, who has so well demonstrated his many abilities, and who is also a Negro would be a convincing display to the world that United States officials have not merely been paying lip service to abstract principles."

Senator Brewster took the lead in questioning Judge Hastie's ability to bring the Virgin Islands out of the economic straits in which they find themselves. Taking strong issue with the Administration's handling of the Islands up to now, which he said had been operated on the New Deal theory of "pour out enough money, and it will get down through to the people somehow." Brewster said his concern was to determine Hastie's fitness for getting this "poor house of the Caribbean on its feet."

"Color Not Important"

He made clear that the color of the man's skin was not involved as far as he was concerned, adding, in considering a position of this character, "Too much weight could not be attached!" He said, "So far as I have heard of Judge Hastie, I don't think his ability, generally, can be questioned."

It was Brewster's questioning which gave Judge Hastie his best opportunity to demonstrate his competence for the post.

He reviewed briefly his educational background which included graduation from Amherst College as an honor student, and his subsequent graduation from the Harvard Law School.

In reciting his previous post of employment, he was questioned closely by both Senators Ellender and Brewster as to why he resigned from the War Department.

He testified that the attitude of the big three, Stimson, Army Chief of Staff Marshall, and then Under-Secretary of War Patterson was one of "sympathetic interest." He added, "I feel that the Army Air Force did pursue their own quasi-independent policy in the War Department, and were allowed to go their merry way unhampered."

Outlines Plans

Sat 3-30-46

Hastie delineated to the satisfaction of Senator Brewster his plans for revitalizing the economic life of the islands. He proposed the raising of foodstuffs for local consumption and the development of some crops for exportation. He recommended the expansion of the handicraft industry, and the development of resorts for tourist trade.

He specifically reminded the sub-committee that in spite of the low economic ebb in the islands, the Virgin Islands had not been a losing proposition to the United States.

Hastie said, if confirmed, he would welcome developments in the islands by private capital. This he said would relieve the Virgin Island Company, government operated, from responsibility in the islands. The Virgin Islands Company was set up to rehabilitate the islands' industries when the economics of the islands reached disaster proportion in 1930.

The Virgin Islands have never benefited from taxes levied on rum produced there as has the island of Puerto Rico. Brewster proposed, and Hastie agreed, it would be fair to give the Virgin Islands the same benefits given to other territories.

Favors Labor Importation

On the matter of utilizing in the United States labor found surplus to the need down in the Islands, Hastie had this to say. He would favor the importation of Virgin Islanders to relieve work shortages in the United States over the importation of British West Indians. However, he made clear, he was opposed to forcing any surplus workers to America unless they chose, and he was equally opposed to any agreement whereby they would be forced to return to the Islands against their free will.

He specifically reminded that as American citizens, they were within their Constitutional rights to remain in the United States, once they came here, or remain in the islands if they did not choose to come. Hastie stated that he favored economic cooperation between the islands in the Caribbean, but pointed out that international trade barriers would to some extent prove restrictive.

Brewster told Hastie there had been some serious question about "your personal ideologies" aired in the papers. He said that he had not been concerned about them, but apparently there were those who were.

Eastland Quiz

Sat 3-30-46

At this point, Senator Eastland gingerly began his "where were you on the night of" line of questioning. But by this time, his line was so completely out of character, the audience began snickering and had to be brought to order by the chairman.

Hastie told Eastland he had no party affiliation, but during the last campaign was a member of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee. On the matter of the form of government we enjoy in the United States he said, "I certainly believe that our form of civilian government is the best that the human mind has so far been able to devise." He expressed the hope that there will be improvements in this government as time goes by, adding, "I think the Constitution of the United States is one of the great landmarks in human progress."

Eastland queried him about his affiliation with the Abolish Peonage Committee, the National Lawyers Guild, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the New Negro Alliance, the National Negro Congress, Conference on Constitutional Liberties, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Washington Scottsboro Defense Committee, his participation in a protest demonstration against the Red Cross' segregated blood bank, and finally if he had seen eye to eye with the late President Roosevelt's foreign policy.

Hastie went straight down the line, scarcely batting an eye as he answered Eastland firmly "yes," or equally firmly, "no."

Hastie Unabashed

He said he had no recollection of any affiliation with the Abolish Peonage Committee, but had been associated with a Mr. Huff of Chicago, who was fighting against laws involving peonage. He confirmed, "I am one of the national vice-presidents of the National Lawyers Guild," stating that he had joined the Guild in the mid 30's and had been a member continuously since.

On the question of his membership in the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, he stated, "I have constantly cooperated with this group in certain of its activities."

Hastie stated he did not recall sponsoring in 1940 a call to a Conference on Constitutional Liberties, but said there had been a time when he was member of the National Negro Congress. He explained, "I have not been a member since before I went to the Virgin Islands in 1935 or 1936." He admitted his chairmanship of the Washington Chapter of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and said he was one of the founders of the New Negro Alliance.

While he did not recall participating on a program sponsored by the Washington Scottsboro Defense Council held on Thursday, April 16, 1936, at the Metropolitan Church, he attested his extreme interest in the Scottsboro case and of the efforts he made in defense of the defendents in the case. He told Eastland he participated in a demonstration against the Red Cross' segregated blood bank held under the auspices of the Local Branch NAACP.

FDR Foreign Policy

When Eastland probed Hastie's viewpoint on President Roosevelt's foreign policy, Chairman Murdock came to Hastie's defense stating there were many Senators, including Senator Eastland, who did not see eye to eye with the President on his foreign policy. Whereupon, Brewster added that up to December, 1941, President Roosevelt himself was assuring the American people there sons would not participate in any foreign wars.

On this score, Hastie testified that he had a very strong hope that we would stay out of war, but that he recognized that there were certain developments which would make this impossible.

He testified, "With utmost faith and fidelity I did my utmost to support the President's preparedness program while employed as civilian aide to the Secretary of War."

Sat 3-30-46

On hand at the hearings were representatives of a large number of national and local organizations prepared to give testimony supporting Judge Hastie, if hearings are resumed. Among these are Ashley L. Totten, president, and Julius A. Thomas, vice president of the American Virgin Islands Civic Association, New York.

Landed-Gentry Opposition

Jesus T. Pinero, Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in the United States Congress has placed his stamp of approval on President Truman's choice of a new Governor for the Virgin Islands.

As far as has been determined, only Leslie Hunt, a former FBI agent, and later secretary-treasurer of the Virgin Island Company, who is now connected with a private rum company here in America has indicated he will speak for the opposition on Judge Hastie's appointment. Hunt is said to be representing a small landed-gentry group of whites in St. Croix for whom the nomination of Hastie is complete anathema.

45c 1946 Virgin Islands (William Henry Hastie)

Hastie Appointment Fought by Polltaxers

Peoples Voice New York, N.Y.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—If Sen. James O. Eastland, poll-tax Mississippian and one of the Tory stalwarts of the recent filibuster against a permanent FEPC, expected Dean William H. Hastie of Howard University Law School to quail before his inquisition last week, he was disappointed. 3-30-46

Dean Hastie, whose nomination as Governor of the Virgin Islands was under consideration by the Insular Affairs Committee, already had been questioned almost two hours when Sen. Eastland took over the questioning, but remained urbane and poised throughout Sen. Eastland's crude attack.

Armed with a sheaf of records, Sen. Eastland questioned him about his "affiliations." At one point, when Dean Hastie, asked if he remembered making any speeches covered by the metropolitan police, asked what the approximate year was the Senator had in mind, Sen. Eastland replied, "Well,

ASKED ABOUT SCOTTSBORO

"On Thursday, April 16, 1936, at 8:30 pm, in the Metropolitan Baptist Church," thundered Sen. Eastland, had not the witness spoken here on the Scottsboro case?

"I may have. I have no recollection," said Dean Hastie. "I will say this, I was extraordinarily interested in that case."

Another poll-taxer, Sen. Allen J. Ellender, of Louisiana, who questioned him closely about his resignation as civilian aide to the Secretary of War, regarded the handsome and aristocratic features of the jurist curiously throughout.

Sen. Ellender, another filibusterer against FEPC and the chief foe of the 65-cent minimum wage bill in the Senate Labor and Education Committee, at least addressed him as "Judge," but Sen. Eastland did not bother with such niceties.

Hastie read into the record his letter of resignation to the War Department, saying he was resigning in protest against "reactionary policies and discriminatory practices." 3-30-46

Sen. Ralph O. Brewster (R., Me.), who subjected him to lengthy questioning on his social and political and "ideological" position, despite the Senator's reference to the fact they were fellow-Harvard Law School graduates, tried to turn Hastie's testimony into an attack on Secretary of War Patterson.

POLL TAXERS PERPLEXED

Hastie at every point was too skillful for his inquisitionists, however. He pointed out that Patterson "graciously" had urged him to stay longer after his first decision to quit, and that he agreed, until it was apparent he could do more to fight jimcro in the Army from the outside than within.

Sen. Abe Murdock (D., Utah), chairman, did little or nothing to restrain the poll-taxers from going on a fishing expedition, but he did remind Sen. Brewster that the hearing was not meant to put on trial Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell of Puerto Rico. Sen. Brewster admitted it, but proceeded blithely with his line of questioning.

Dean Hastie assured the Senators he would be delighted if private industry would come into the Virgin Islands, but pointed out that after the biggest employer, went bankrupt in 1930, this government was faced with providing a dole or making the Virgin Islands Company a government project. As it was, the Red Cross then was feeding 25 per cent of the people, he said.

He told the committee that by encouraging diversified agriculture and developing a tourist trade and native handiwork and crafts, the economy could be greatly bettered.

And he reminded his hearers that despite the poverty of the Islands they had brought in $47 million in revenue from rum in 10 years, a million more than has been spent on them.

Hastie Wouldn't Play Politics

WASHINGTON (ANP)—Senate confirmation of the recent Truman appointment of William H. Hastie as governor of the Virgin Islands, was delayed in being approved this week by lack of political support behind the former Virgin Islands judge. Hastie, now dean of the Howard University law school and former civilian aide to the Secretary of War, has consistently refused to play politics, and is known as an independent.

A sub-committee of the Senate has held two hearings on the Hastie appointment, at one of which Secretary of Interior Krug called Hastie a "distinguished American" and an "ideal candidate." Sen. Millard Tydings, chairman of the investigating committee, is said to oppose the nomination solely on the grounds that Hastie was backed by the liberal, Harold Ickes.

When a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee later was asked if their files were open to any member of Congress, he said he did not know, but that there was no master index and that it would take a good deal of searching to obtain such a file on an individual. He added that "they must have been photostats as we don't let our original files out."

WITCH HUNT STARTED

Highlight of the questioning was when Sen. Eastland, having failed to upset Dean Hastie in the slightest and apparently determined to ferret out something "subversive" before the committee adjourned until next week, demanded: "Now in May, 1944, did you attend a meeting against segregation of blood in blood banks?"

"I did, sir," said Dean Hastie. As head of the legal committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People he worked very actively against segregation, he added.

Similarly, Dean Hastie admitted other charges of Sen. Eastland and proudly added to them. Was he a member of the National Lawyers Guild? Yes, he was a vice president of the Guild, "and still am." Was he a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action? "No, I am not a member, but I certainly have cooperated with it." 3-30-46

"A charge has been made by a Congressional committee that the Abolish Peonage Committee is an arm of the International Labor Defense and that in 1940 you were a member of it," Sen. Eastland said.

Dean Hastie couldn't recall the name of the committee but said he had made representations frequently to the Department of Justice against peonage and could have acted for the group.

Rapidly, he "admitted" membership in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, former membership in the National Negro Congress and other organizations. Asked about the New Negro Alliance, he said he was one of its founders.

Fight for Hastie

Peoples Voice New York N.Y.

(Editorial)

LET THE PEOPLE'S organizations and people's leaders throughout the country swing quickly into the fight for Senate confirmation of Judge William H. Hastie as Governor of the Virgin Islands.

None can question the superlative qualifications of Judge Hastie for the post to which he was nominated by President Truman. None can question the eagerness of the Virgin Islanders (who know him well) to have Judge Hastie as their Governor.

Then why all the rumpus over his confirmation? Simply this: 3-30-46

- Hastie is a Negro.
- Hastie is an able and courageous fighter for the democratic rights of all people.
- Hastie was sponsored by that honorable fighter-for-democracy, Harold Ickes.

This is why the poll-taxers for whom Mississippi's Eastland speaks, ably assisted by the reactionary Tydings from Maryland, are now doing all in their power to keep Judge Hastie out of a Federal post higher than any Negro ever held. And these are precisely the reasons we must act quickly to assure that Hastie's appointment is confirmed.

Wire President Truman and both your Senators today. Demand the immediate confirmation of Judge Hastie as Governor of the Virgin Islands. 3-30-46

This issue concerns not only the people of the Virgin Islands and the Negro people of America; it is of vital concern to progressive citizens throughout our country. Let us throw everything we have into the fight for Senate confirmation of Judge Hastie as Governor of the Virgin Islands.

it's in the file here." The audience, which completely filled the small room, burst into laughter.

See Bilbo Plot To Stop Hastie

Chicago Defender Chicago, Ill.

By VENICE T. SPRAGGS
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—The "Communist" cry raised at Senate hearings considering Judge William H. Hastie as Virgin Islands governor is a red herring dragged in to hide the real issue—race. Sat 4-6-46

This week Senator Ellender (D., La.) dropped all pretense and demanded to know whether or not tourist trade to the islands would suffer under a Negro governor.

Senator Ellender has long been associated with Senator Theodore "The Man" Bilbo of Mississippi, notorious anti-Negro and red-baiter. Recently Ellender refused to allow a Negro member of a delegation calling upon him in Louisiana to speak. He is one of the most bitter demagogues in the Dixie bloc in Congress.

Up until now, the racial issue has been obscured by charges that Judge Hastie has affiliations with so-called Communist front organizations. Moreover, "grave doubts" have been raised as to his ability to bring the Virgin Islands out of the economic quagmire in which they have existed through the regimes of three white former governors.

Krug Backs Hastie

Refusing to suppress his racial antipathy for the gubernatorial nominee any longer, Ellender puts the question bluntly to Secretary of Interior, Julius A. Krug, who had appeared to place the endorsement and support of the department behind the President's choice for the top post in the islands.

Krug told Ellender bluntly that "of all people, colored or white, I can't think of a better person, tourist trade considered, than Judge Hastie." He added that Hastie is as good a man as the department could recommend for such a job. "I can't be too strong in my recommending him," he stated.

Here Ellender asked Krug if he expected to confine the tourist trade to colored people. Krug replied, "No," that he expected a large number of white tourists would be attracted to the islands as before.

Hastie Reburrs Ellender

Ellender sneered, "You think so? You are very optimistic."

But it was Hastie's interjected remark that put the issue in its true light. The 41-year-old law dean suggested, "The contact of the tourists is not with the governor, be he white or black, but with minor officials, who regardless of the color of the governor's skin, happen to be colored." He named the police, the immigration authorities, the proprietor of the hotel and various other officials.

Elections Suggested

Senator Abe Murdock, (D., Utah) under whose chairmanship a subcommittee of the Senate Territorial and Insular Affairs Committee is conducting the hearings, intersposed with the opinion that he thought the wishes of the people should be a more important consideration than the tourist trade as one item. Murdock added, if the report of the islands, which is 90 per cent colored, had the right to elect their own governor, there would be no question as to their choice.

Ellender countered, "why don't we let them elect him then?" to which Hastie replied, "I entirely concur with that suggestion whenever Congress sees fit to give such authority."

The outcome of the struggle between racism on the one hand and proved competence on the other is still too locked in mortal combat to determine the probable results. However, so far the odds

seem to be on a Hastie victory.

Significantly, prior to Hastie's nomination, the confirmation of a governor has been a mere routine matter. But it is evident that when it comes to entrusting high office to a man whose skin is other than white, although the people whom he will govern are predominantly colored, the idea is so completely revolutionary, that it has been made an issue of paramount importance. Hastie, if confirmed will be the first Negro ever to be named governor of any United States territory or possession. Sat 2-6-46

While it was anticipated that hearings would be conducted, not even high placed officials in the Department of Interior, under whose jurisdiction the conduct of the islands fall, had expected any appreciable opposition.

The highlight of the hearings so far came when Chairman Murdock spiked the red-baiting of the sole spokesman for the opposition so far, Leslie F. Huntt, certified public accountant and former vice president of the Virgin Islands Company, government operated concern for the development of industries in the islands.

Represents Land Owners

Huntt, who is said to represent a handful of the landed gentry in the islands who have special interest to serve, claimed that "the progress of the islands will be retarded if not completely wrecked by the appointment of Mr. Hastie whose sympathies are with Communistic ideologies, and whose past record indicate Communistic activities." Huntt said to place Hastie in such a spot would do the world-wide cause of democracy irreparable harm.

He charged Hastie had been active in the affairs of at least five Communist-front organizations, and presented documents in proof.

When Chairman Murdock challenged the "authenticity" of the evidence, Huntt fell back on the feeble proof that they were collected by an investigator for the House Un-American Activities Committee, George McDavitt, claiming no further knowledge of the reliability.

Lashes Red Baiter

Here Murdock lashed into him, and unequivocally countered, "If you want to crucify and persecute a man, you have to bring the proper witnesses before this sub-committee. What is being attempted here is to have a witness present incriminating evidence that he cannot substantiate in the slightest degree."

He then added: "We don't want to take the irresponsible statement of some over-zealous investigator until it has ben substantiated by a congressional committee."

Hastie admitted membership in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the National Lawyers' Guild, two of the organizations cited by Huntt, but he denounced any connotation that they were "Communist-front" organizations.

Friend of Ben Davis

He admitted as well friendship of some 20 or 25 years with Communist leader Benjamin J. Davis, New York City Councilman, recently elected for a second term. He said he had known Davis when the latter was a Republican, "and I have not severed our friendship since he became a Communist."

"I have had nothing to do with the affairs of the Commuuist Party," Hastie said. "I believe we can work out questions of racial relations within our constitutional form of government. Davis perhaps did not believe that, I cannot speak for him." Sat 4-6-46

Ellender apparently not satisfied with his response on the tourist question, elected to continue his race-baiting. He said a large percentage of the property of the island was controlled by people of the Caucasian race, and that some had in mind developing these properties, but, "it is doubtful that they would expand these properties in the light of this appointment. He also stated he saw little hope of developing private industry with private capital under a colored governor.

Cites Former Failures

Hastie came back with the stinging reply, "the governors to date have not had marked success in getting an expansion of business."

Continuing, he asserted, "I believe my relationship with persons in business while federal judge in the islands, inspired some measure of confidence, and I believe I could persuade these people to expand business."

He discounted Ellender's claim that some landowners who had in mind developing some businesses would not continue under a Negro governor. He said, "I have complete confidence that the matter of race would loom largely in the minds of some people, but I am sure it would not loom largely in the minds of some others."

Northern Race-baiters

Nor was race-baiting confined to the southern members of the sub-committee. Even Senator Owen Brewster, (R., Maine) who at the outset stated that the matter of the appointment was not a matter of race as far as he was concerned, engaged in a bit of it himself.

He asked Secretary Krug whether he thought Hastie would be able to organize the needs of the islands and effectively present them to Congress in a manner sufficiently persuasive to get the necessary appropriations.

Krug expressed confidence that he believed Hastie could. But it was here again that the brilliant young lawyer scored. "I believe as a lawyer I am capable of organizing and presenting the needs of the islands," he said. "The committee will have to decide whether my personality is persuasive or antagonistic." He then ventured the opinion, "the race of the person proposing to Congress would not be a factor in determining whether the proposal is good or bad." Sat 4-6-46

Natives Back Hastie

Chairman of the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John Islands, Roy Gordon was sent by the council to appear before the sub-committee to represent the desires of the people of that municipality in the choice of Judge Hastie as governor.

He testified that on June 11, 1946, his council had unanimously passed a resolution endorsing President Truman's choice. He said on Jan. 15, the Municipal Council of St. Croix had passed a similar resolution, with two dissenting votes, but that when the two councils met in Legislative Assembly on Jan. 31, there had been a unanimous endorsement of Hastie Thereafter, on Feb. 3, various organizations held mass meetings approving the nomination.

Others appearing before the committee in support of Hastie were Ashley L. Totten, president of the American Virgin Island Association of New York. With him, but not testifying were Drs. James L. Wilson and Denis Farelly, white, of New York, both native Virgin Islanders.

A dynamic bit of testimony was given by Hope R. Stevens, vice president of the United Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, and General Counsel for the National Negro Congress, who is also a native Virgin Islander.

Raps Committee

Stevens told the committee that Hastie was loved and respected by all those in the Virgin Islands except those having "special interests," who were "apprehensive" of his fair-mindedness and uncompromising position for right in dealing with affairs in the Virgin Islands, an approach which Stevens said "has not always heretofore obtained."

He took the sub-committee to task for seeking to obscure the real issue in red-baiting and told them they were laboring under the "age-old fear" that given the chance, a qualified Negro will equal or surpass the white man any day.

Seeking to package Hastie, the National Negro Congress and Benjamin J. Davis neatly, and label it Communist, Ellender subtly asked if Davis were not a member of the Congress. Stevens replied in the affirmative.

Lauds Ben Davis

When asked what he knew of Davis, Stevens declared, "He is a very fine man and a loyal American."

Ellender asked if he approved the Society for the Self-Determination of Negroes in the South, Stevens countered, "every self-respecting Negroes aspires to see that self-determination for all Negroes is brought about, not only in the South but any place else it is denied."

Truman's Naming Of Hastie Puts British Caribbean Policy On Spot

Chicago Defender Sat 1-26-46

Chicago, Ill.

By GEORGE PADMORE
(Defender London Correspondent)

LONDON—With the Labor Government's colonial policy especially in Java under heavy criticism, President Truman's appointment of a Negro, Judge William Hastie, Dean of Howard University Law School as Governor of the Virgin Islands, West Indies, is considered a brilliant diplomatic move on the part of the White House.

The appointment coming just before the next Anglo-American Caribbean Conference which is scheduled to take place at St. Thomas, chief of the American Virgin Island group, at an early date, has caused much embarrassment in British official quarters.

Judge Hastie is the second man of African descent who has been appointed to a colonial governorship.

Eboue Was First

The late M. Felix Eboue, a native of French Guiana, was the first Negro to reach such a distinguished position. He was Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa at the time of his sudden death in Cairo in 1944. His wife, Madame Eboue, was recently elected a deputy to the French Parliament to represent the West Indian Colony of Guadeloupe.

Judge Hastie has had a brilliant academic and public career. During the early part of the war he served as civilian aide to the U.S. Secretary of War but resigned as a protest against the racial segregation policy in the U. S. Army.

Returning to academic life, he became dean of the law school of America's leading Negro university —Howard in Washington.

British colonial officials in London who served with Dr. Hastie on the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission to which he was appointed by the late President Roosevelt, have a very high opinion of his administrative abilities and will follow his new career with interest knowing that the appointment of a colored man to a West Indian governorship will have far-reaching effects upon the natives in the British islands.

Against the background of the Hastie appointment, British colonial experts in London are reviewing the future political, economic and social structure of the West Indies.

"So much has happened in the sphere of Caribbean cooperation in the last twelve months that the report of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission for 1944 seems out of date," says the London Econmist.

Commission Enlarged

"Recently it was announced that France and the Netherlands had accepted an invitation to join the commission, to which the latter had already sent an observer.

Earlier it was announced that membership of both the British and the United States sections had been enlarged from three to four to allow two unofficial West Indians to be included. Earlier still there was published a dispatch from the then Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governors of the West Indies giving his views on how federation of the British Islands, an essential preliminary to any wider federation, could best be brought about.

The Anglo-American Commission, which was regarded by Colonel Stanley as the prototype of colonial regional bodies, is expanding rapidly from its early beginnings in 1942, when its first task was to ensure the food supplies of the Caribbean area that were gravely threatened by the submarine campaign. Its peacetime work, therefore, unlike its war-time achievements such as the establishment of a West Indian schooner pool, will tend to appear somewhat vague and unspecific. Possibly its chief significance will come to lie in the system of West Indian conferences, which were started to enable West Indians themselves to discuss matters of common Caribbean interests in open forums. Only one conference has so far been held, but the next should be of even greater interest than the first since it will include delegates from the French and Dutch islands.

Talk But No Action

Realizing that progressive West Indian public opinion is fed up with official policy of talk and no action, the Economist says that practical results of the conference, as exemplified in its recommendations, may appear disappointing. Possibly, the most important resolution that it passed was one calling for the consideration of the abolition of import duties on foodstuffs produced within the Caribbean area. This seems a sensible resolution, and a necessary reform, but as the British Colonial Secretary later pointed out, in a dispatch reprinted in the commission's report, it would infringe both the most favored-nation principle and Imperial preference agreements if it were intended to abolish duties on foodstuffs produced within the Caribbean and retain them on foodstuffs imported from without. Colonial regionalism, however attractive in theory, will still have to contend with national sovereignties when it wants to achieve any practical results.

Prof. Ralph Bunche, professor of political science at Howard University, who is now in London on the United Nations Organization staff under Edward Stettinius, has been appointed to serve on the American section of the Caribbean Commission and will represent his government at the forthcoming conference in the Virgin Islands. Dr. Eric Williams, secretary of the Caribbean Research Council in Washington, will also take part in the conference.

Dr. Williams, a native of Trinidad, West Indies, is assistant professor of Social and Political Science at Howard University and foremost authority of West Indian history. He is the author of "Slavery and Capitalism," the standard book on early West Indian history; and "The Negro in the Caribbean," an over-all survey of economic, political and social set-up in the West Indies.

45c 1946

West Virginia

Dr. Davis Appointed to W. Va. Vets' Group

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

INSTITUTE, W.Va.—In a letter recently addressed to Dr. John W. Davis, president of West Virginia State College, Gov. Clarence W. Meadows advised that he had appointed Dr. Davis a member of the State Veterans' Service Committee.

Governor Meadows said the appointment was made in connection with an over-all program to aid veterans and see that they receive every service offered by their respective State and National Governments.

N.Y. GOP Leader Joins American Labor Party

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, formerly a Republican Party leader, announced her membership in the Kings County American Labor Party Saturday.

The non-discrimination policy of the American Labor Party, which permits no Jim Crow clubs in any form, prompted Mrs. Jackson to leave the ranks of the GOP.

At a press conference held this week at her home, Mrs. Jackson told reporters that for the past several years she has "watched with deep concern the political plight of the Negro people in both major political parties."

Cites Barriers

She cited the "insurmountable barrier" which exists due to "separate political clubs for white and Negro Republicans and white and Negro Democrats." The American Labor Party, Mrs. Jackson pointed out, 'opens its doors wide to all citizens regardless of race, creed or color. Its policy grants participation and leadership opportunity to all races, and permits no Jim Crow clubs or segregation in any form in its organization."

She said that the recent filibuster in the Senate against the FEPC "is proof that both major political parties are violating the principles of our Constitution and Bill of Rgihts and constantly break their campaign pledges where the Negro is concerned."

"More than 200 years of legalized enslavement of the Negro in this country, and another 70-odd years of illegal enslavement," Mrs. Jackson added, "is a long time to wait, watch, hope and pray for freedom through the Republicans or Democrats."

Sat 3-23-46

She joined the American Labor Party, Mrs. Jackson said, because she is "convinced that this is the only way for my people."

The following Brooklyn Negro citizens endorsed Mrs. Jackson's statement: Syble Burnett, Irene Hamlett, Adele Carter, Jennie Trice, Lucille Gerard, Dorothy Rodrigues, Hattie Wilson, Gladys Thornhill, Odette DeVaughn, Rose Jeffers, Dr. Emily Charlton, Elizabeth Camp, Prof. Alexander Gatewood, Willa Granger and many others.

Mrs. Jackson is co-chairman of the Bedford District Health Council, president of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Schools Council, and active in the United Parents Association and the Brooklyn Interracial Assembly.

Mrs. Jackson Joins ALP; Raps GOP Jimcrow

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

Wed 3-20-46

Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, Brooklyn Negro Republican leader, has joined the American Labor Party after assailing the insulting "lily white" GOP policy of separate clubs for Negro members, it was learned yesterday.

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Mrs. Jackson is co-chairman of the Bedford District Health Council and president of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Schools Council and active in the United Parents Association and the Brooklyn Interracial Assembly.

"The ALP," she said, "opens its doors wide to all citizens regardless of race, creed or color. Its policy grants participation and leadership opportunity to all races and permits no Jimcrow clubs or segregation in any form in its organization."

She also cited the recent Senate filibuster against the FEPC as evidence that both major parties are violating the principles of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

"They constantly break their campaign pledges to the Negro people," she said. "More than 200 years of legal enslavement and another 70-odd years of illegal enslavement for the Negro is a long time to wait, watch, hope and pray for freedom through the Republicans or Democrats."

45d 1946

Communist

Paul Robeson Defies un-American Committee

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Fri. 10-11-46

By Jack Young

LOS ANGELES.—The Tenney Committee launched attacks on the National Committee to Win the Peace and Hollywood unions, but was met by challenging opposition from Paul Robeson and Emmet G. Lavery.

Robeson, co-chairman of the Peace Committee, told State Senator Jack B. Tenney that the existence of the Un-American Committee is "one of the evidence" that fascism still lives.

Lavery, Catholic president of the Screen Writers Guild, charged that what Tenney "seeks to apply today against the Communists could be applied tomorrow against the Catholics."

Questioned about the formation of the Win the Peace Committee, Robeson said he saw that denazification wasn't being carried out in Europe last year when he sang to the American troops there.

The Win the Peace Committee was formed spontaneously this spring to "get the facts before the people," said Robeson.

FATEFUL DECISION

"The American people today must decide what they are going to support," said Robeson. "I, as a Negro, know fascism would wipe me off the face of the earth. I can't support it."

Tenney got his hearing off to a typical start by ruling that Lavery couldn't have a personal stenographer take shorthand notes, and forbidding Lavery from reading a prepared statement.

In that statement, Lavery denied that either he or the Screen Writers Guild have ever "been dominated by Communist influence," and he challenged Tenney to a public debate.

The interrogation of Robeson was started by Richard E. Combs, committee counsel, with questions on Robeson's visits to the Soviet Union and the schooling the singer's son got there.

"My son had what I would call a very basic Soviet education," Robeson said, proudly. He later explained he sent his son to school in Russia so he wouldn't be subjected to prejudice here.

Robeson told of his work with the Free Festus Coleman Committee, the National Negro Congress and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

"The democracies made a horrible mistake by not supporting Republican Spain," said Robeson, "and they are making a horrible mistake now by supporting Franco."

He called for the recall of recognition to Franco and for withdrawal of American troops from China as necessary to world Peace.

This brought from Tenney his $64 question: "Are you a Communist?"

Robeson laughed. "I characterize myself as an anti-Fascist," he replied.

He said he wasn't a member though he would choose it over the Republicans, explaining that "in my association with Communists throughout the world, I have found them to be the first people to die, the first to sacrifice and the first to understand fascism."

Tenney tried another trick question, asking in a roundabout way if fascism and communism weren't the same thing.

"There's a very great distinction," answered Robeson. He cited Hitler's killing of the Jews as against the elimination of prejudice in the Soviet Union.

"There's a great difference between a thing that wipes out entire people and another that raises them," he said.

"Fascism is the domination, economic and otherwise, of a minority against the interests of the great masses of people," Robeson said.

"I feel that American Big Business today has decided to crack down all over the world," he continued.

"But we don't need to go to war to find out which way of life is best," he said. "We can solve it within the framework of peace by extending democracy and freedom to all people."

LAVERY TESTIFIES

Lavery testified that he wasn't a Communist. "I take my social conscience from the gospels of the Apostles," he said.

He argued against Tenney's thesis that communism is a menace, asserting that "the greatest challenge today is to put the greatest distance between World War II and World War III."

"We must be alive and alert to preserve the democracy we have," said Lavery. He added that to start "thought control" here would endanger democracy and bring the country that much closer to war.

As for Combs' continued insinuation that Communists were running Hollywood studios, Lavery replied that "in my 10 years in the industry, I have never yet seen a man who could 'finesse' what you would call a Communist picture past Louis B. Mayer."

Lavery lashed smear attacks on the Screen Writers Guild because among its 1000 members are some 10 Communists. Fri. 10-11-46

"The Communists make most of the noise," asserted Tenney.

"They may make most of the noise, but they don't make most of the scripts," replied Lavery.

VIEWS and Reviews

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

The Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Sat. 6-8-46

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

Keynoting the tenth annual convention of the National Negro Congress, Dr. Max Yergan, noted Kremlin apologist, warned that "from this point on we will drive for unity within the ranks of the Negro people." Whenever Communists talk about unity they mean getting everybody else to follow the Stalinist line. Although the name of the organization implies that it consists of Negroes, Dr. Yergan emphasized that the Congress must no longer view itself as "merely a group of Negroes, since the advance of the trade union movement lies in the single organization of white and black labor." He added that unity with white workers would not sacrifice the drive for unity among Negroes.

Translated from Moscowese this means that, with the war over and Russia saved, the National Negro Congress is going to drive for "capture" of all the Negroes and will use the support of white Reds to that end. Moreover, it means that a drive will be launched to wean the Negroes away from such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or to "capture" it and hitch it to the Kremlin chariot. This was the real purpose for which the National Negro Congress was organized, and its return to the old policy was anticipated by all those who are hep to the Communist jive. The N.N.C. and other such organizations like the American Youth for Democracy (formerly Young Communist League) the Sweethearts of Servicemen and the International Labor Defense among others, have long conspired to undermine the NAACP and such outfits organized to defend Negroes, and now they are prepared to "go to town" to attain that goal.

* * *

They have already made considerable headway, especially among middle-class Negroes, and with a more intelligent approach, they are likely to win a large percentage of the NAACP membership, especially the youth, to the Red program. This need not have been if the NAACP had been better administered, and personally I am only concerned about the matter because I think it would be a dangerous development for Negroes, in view of the growing antagonism between the Soviet camorra and the United States. Identification of American Negroes with the Moscow clique would offer an added excuse for persecuting colored people.

Unhappily the NAACP has slept its opportunity and now finds itself trying to catch up with the Communist propaganda and tactics. Although it has been in the field since 1909, it has been incapable of developing any sound program attractive to the masses of Negro workers or capable of offsetting Communist appeals. The fact is that the Red conspirators are simply smarter than the NAACP administrators. Working in the same field of championing Negro rights, they get better publicity and are quicker to seize upon lucrative issues. Time and again they beat the NAACP to the punch and grab off the credit. They seem inclined to profit from past mistakes and from now on we may expect to see the Communists score at every opportunity and get more and more mass support.

* * *

This need not have been and it still need not be, but unfortunately the NAACP is distressingly unwitting of its way. With over a million Negroes in organized labor, it has paid little, if any, attention to labor except when some sharecropper was run out of his town or lynched. It has never had anybody handling labor. With a tremendous youth organization it has no youth program worthy of the name. Whereas its 1,000 branches could have been whipped into real fighting organizations, it has let the opportunity slip by. In sum, the directing psychology is one concerned with letter-writing, telegram-sending, viewing-with-alarm, loud protesting and handshaking. The only program it has had with any-For over ten years it did not even have a branch director worthy of Congressional hand-the name and when it finally got one it would not permit her to work thing near mass appeal in the past fifteen years has been the equal out any sound program, and she quit in disgust. Its public relations direction has been lamentable ever since Herbert J. Seligman left. The NAACP has done absolutely nothing to advance the interests of ceased to be publicity director. The work has been slipshod and inept. While it screams for more democracy with every other breath, it remains, as it always has, an oligarchic organization with every-thing run by a self-perpetuating board of directors for whom the masses of NAACP members never have an opportunity to vote, and which is largely handpicked by the secretary who is obviously far from being a superman. Masters of platitude and cliche, they are charming the some of the oldsters in a manner which the NAACP has so far been unable to equal, let alone surpass. If they eventually farmers, or consumers, while squandering fortunes for official expenses about the world.

Now come the various Communist organizations with something to offer, even if their program is dangerous and unsound youth and

"capture" the NAACP (which God forbid), it will be largely by default because those misleading the organization have been wandering about in the past.

New Orleans C. P. Leader Arrested 2nd Time in Week

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Wed. 11-13-46

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 12.—After evading possible death Saturday night at the hands of an AFL Seamen's Union goon squad, James Jackson, Louisiana chairman of the Communist Party, was arrested on charges of "malicious mischief and disorderly conduct" by New Orleans police who supposedly had come to his rescue. Jackson has been released on a $1,000 bond.

Jackson, a Negro World War II vet, was besieged in his home in New Orleans Saturday night by a gang of goons. Police were called and arrived conveniently too late to catch any of the attackers.

Then they took Jackson downtown to "protect" him. In the police station they made the trumped up charges largely on the basis of a window Jackson had broken to attract aid while being sought by the thugs.

It was the second time in the same week Jackson had been arrested. Thursday a group of 80, directed by AFL Seamen's Union goon leaders, broke up a public meeting called by the Communist Party in New Orleans. Police arrested attackers and attacked, including Jackson and 16 peaceful members of the audience. They are to appear in court tomorrow.

Reason for the AFL union's goon attack on the Communists is a desire to lay up a smokescreen of anti-Communist and anti-Negro hysteria in order to start all-out warfare with the National Maritime Union and other unions of the Committee for Maritime Unity.

The SIU is known to have issued books to many more men than there possibly could be jobs for. The attacks are said to be definitely connected with the SIU's campaign to raid the NMU.

The Communist Party of Louisiana has called upon all progressives in the South and throughout the country to put pressure on New Orleans Mayor de Losseps Morrison and Superintendent of Police Waters to arrest and convict the goons and to quash the trumped up charges against Jackson and the 16 persons arrested with him.

When Would Rooting End, Woody Guthrie Asks

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. 432

Brooklyn.

Editor, Daily Worker:

I was sorry to see PM hook up with the gang that wants to boot the Communists out of the labor movement, or to kick anybody out of any movement. If right this minute we jerked up every Communist and tossed him or her out of the meeting hall and into the gutter, it would not be a short week till a second batch would be jerked and bounced. These would be the radicals, and a few days or hours later the revolutionaries of every breed and brand would get the old boot. Wed. 12-18-46

There's not a brain in this world that is wise enough to tell just where the owners and bosses would call a stop to the kicking out. It would not stop. It is like decontrol, like the black market, like prices, like wildfire.

Once you let it get a start, it wrecks everything. I don't think anybody will fear PM so long as PM don't get afraid of anybody.

That same big money boot that kicks out the Communists will be used to try to kick out the liberals, then the Democrats, then the Jews, then the Catholics, then the Negroes, then the Italians, then the other races.

What are all of us undesirables going to work at when our union hall is wrecked and we are walking the sidewalks? Unemployment. Inflation. Depression. The same old seven and six again.

WOODY GUTHRIE.

Hats Off

PM New York, N.Y.

To Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, for a forthright statement condemning those who "summon us to a holy war against Communism . . . diverting our attention from the primary obligation to democratize our own economic, political, ecclesiastical and social life."

Sun. 12-15-46

"I believe that totalarianism constitutes a threat not only to democracy but to religion," he said. "However, I am persuaded that energy expended in fighting Communism, if devoted to preserving and extending democracy, would make totalitarianism undesirable and democracy impregnable . . .

"Communism thrives in the jungle growth of racial discrimination. The killing of Negroes in a Detroit race riot, or the lynching of a Negro in the South, creates more Communists in a day than a Committee on Un-American Activities can ferret out in many days.

"Communism will never win a democratic and just America. It is democracy, more of it, not less of it, that will win the morrow."

Foster Warns of Attacks by Reaction

The Worker New York, N.Y. Sun. 12-8-46

Progressives will have to fight harder than in the past if the onslaughts planned by strengthened reaction are to be met, chairman William Z. Foster of the Communist Party told the CP Natinoal Committee meeting. "It will be harder to defend the living standards, the civil liberties of the people and the peace of the world" as a result of the November election, he said.

WM. Z. FOSTER

"The democratic coalition no longer controls the government of the United States. Not only that, but it has been seriously demoralized by betrayals of the Truman administration. This fact puts an added responsibility on the Communist Party to help give leadership to this somewhat demoralized and weakened national coalition. And generally it puts upon our Party the responsibility for a higher type of work than we have been putting forth up to this time."

Foster said that in the light of the demands upon the Party, it cannot be satisfied with a slow pace of progress. He called for more vigorous initiative "which is the very life blood of a Communist Party."

CITES BAD WORK

Foster examined various phases of Party work, especially recruiting of new members, building of the press and advancing work among the youth and gave "samples of bad work" to drive home his points.

The Party, he said, is far short of objectives it set for itself at the start of the election campaign. In each case the goal was realistic, he said.

He called for a "new fighting spirit in our Party."

By way of contrast, Foster quoted a press interview with Luis Carlos Prestes, leader of the Communist Party of Brazil, in which that country's party, recently out of a long underground period, was reported as confidently expecting a vote of a million in the next election. It has daily papers in many leading cities, plans two more and recently oversubscribed its half-million dollar press fund drive.

"This is the kind of spirit that our Party has got to have to tackle the big jibs we are confronted with," he said.

LABOR UNITY

The "central thread" of the Party's work, said Foster with strong emphasis, is the struggle for labor unity.

"We must make that a sort of a lighthouse in all our activities," he asserted. The whole country must be made aware of this stand of the Communists.

To drive home his point, Foster pictured the danger presented in the wage struggle with the "one-union-at-a-time" tactic weakening labor and causing general confusion in the country.

"That strategy won't work. The strategy that must be developed in the coming period is a strategy of joint action."

The same task confronts labor and is finally beginning to emerge, with respect to repressive legislation, Foster warned.

THIRD PARTY

Foster also stressed the role of the Communists in explaining the significance of the developing third party movement. The working class "is breaking from the apron strings of the capitalists of the country, and is finally beginning to emerge, along with its democratic allies, on a policy of independent political action." Sun. 12-5-46

The Communists must be so active in educating the people for a third party, said Foster, that "everybody—certainly everybody in the labor movement—will know that the main champions of a third party are the Communists."

charge has been attributed to protests to the mayor by the CIO's Committee for Maritime Unity.

Green, Chicago; Carl Winter, Detroit; William Patterson, Chicago; Israel Amter, New York; Martin Mackie, Minneapolis; William Schneiderman, San Francisco, and Roy Hudson of Pittsburgh.

nist district leaders spoke g the reports in the light own experience. Among ho spoke in the first sessions were Henry Huff, Seattle; Arnold Johnson, Cleveland; Gabor Kish, Washington, Pa.; Robert Thompson, New York; H. Smith of Birmingham; Fred Blair, Milwaukee; Ralph Shaw, St. Louis; Alice Burke, Richmond, Va.; Gilbert

Louisiana C. P. Leader Fined $25; Will Appeal

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Fri. 11-22-46

By Emanuel Levin

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 21. — James E. Jackson, Jr., chairman of the Louisiana state committee, Communist Party, was freed on bond today pending appeal of a $25 fine sentence on a "disturbing the peace" charge.

Jackson, on Nov. 9, called police to protect him against attempts to break into his apartment by a group of white men who had threatened to take him into the woods. Jackson made noise to attract his neighbor's attention.

Police witnesses testified against him, but admitted they had been called to give him protection. They filed charges against Jackson when they discovered he had attended a Communist Party meeting Nov. 7, which was raided by hoodlums.

Charges of malicious mischief, filed by police against Jackson, were dropped by the district attorney. Quashing of the state statute

The Black Worker—A. Philip Randolph, Editor.

Northwest Enterprise

Political parties seek through votes to get their programs adopted. They represent economic forces in the national and local communities. Their seats of control are within the federal, state or city areas. This is the case with the Republican, Democratic and Socialist Parties, national political organizations. It is also the case with the Liberal Party in New York.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

But, it is not the case with the Communist Party. The Communist Party has its seat of control outside of the U. S. A. This is also true for the American Labor Party in New York. It is responsible to an alien country. It is not its own boss. Its boss is the Comintern in Moscow. The Communist Party of the United States would not dare to formulate, embrace or execute a policy at variance with the opinions of Generalissimo Joseph Stalin of the U. S. S. R. Thus, Soviet Russia, and not the United States, determines the program of a so-called political party in this country. But the Communist Party of Russia does not defer to the interests or desires of the United States or its President. In other words, if the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. went to war, something we hope will not happen, the American Communist Party would not support the United States. It would back Soviet Russia. This is not a supposition. It is a fact.

Let us review a bit of history. 2-6-46

During the early period of the war, and Soviet-German collaboration, the Communists in the United States were picketing the White House, because the late President Roosevelt advocated lend-lease to Great Britain, France, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Communists provoked and fomented strikes. The "Daily Worker," Communist paper, denounced and smeared all persons and publications that were pro-Allies. In the House of Representatives, Congressman Marcantonio, well-known Communist fellow-traveler, voted against every bill designed to help the Allied forces or to help the United States prepare for war. President Roosevelt was roundly condemned and branded as a war-monger embarked upon an imperialist adventure.

Look at the record. While Hitler's Panzers were waging a ruthless and savage siege of Warsaw, Der Fuehrer at Danzig, September 19, 1939, stated: "Poland will never rise again in the form of the Versailles Treaty. This is guaranteed not only by Germany but also guaranteed by Russia." Seattle, Washington

In Hitler's famous Reichstag speech on October 6, 1939, he said: " . . . In Eastern Europe, due to the efforts of Germany and Russia, peace and order are taking shape. Interests of Germany and Russia are here in a complete agreement. The final organization of this territory, as well as the division of the Polish State, will not be solved by the war in the west, but exclusively by Russia on one side and Germany on the other."

The German-Soviet Agreement, executed September 28, 1939, at Moscow, reads as follows: "The Government of the U. S. S. R. and the German Government, following the collapse of the former Polish State, considered it as exclusively their own task to restore peace and order in these territories and to assure to the peoples inhabiting it a peaceful existence which will correspond to their national characteristics. With this object in view they concluded the following agreement:

Article 1. The Government of the U. S. S. R. and the German Government establish, as the frontier between their state interests in the territory of the former Polish State . . .

Was an agreement between the Third Reich and Soviet Russia to the interests of the United States? Well, it helped to strengthen the forces of Hitler which cost the United States the lives of thousands of American boys, white and black, and billions of dollars. It forced a heavy war burden and sacrifice upon Great Britain and France. Suppose Hitler had not changed his mind and invaded Russia, Hitler, with his Russian ally might have conquered Great Britain, which would have been a grave threat to the world position and national security of the United States.

Would it be to the interest of the Negroes of the United States for this country to be vanquished by Nazi Germany and her Axis partners, even if Russia was one? To the thoughtful Negro, the question answers itself. Whatever may be the limitations and racial problems of the United States, the basic interests of the Negro are tied up with the rise or fall of this country, the U. S. A. If the United States goes down, the Negro will go down. If the United States goes up, the Negro has the opportunity to go up with her. Thus, when Hitler turned upon the United States, he also turned upon all of her citizens, including the Negro, whose blood, brawn and brains have helped to build the American civilization. 2-6-46

What was the American Communist Party doing while Stalin was shaking hands with Hitler? It was busy betraying the U. S. A. with every means at its disposal short of open rebellion. It was almost a question of a flip of the coin that Soviet Russia became the ally of the United States and Great Britain and France. But for the mystical intuition of the Austrian Paper-Hanger, Soviet Russia might have been one of the Axis powers and the foe of this country.

Listen to the Report of the Fifth Extraordinary Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR by Viacheslav Molotov, at Moscow, October 31, 1939. Says he: " . . . The ruling circles of Britain and France have lately attempted to depict themselves as champions of the democratic rights of nations, and the British Government has announced that its aim in the war is destruction of Hitlerism.

It amounts to this, that the British, with the French supporters of the war have declared something in the nature of an 'ideological' war on Germany . . ." But, there is absolutely no justification for a war of this kind. One may accept or reject the ideology of Hitlerism, as well as any other ideological system; that is a matter of political views. But everybody would understand that ideology should not be destroyed by force, should not be eliminated by war. It is, therefore, not only senseless, but criminal to wage such a war as a war for 'the destruction of Hitlerism', camouflaged as a fight for democracy."

This is the same Soviet Russia and the same Molotov that became the ally of the United States.

When Hitler's army crossed over on Russian soil, the American Communists withdrew the picket line around the White House and became sabre-rattling patriots who demanded the abolition of the strike in war and peace so that the U. S. A. could arm and produce arms for Russia and the other Allies, to help win the war for the Soviet Union. 2-6-46

The union of Soviet Russia with Germany is the blackest page in the history of the USSR. And by the same token, the picketing of the White House by the American Communists, while Great Britain's and France's backs were against the wall, and America was making preparations for war to defend and protect her national interests, is the blackest page in the history of American Communists.

During this period, the Communists who had posed as the Messiah of the Negro, deserted and betrayed the cause of the Negro.

The Negro's attention was first directed to the Communist Party when it was employing the most devious and questionable tactics in misrepresenting the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the poor Scottsboro boys, convicted in Alabama, in 1931, for the immoral purpose of securing the case of these unhappy youngsters for the Communist International Labor Defense to build up the Communist movement in America. As a result of this deliberately dishonorable act, Communists, while the Scottsboro boys were languishing in an hell-hole prison, facing the lynch-rope, were vulgarly parading various and sundry alleged mothers of those boys up and down the country, collecting hundreds of thousands of dollars which went to the spreading of the Communist propaganda against the United States and financing of Com-

munist agitator-payrollees. If the Communist politicians had not put their filthy fingers upon these hapless Scottsboro boys, all of them would have been freed long ago.

We submit that this is not the type of conduct the Negroes need in this country.

All self-respecting Negroes fight and hate with all their hearts segregation or Jim-Crow. The Negro Communists and their fellow-travelers, swallowed hook, line and sinker the notorious resolutions of the Communists Internationale of October, 1928 and October, 1930, that state: "The main Communist slogan must be: The right of self-determination of the Negro in the black belt."

In other words, Communists would pull up root and branch, Negroes' homes, farms, stores and all of their belongings where they now live all over America, and huddle them into a restricted segregated "black belt" of slums in the South, misnamed a state. Even if it were desirable and of course, it stinks to high heaven, it would require a civil war of fire and blood, and the nameless death and destruction of Negro life, to oust the present Southern white, Negro-phobists.

Verily, this is not only Jim-Crow with a vengeance, it is the most fantastic, screw-ball monumental propaganda hoax ever foisted upon a people. Any so-called Negro leader who will fall for such baloney, is either wrong in the heart or wrong in the head, and probably both.

Negroes have their own opinion about Jim-Crow. They reject it, because it degrades them. It makes them feel inferior.

Jim-Crow comes home to Negroes like a ton of bricks upon their heads when they start out to hunt an apartment, put their children in schools, or travel down South. Jim-Crow is not a propaganda theory to Negroes as it is to the brass bonnets of the Communist political hierarchy in Moscow. It's a condition, a real condition and a serious condition.

2-6-46

One prominent Communist leader who put himself on record for a Jim-Crow Negro state in the United States, said, July 22, 1945: "When . . . the principles of the right of self-determination for the Black Belt was liquidated, I was not sufficiently mature." See pamphlet, "The Negro in a Soviet America."

When he says he was not sufficiently mature, he means that he had not grown up. No, not physically, he was a man, but mentally and morally. Now, Negroes haven't the time to hold their leaders on leading strings, like nipple-suckling babes to keep them from cutting a hog or being taken in by high-pressure propaganda Communist charlatans.

During the war, the Communists changed their line again on the Negro. This time it was a hands-off policy. Communists opposed the fight for jobs for Negroes during the war on the grounds it would hold up war production of munitions for Soviet Russia.

What did the Negro Communist candidate for the New York City Council say about this?

In the "Daily Worker" of Sunday, July 22, 1945, Mr. Davis said: "As a member of the National Board, I bear a heavy responsibility for the error. I accepted the false position because I considered it correct. I applied it in all my work and most especially in the field of Negro work, with resulting serious weakness in that work."

Leading Communists admit that the hands-off policy concerning the fight for Negro rights during the war was wrong, but only after the war is over. Says Doxey Wilkerson, high Communists, in "Political Affairs for July, 1945," "We have helped disarm the working class and the Negro people, rather than help prepare them for the hard struggles which life now thrusts to the forefront."

The Communists' greatest contribution to the Negro is that of attempting to disrupt sound Negro movements during the recent world war, the time of the Negroes' greatest need for support.

While the Negroes were marching and fighting all over the country for fair employment practices in war plants, the Communists were denouncing such activities as Fascist, demanding that racial discriminations be overlooked in the interest of war production.

But the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was holding meetings all over New York City and the country, condemning racial discrimination in war industries as supporting at home what we claimed we were fighting abroad —the Nazi theories of the Master Race.

The only reason why Negro Communists betrayed the Negroes during the war was because it was the line of the Communist Party. They knew that this was a notorious Quizling trick, but they had to do the Charlie McCarthy stunt and obey their Communist Master's voice. And be it known that the Communist Party maintains a real Gestapo over its members. Whenever a Communist or fellow-traveler fails to hit the ball by following the line, his neck is due for the noose. He will be purged. He will be liquidated. This means in gangster language, rubbed out politically. Negro Communists know this. That's why they sacrificed the Negro during the war. They got the order to give the Negro's cause the bye bye to save Russia. Negro Communists remembered the fate of other Communists, Negro and white, who were either too dumb or too daring to hew to the line.

2-6-46

Note that even the once high and mighty Earl Browder, than whom none was more sancrosanct, was beheaded by the ruthless hatchet men of the Communist dictatorship in the Kremlin.

Everybody knows about the famous novelist, Richard Wright, who wrote "Native Son," which was the first Negro book ever to be given the distinction of the Book of the Month. Well, do you know what happened to him? He was liquidated. He wrote a series of articles in the "Atlantic Monthly" telling why he was no longer a Communist. He had the temerity to buck the Communist line. Richard Moore, who was not thought to be so important as Wright, but when he deviated from the unholy Communist line, he had to go. It was the decree of the Gestapo.

James Ford, once Communist candidate for Vice-President of the United States on the Communist ticket is as silent as the tomb. He stubbed his big toe on the Communist line and while he has not been sentenced to expulsion and purgation, his lips are sealed and he has become a veritable Communist nonentity. What has happened to him? We should like to know. The Communists have used him to inveigle Negroes into the Party. But they have no further use for him and so they have submerged him.

And, we warn the other prominent Negro Communists that sooner or later they will meet the very same fate. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., is having his honeymoon now. But it won't last, the Communist Gestapo will ere long frown upon him for erring from the true faith of the Kremlin, and he, though prominent now, will, too, be ruthlessly consigned to the limbo of political oblivion. The tactic is simple. Negro Communists, in the sordid scramble for petty power, are played off against each other and used to lynch politically a Negro Communist who appears to want to be independent. Do the Negroes of the United States want Negro leaders who are the slaves of such a dangerous political clique. We are sure they do not, and they will not if they fully understand what the Communist movement means.

Thus, it is apparent that the Communist Party could not represent the Negroes if it would. It can only, and will only represent Soviet Russia. Now, since the Communist Party deserted the Negro cause during the war, why give it a chance to desert it again? A Negro or any other Communist is not free. Nor is the American Communist Party free. A Communist in the United States must take his orders from the Communist Party and the Communist Party must take orders from Moscow, Russia.

Do the Negroes want leaders who must wait on instructions and orders from Soviet Russia before they can speak out on an important social, economic and political policy?

Now, we don't only object to American citizens, black or white, being tied up with the Communists because of its alien control, but we would object to American citizens being involved with the Democratic or Republican Parties if they were the pawns of Great Britain or Japan.

Look at Russia today. Look at the U. S. A. today. Nobody knows what may happen. We hope there will be peace between these two countries. But suppose there is war. Negro Communists would have to oppose the U. S. A., the interests of their own country and fight on the side of Soviet Russia, because they are Communists, for if they did not, they would be promptly kicked out and smeared as traitors to Communism. Do you see how dangerous this thing is?

2-6-46

Because of the shifting political climate of Soviet Russia, Negro Communists don't really know what they can think from one day to the other.

Besides, what can a Communist do for the Negro or anybody else? The answer is nothing. Why? This is not hard to answer. It is a matter of common knowledge that

Foster Warns Of Onslaughts By Reaction

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
Thurs. 12-5-46

Progressives will have to fight harder than in the past if the onslaughts planned by strengthened reaction are to be met, chairman William Z. Foster of the Communist Party told the CP National Committee yesterday. "It will be harder to defend the living standards, the civil liberties of the people and the peace of the world" as a result of the November election, he said.

"The democratic coalition no longer controls the government of the United States. Not only that, but it has been seriously demoralized by the betrayals of the Truman administration. This fact puts an added responsibility on the Commusist Party to help give leadership to this somewhat demoralized and weakened national coalition. And generally it puts upon our Party the responsibility for a higher type of work than we have been putting forth up to this time."

Foster said that in the light of the demands upon the Party, it cannot be satisfied with a slow pace of progress. He called for more vigorous initiative "which is the very life blood of a Communist Party."

CITES BAD WORK

Foster examined various phases of Party work, especially recruiting of new members, building of the press and advancing work among the youth and gave "samples of bad work" to drive home his points.

The Party, he said, is far short of objectives it set for itself at the start of the election campaign. In each case the goal was realistic, he said.

He called for a "new fighting spirit in our Party."

By way of contrast, Foster quoted a press interview with Luis Carlos Prestes, leader of the Communist Party of Brazil, in which that country's party, recently out of a long underground period, was reported as confidently expecting a vote of a million in the next election. It has daily papers in many leading cities, plans two more and recently oversubscribed its half-million dollar press fund drive.

"This is the kind of spirit that our Party has got to have to tackle the big jibs we are confronted with," he said.

LABOR UNITY

The "central thread" of the Party's work, said Foster with strong emphasis, is the struggle for labor unity. 12-5-46

"We must make that a sort of a lighthouse in all our activities," he asserted. The whole country must be made aware of this stand of the Communists.

To drive home his point, Foster pictured the danger presented in the wage struggle with the "one-union-at-a-time" tactic weakening labor and causing general confusion in the country.

"That strategy won't work. The strategy that must be developed in the coming period is a strategy of joint action."

The same task confronts labor with respect to repressive legislation, Foster warned.

THIRD PARTY

Foster also stressed the role of the Communists in explaining the significance of the developing third party movement. The working class "is breaking from the apron strings to the capitalists of the country, and is finally beginning to emerge, along with its democratic allies, on a policy of independent political action."

The Communists must be so active in educating the people for a third party, said Foster, that "everybody—certainly everybody in the labor movement—will know that the main champions of a third party are the Communists."

Communist district leaders spoke evaluating the reports in the light of their own experience. Among those who spoke in the first sessions were Henry Huff, Seattle; Arnold Johnson, Cleveland; Gabor Kish, Washington, Pa.; Robert Thompson, New York; H. Smith of Birmingham; Fred Blair, Milwaukee; Ralph Shaw, St. Louis; Alice Burke, Richmond, Va.; Gilbert Green, Chicago; Carl Winter, Detroit; William Patterson, Chicago; Israel Amter, New York; Martin Mackie, Minneapolis; William Schneiderman, San Francisco, and Roy Hudson of Pittsburgh.

Negro leads Communists in Louisiana

Tribune
Los Angeles, Calif.

NEW ORLEANS — Louisiana Communists will probably have to fight harder for the free exercise of their creed, now that they have James E. Jackson, a Negro, as chairman, it was indicated here last week. Sat. 11-30-46

The Communists met last week at Bethlehem Temple, where they have peacefully gathered for the past three months, but this time, with Jackson presiding, white outsiders broke in with tomatoes, eggs, stench bombs, and assorted missiles, turning the proceedings into a near-riot.

Police arrested about 125 Communists and outsiders, charging most of them with disturbing the peace, but holding six whites, members of a local AFL union, on charges of inciting to riot. Jackson is also being held, reportedly "for safekeeping" because his life is considered in danger.

Communist Leaders Meet Here

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

The National Committee of the Communist Party yesterday began its first post-election meeting in this city and heard an extensive report by General Secretary Eugene Dennis as the first point on its agenda.

The most decisive task facing all progressive workers is to bring about united action between the entire labor movement and all anti-fascist democratic forces, Dennis declared. Wed. 12-4-46

He called for a "broader, more militant, labor-progressive-democratic coalition which can rally all anti-monopoly and anti-war elements, irrespective of political, trade union or religious affiliation." The need has been underlined by the Republican victories of Nov. 5, Dennis declared in the report for the National Board.

"The Republican victory does not yet signify the coming to power of fascism in these United States," said Dennis. "But let there be no mistake. If the renewed offensive of the trusts and arrogant toryism is not checked and defeated now and on the morrow, the extreme reactionaries represented within the GOP, and the fascists centered around American Action Inc., will succeed in usurping power and inaugurating the dictatorial rule of the most fascist minded monopolies."

"Reaction won new vantage points in the election, but its forces can be blocked if l[illegible] or and the democratic camp will unite on a common program of struggle for jobs, security and equal rights for all, for progress, democracy and peace, moving towards a new progressive political alignment under labor leadership," Dennis said.

"Toward this end," he stressed, "top priority must be given to achieve the widest joint action of the CIO AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods everywhere at every level."

Failure to organize such action will retard the movement towards the vitally necessary new political alignment, said Dennis.

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Outlining a program for action, Dennis placed first on the list the drive for substantial wage increases for all workers and the adoption of legislation to raise the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour.

He followed this with 15 items, including measures to raise living standards and to establish a permanent, democratic peace. Among the legislative objectives listed for the 80th Congress were:

A people's tax program;

A five-year federal housing program, providing for 3,000,000 new dwellings a year, with top priority to vets;

Maintenance of rent controls without rent increases;

Increased appropriations for veterans;

Enforcement of the National Labor Relations Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Act without amendments. Repeal of the Smith-Connally Act;

Extensive long-term credits and relief grants to countries devastated by the war.

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To save rent controls, "tens of thousands of tenants in the cities must be organized on a neighborhood and block basis."

"The struggle against the mounting prices of food requires not only that a concerted effort shall be made to bring the meat trust and dairy industry under public regulation and ownership, but also that the present spontaneous consumers' resistance movement shall be extensively organized in every block and ward."

Turning to the 1948 elections, Dennis declared the main objective of the labor-democratic camp must be "to defeat at all costs the candidates and program of the reactionaries and pro-fascists."

It will aim at the election of a progressive, pro-Roosevelt presidential ticket and Congress which will "vigorously champion an anti-monopoly and anti-war program, which will take bold steps to grapple with the problems of jobs, security, equality and peace."

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There is a distinction between the Democratic party apparatus and the Democratic party convention. He said it is possible the Wallace-Pepper Democrats and the independent labor-progressive forces may yet succeed in influencing the outcome of the 1948 Democratic national convention.

The obstacle in the way of a third party is not the legal difficulties of getting on the ballot, he said. The main problem is the absence of a broad base in a well organized democratic coalition.

In the section of the report dealing with the struggle for peace, Dennis suggested that the near future may see changed relations between the U. S., the Soviet Union and Great Britain which will be favorable to the cause of peace. He cited the recent left trend in the European elections, the growing opposition to Bevin's polices in Britain, and the Wallace-Pepper movement against the line of the U. S. State Department. Wed. 12-4-46

Progressive advocates of peace must oppose the efforts of the trusts to militarize America and establish beachheads everywhere on the globe, Dennis asserted.

"They must do this if the American people are to receive butter and bread instead of guns and atom bombs."

The bi-partisan foreign policy is not a national policy, he said, because it does not reflect the needs of the people.

"What progressive America needs and longs for is a truly independent and a national policy — a policy which will strengthen the democratic unity of the U. S. and the Soviet Union. It is a foreign policy which will steadfastly promote the interests and security of unions. This accusation must be seen for what it is, he declared. "Namely, that the instru-mentality of red-baiting, the corpo-rations, their press and stooges are actually intervening in the internal life of the CIO." Discussing the high tide of red-baiting as a factor in American political life, Dennis cited the charge made at the CIO convention that the Communist Party seeks to intervene in the internal affairs of the CIO. This accusation must be made, he declared.

warmongers, and will secure a peaceful America in a peaceful anti-fas-

the big monopolists, he said, and invariable objective is to split labor and the progressive camp.

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The entire attention of the Communist Party must be directed to solving the problems of veterans, students, unemployed and working youth, said Dennis.

Red-baiting invariably flows from

Communist Party in Theory and Practice

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Tues. 11-5-46

Reviewed by Joel Remes

In **The Communist Party and You**, Betty Gannett, assistant organization secretary of the CP, has written a clear, simple, vigorous pamphlet which speaks intimately and frankly to new Communists about the Party they have joined, how it works, and what their new responsibilities are. It makes clear that the process of becoming a Communist is not an automatic one, achieved by signing an application blank. The Communist Party is a unique type of party whose principles specially fit it for its great task of leading the working class and its allies to socialism. These principles can be learned only by work and study. **The Communist Party and You** will be welcomed because it will help make the period of adjustment shorter and easier for the new Communist.

Valuable Guide

For older members of the Communist Party, too, it has many valuable uses. It can help them participate more effectively in the education of new members, for it constitutes a basic text for new members classes. It can be helpful as a recruiting pamphlet, aiding in clearing up many of the misconceptions people have about the Party, and smoothing the way for their recruitment. It can also help to educate old members of the Communist Party in the best method of cooperating with new recruits and making them at home in the Party.

The Communist Party and You will also be read because it is alive with the joy that grows out of joining the Communist Party. This joy grows out of the consciousness that one has willingly entered the common path of work and sacrifice in the highest cause, for the final result will be the ending of the horrors of capitalism and the building of a new and bright life for mankind. And Betty Gannett is a thousand times right when she says to the new Communist:

"You have every reason to feel great pride in your membership in the Communist Party. Your life has taken on a new meaning, a new significance. You now have a great purpose, shared by your fellow-Communists. You are not alone. You are strong."

Arrest Eight For 'Sedition'

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Charge Communists Who Aided Africans

Sat. 11-30-46

CAPETOWN, South Africa—For aiding exploited miners last August when police killed nine strikers and injured more than a thousand others, eight officers and members of the Communist party here were charged recently with sedition. Bail was fixed at $800, and preliminary hearings set for Jan. 6.

At the same time as the arrests, leading newspapers carried a large advertisement from the Chamber of Mines, the Smuts-dominated government, reporting that native miners "are not sufficiently advanced to have labor unions." The "official statement" charged the African Mineworkers Union, sponsors of the strike against a 50-cent-a-day wage level, was under "communist influence."

Leaders Arrested

Among those arrested were Dr. H. J. Simons, lecturer at Capetown University, and Mrs. Betty Sachs, editor of the Guardian, a progressive newspaper which supported the striking miners. Also charged with sedition was W. H. Andrews, national chairman of the Communist party, and Moses Kotane, the party's Negro national secretary, who aided the miners in their fight for overtime pay.

Their arrests came as the mineworkers union at Johannesburg prepared for a "mass service gathering" commemorating the martyr-miners, killed when Smuts ordered police raids in eight urban centers against so-called "agitators."

The police seized documents of many trade unions, of the Guardian and of the Friends of the Soviet Union. These they were forced to return when the Supreme Court ruled, in a suit brought by the newspaper, that their seizure was unlawful, and ordered the minister of justice to pay costs of the Guardian's court action. A public apology was also made at that time by the minister to the Friends of the Soviet Union. He said the raid "was directed against a certain individual" and added that it "was not intended in any way to give the impression that the society was a suspect organization."

perfectly content for tax funds to be used to get decent housing for poor people."

Aiken's speech was a small voice in a wilderness of opposition to Federal housing that offered little hope for veterans and prospective low cost home buyers.

Offer "Used Homes"

Interests represented by Meyerhoff and Edgar N. Greenbaum, Chicago Investment builder have what they term a solution for vets housing. If the Federal government will remove all controls on rents and building materials, they will build for people who can afford $80 apartments and $10,000 homes. Veterans, and low income families can move into the "slightly used" quarters vacated by such a move.

Speaking at the same meeting, Dr. Robert C. Weaver, of the American Council on Race Relations, said that all post-war housing programs must open new areas for minority groups.

Largest round of applause during the session went to Meyerhoff, however, when he called for abolition of the National Housing agency, and all other government housing moves, except loans to private builders.

Consideration for the Minority

The Times New York, N.Y. Fri. 12-6-46

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The remark in your editorial of Nov. 25 that "the Communists believe not in majority but in minority rule" seems to me to miss the mark. Theoretically, it is assailable because the Communist doctrine is totalitarian, and the ruling élite bases its claim to governing on the assumption of general popular consent. Practically, your argument is not on firm ground either. By the modern methods of mass psychological propaganda, including intimidation, totalitarian rulers really succeed in marshaling majorities for plebiscitarian ballots. If they did not attach vital importance to popular consent, why would they produce such insane quantities of propaganda for home consumption?

Dictators—certainly the best experts on dictatorship—believe that their regimes would tumble if they ceased being backed by 90 and more per cent. A democratic leader can manage with 51. Hence if it were correct to define democracy as majority government, the dictators would justly boast of being the better democrats. Fri.

In reality, the only reasonable way of defining the term is to describe democracy as majority rule with consideration for the minority. Communism is undemocratic even where it is accepted by the majority because it persecutes the minority. A minority will enjoy the consideration of the majority only where free elections can relegate the latter to the rank of the former. This is the criterion.

12-6-46

ROBERT INGRIM.

New Rochelle, N. Y., Nov. 30, 1946.

National Committee Urges Fight for Negro Job Rights

Daily Worker New York

2-16-46

The need for higher tempo in labor's struggle for Negro rights and Party building among the Negro people occupied the late afternoon session of the Communist Party's National Committee Thursday.

This was emphasized in the report of John Williamson, organizational secretary, and in a special report by Henry Winston, World War II veteran and secretary of the National Negro Commission of the Communist Party.

Williamson spoke of the need to "recognize that the Browderite policies had some of their most disastrous effects in weakening our traditional fighting bond with the Negro people." 2-16-46

"Today," he emphasized, "we can only overcome this serious situation if we adopt a broad mass policy, if the Party dramatizes its fighting leadership by taking up locally and nationally in a hundredfold more energetic way the struggle for Negro rights; if we create a general vigilance against the covered forms of white chauvinism that have penetrated our ranks, and lastly involving a larger number of Negro comrades in all phases of the operative leadership in the Party."

Henry Winston, in a detailed report, cited numerous examples of the big offensive by Big Business against the Negro people. Among these were the more than half million Negro workers laid off in aircraft, munitions and ordinance plants, particularly in the South. He emphasized efforts underway to drive Negroes back to the land and women into domestic service.

Warning of the drive to get Negro women out of industry, he assailed government cooperation with employers to assign Negroes to menial jobs.

With regard to FEPC, Winston said "here is the use of the machinery of government to wipe out teh gains of Negro workers."

In view of the exodus of Negro workers from war plants, and inasmuch as the perspective is one of crisis, not prosperity, Winston stated that "gains won during the war by Negro workers are faced with utter extinction." 2-16-46

While critical of the Truman Administration, speakers noted that the Republican Party is taking advantage of the dissatisfaction among the Negro people to try and regain their former status among the Negro people.

Arnold Johnson, Ohio State secretary, spoke of the need for closing the gap between the Party's influence and its organizational results. **"We continue to have tremendous influence," he said, "as far as any demonstrative forms of support shows. At the same time we do not perform that independent role of actually conducting mass struggles upon specific issues."**

Josh Lawrence, NMU leader, and chairman of the National Negro commission said, it was still necessary to take up the fight for adjusted seniority for Negroes. He added that FEPC was an issue labor must fight until it is won.

ADJUSTED SENIORITY

Returning from a recent tour of the midwest, Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, reported a need for "widespread knowledge in the Party on the problems of the Negro people, the fight for adjustments on seniority, for renewing the crusading spirit in the fight for Negro rights."

Davis said the precedent for seniority was set about eight years ago under the leadership of Mike Quill and the Transport Workers Union, when it placed Negro drivers on the Fifth Avenue buses.

Davis scathingly assailed Trotzkyites and Social Democrats who throughout the country are "focussing attention on the Negro question hoping to disrupt our Party and attempting to pose as a working class force." He singled out A. Phillip Randolph, "Dubinsky's boy," as "the bridge between the Democrat and Republican parties and the Negro people." 2-16-46

William Patterson, legislative director of the Illinois-Indiana district, urged greater attention to the South "where the national liberation struggles of the Negro people in full alliance with the poor whites are yet to be fought out." He outlined a program of state and federal projects to take up the slack made by the closing of munitions and other plants in the South.

Claudia Jones, member of the editorial board of the Daily Worker, urged a stronger fight against white chauvinism, which "must be reflected in our press, theoretical organs and above all in struggle. We must win greater gains, greater victories."

Other speakers on party building among the Negro people and on the struggle for Negro rights, included James W. Ford, member of the Review and Cadre Commission, Robert Minor, Southern editor of the Daily Worker, and Nat Ross, Southern Representative of the National Committee.

The discussion concluded with agreement to issue a draft resolution on the question and a discussion bulletin to the party, and to hold a further discussion at the next National Committee meeting.

Davis, Cacchione Rip St. Patrick's Day Snub

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr. and Peter V. Cacchione yesterday saluted St. Patrick's Day as a symbol of the fight for Irish freedom, and assailed as un-American and insolent the exclusion of the Communist Councilmen from the traditional parade today.

Their statement follows:

"St. Patric's Day symbolizes the 700-year struggle of the Irish people for their national independence and religious freedom against oppression. It is well-known that the Communist Party is unequivocally in support of this struggle, as it is in support of the struggles of all people for their political and religious liberty. We would consider it an honor to march in the parade tomorrow as we have done in the past. Sat. 3-16-46

"However, we were not invited to participate. In fact, an insolent letter was sent to the City Council by John J. Sheehan, of the Parade Arrangements Committee, expressly excluding us, although all other members of the Council were invited. The implications of this letter were wholly and unjustifiably slanderous with reference to our views and integrity, and we consider our exclusion an un-American act. Sat. 3-16-46

"The attempt of Mr. Sheehan through this letter to pick out arbitrarily who shall represent the City Council was defeated when the Council, due to the opposition of a majority and minority member, refused to place the letter in its own official proceedings.

"Our support to the fighting traditions of the Irish people and to the historic significance of St. Patrick's Day is undiminished."

The traditional parade to St. Patrick will be held down Fifth Ave. today.

His Fight Debunks Anti-Negro Lies

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

By BETH McHENRY

Howard (Stretch) Johnson finds his new post as New York educational director of the Communist Party a natural follow-up for his activities of the past 2½ years.

For Stretch (hardly anyone ever calls him Howard) was with the brave 92d Division in Italy and he saw plenty of action and plenty of people and the answers are as clear as a bell to him.

"You take the partisans in Northern Italy," he told us in an interview the other day. "They were courageous and tough and selfless and they were perhaps the greatest factor in victory there in Italy. I met their leaders and they were for the most part Communists; with Marxism in their heads and the love of their fellowmen in their hearts. That's why they were so brave and able."

WEARS PURPLE HEART

Stretch himself was wounded in the Northern Appenines campaign. He still carries around some 30 pieces of shrapnel scattered through his body. He has the Purple Heart t o, but then decorations were not rare among the fighting men of the 92d.

"American Negro troops were away out front in Italy," Stretch recalled. "If ever lies were answered by the deeds of men, the soldiers of the 92d Division answered Sen. Eastland's slanders by their magnificent fighting record." Wed 3-6-46

Stretch Johnson pointed to his own group. In a quartermaster battalion at Fort Warren, Wyo., he and 299 other men, all Negroes, were training. Asked to volunteer for infantry combat, 32 of the 300 volunteered and went over with the 92d. Of that small group, said Stretch, three got Bronze and Silver Star medals for meritorious service in combat and four got Purple Hearts.

WITH THE PARTISANS

In Italy, Stretch Johnson learned the language and acted as an interpreter with the partisans from whom the U. S. Army obtained information about the German dispositions.

He described the way the partisans, men and women, would go back and forth behind the German lines, "with the same assurance and cheerfulness that a Communist here goes out to distribute leaflets."

Dangerous assignments were routine to the North Italy Communists. Detection meant death before a firing squad. But these people didn't falter. They got the information and they defeated the Germans.

Stretch was wounded twice in action, the second time last April. He got it in both arms, legs, back and shoulders. He put in three months in a hospital in Italy and six months in one here.

ORGANIZING VETS

He considered building the Communist Party and organizing the war veterans about the biggest jobs to be done in America.

"The most encouraging sign as far as the organization of Negro veterans is concerned," he told us, "is the plan for the formation of an interracial nationwide veterans' organization whose main purpose will be to fight for Negro rights."

He himself is on the State Executive Committee of the United Veterans for Equality. The big struggles now are against more Freeport cases and for a permanent FEPC.

Stretch Johnson considers himself a New Yorker, although actually he was born in Orange, N. J. His youngest brother, Wesley, saw service in the Pacific, got the Soldiers' Medal for heroism in the Okinawa campaign. Another brother, an actor, volunteered for overseas service with the United Service Organization and went with the Porgy and Bess troupe to the South Pacific. Wed 3-6-46

Another thing he recalled warmly was the popularity of the American Negro troops with the Italian people. Ask anyone who has been over there, Stretch said.

HOWARD JOHNSON

"The Italian people were suspicious and afraid of many Americans, but the Negroes they took to their hearts, perhaps because we approached them as fellow human beings in trouble."

Communist Call to Action

TO ALL PARTY MEMBERS

Dear Comrades:

The highly significant meeting of the National Committee of our Communist Party concluded its three-day session on Friday, Feb. 15, with the adoption of a number of important decisions and actions on a series of major issues and problems now confronting the American working class and nation.

The meeting was characterized by a great awareness of the responsibilities of our Communist Party in the huge economic and political struggles of the day. It highlighted the political urgency of building a mass Communist Party firmly entrenched in the key industries and shops as the indispensable instrument of the working class in defeating the reactionary drive of American imperialism at home and abroad.

The meeting discussed in this light a wide range of fundamental questions. Among these were: the present wage and strike movement, the fight for Big Three unity as the key to world peace, the fight for a progressive legislative program and the preparation for the 1946 elections, the tasks in the struggle for Negro rights, the work among the veterans and youth, the struggle against Browderism, for an intensive struggle on the ideological front, and the building of a strong, fighting Communist Party.

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The National Committee calls upon our membership to study in detail the policies outlined at this meeting. The main reports and decisions will be made available through the columns of the Daily Worker, Political Affairs, and in several pamphlets. Membership meetings, conferences and club discussions are planned in each district. Only through an understanding of these decisions can we bring about that heightened mass activity so vitally necessary if our Party is to meet the test of the unfolding struggles of today.

We call upon our entire membership to re-intensify all its efforts to help bring to a successful conclusion the strike struggles now underway, and to prepare the working class to meet with strengthened unity the far-reaching economic and political battles against monopoly capitalism which loom ahead. The great militancy and solidarity of labor, supported actively by the Negro people, the veterans and other sections of our people, has already wrung important concessions from the employers and has partially checked the offensive of big business. But the fight is not over.

The struggles for wage demands and the protection of the economic and political standards of the workers will involve larger sections of the CIO, the AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods. No stone must be left unturned to help bring about the greatest coordination and unity of all sections of labor. This demands a decisive change in the work of all progressives in the AFL to prevent the reactionary leadership of its Executive Council, dominated by the Lewis-Hutcheson-Dubinsky clique, from sabotaging the united front of labor against the attacks of the monopolists. This further demands that no reliance be placed upon the Truman Administration, but only upon the organization, unity, and firmness of labor itself.

The further expansion of the independent activities of the Party will help steel the ranks of the working class, help wrest new concessions from the employers and the Administration, advance the unity of labor and its allies, and bring forward the working class as the most consistent champion of the cause of the people.

Sun 2-24-46

We call upon our membership to redouble its activities around a well-defined legislative program which must include in the first place the defeat of the Case anti-labor bill, the enactment of a permanent FEPC, the maintenance of price control and an end to inflationary price concessions to the trusts; a minimum wage law of 65 cents an hour; unemployment insurance for striking veterans; and other vital needs of labor and the common people. On the basis of such a program, the Party should gear its entire membership for the 1946 elections. The crucial 1946 elections demand the elimination of all apathy and passivity—and the full mobilization of all labor and progressives to defeat the reactionary Republican and Democratic southern bourbon coalition in Congress. Only the development of an independent policy of labor and its democratic allies in the course of these elections, can accomplish this objective. Only such a policy will speed the development of a broad anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist people's party—independent of the two main bourgeois parties in time for the 1948 elections.

The Party must do everything to help crystallize a broad labor and people's coalition in each area for the defeat of all pro-fascist and reactionary candidates, irrespective of party label, and for the election, on both the Democratic and Republican Party tickets, of candidates responsible to and representative of the labor-democratic camp. The independent political role of labor, asserted in unison with all anti-fascist forces, can score important victories in 1946.

•

We call upon our membership to renew with greater determination the struggle against the anti-Soviet, anti-United Nations "get tough" course of reactionary big business, the imperialist trend of the Truman administration, and for strengthening the American-Soviet-British coalition as the only means of ensuring a long-term peace .

With increased energy the Party must revive the mass campaign to withdraw our armed forces from China. These continue to be used as a threat over the Chinese people, and encourage the reactionary Kuomintang clique to sabotage the recently concluded Kuomintang - Communist-Democratic League pact for a united democratic China.

We must rouse to action large masses of the American people in support of the national, liberation struggle of the people of Indonesia, and for the complete independence of Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands, ensuring that the pledge of unconditional independence for the Philippine Islands in July 1946 will be fully achieved.

Sun 2-24-46

We call upon our membership everywhere to develop a consistent day-to-day struggle for the rights of the Negro people, against the increaisng violations of the most elementary democratic liberties of the Negro people, and against the vicious anti-Negro campaign of propaganda and incitement fostered by the reactionary trusts and their agents in Congress. In this connection the Party must conduct a relentless struggle to protect the wartime gains of the Negro workers and to prevent the elimination of Negroes from industry, carrying this fight into every shop and union. The Communists must help influence all of labor resolutely to defend and extend the rights of Negro workers as a necessary condition for raising to a new level the alliance of labor and the Negro people.

The Party, in the course of developing its own independent activities, must mercilessly exterminate all expressions of white chauvinism in its own ranks, improve its work in every community, continue the beginnings attained in the South, and systematically develop Negro cadres for leadership in all fields of Communist work.

At no time in the history of America did the working class face such huge and complicated tasks. At no time have the workers fought with such resoluteness and determination. At no time was there also such great need for Communist leadership and guidance. The American working class is in motion. Fundamental questions are stirring the people. These can be answered only by a Party which bases all its policies on the science of the working class, the science of Socialism-Marxism-Leninism. That is why the National Committee centered its major attention on the political necessity of building a mass Communist Party representative of the most advanced fighters against capitalist exploitation and reaction—a fighting Communist vanguard, able to assume leadership of the working class, unswervingly defending its interests at all times and under all conditions.

The decision to launch a national Party Building Drive to last from March 15 to June 1, represents the needs of today. Everywhere throughout the world the Communist Parties have grown to phenomenal size. In the liberated countries of Europe—in France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Greece, Poland—millions have joined the Communist movement. Spectacular growth has been shown by the Communist Parties in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and in Latin America. Our Party, working and living in the strongest and most powerful imperialist nation of the world, must increase its strength if the cause of peace, democracy, and security is to be won.

Our Party in America can grow if every Communist in the shops and industries will bring into our ranks the militant workers in steel, auto, packing, electrical farm equipment, mining and other important industries of the country. Only if we sink deep roots among the workers in these industries can we speak of creating a Party worthy of the name Communist. We are confident that this campaign will be taken up in every club, shop and industry—and that we will grow rapidly in the coming months among the shop workers and trade unionists, among the youth and veterans, among the Negro people and women workers.

Our Party can become the fighting Marxist Party of the working class if it rids itself completely of every vestige of Browderism which had such disastrous effects on our own organization and the struggles of labor and the people. The unanimous action of the National Committee for the expulsion of Earl Browder will clear the road for a more energetic struggle against all remnants of revisionism and opportunism. It will raise the struggle against Browderism to a new level—that of an alien enemy ideology which must be completely uprooted in order to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist understanding and will to struggle of the entire Party.

We are confident that the entire membership will support this action of the National Committee. With renewed energy our membership will work to build a united and powerful Communist Party, strict in its adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, defending the immediate interests of the workers and advancing the cause of socialism in America.

Now is the time for work, and greater work. Now is the time for building a great fighting Communist Party

NATIONAL BOARD,
C.P.U.S.A.

Davis Heads Harlem CP

Benjamin J. Davis, City Councilman; Bob Campbell, World War II veteran, and John Lavin, former Communist leader in Nassau County, head the list of officers elected by the Section Committee of the Harlem Communist Party, it was announced yesterday. Davis was chosen as chairman, Campbell as executive secretary and Lavin, as organizational secretary by the Harlem Party's section committee. Rose Gaulden, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and Bonita Williams, women leaders, were elected to the Secretariat of five. Leon Love of the Ben Davis Club of the Communist Party, was elected membership secretary. 3-14-46

The temporary headquarters of the Harlem section will be at 200 W. 135 St., Room 118.

Seattle Communists Fight Discrimination

Seattle, Wash.

Editor, Daily Worker:

The Kings County Communist Party here in Seattle recently sponsored a public meeting of protest against racial discrimination. The meeting was well attended and the spirit shown gave evidence of the determination of the people of the north-west to fight discrimination of all kinds.

A resolution was passed to support the fight of the citizens of Columbia, Tenn., against Jimcrow and segregation. The boycott of motion picture houses and transportation facilities which practice Jimcrow is a good idea.

We, in Seattle, are communicating with the citizens of Columbia for the purpose of attempting to organize a similar movement here.

C.V.L., Kings County CP.

HATS OFF TO ALABAMA

Hats off to Alabama, first to go over the top in the Communist Party recruting drive.

Liquidated under the revisionist policies of Earl Browder, the Communist Party in Alabama not only made a comeback but achieved the goal set for June 1 yesterday, a little less than two months ahead of time. Tues 4-9-46

Harold Bolton, party organizer there, announced the results in a jubilant telegram to John Williamson, member of the national secretariat. Alabama is now setting its sights for a goal of 250 members by June 1, he declared. His message concluded with "regards to Texas," whose party members in socialist competition with Alabama, now are on the spot.

Williamson replied with a message of congratulations. "That's an inspiration to the entire party," he said. "If it can be done in Alabama starting virtually from scratch and working under difficult conditions, then it can be done all over the country."

45d 1946

Communist

People & Issues

Walter White And the Facts of Life

By Benjamin J. Davis

The Worker

THE Negro people of America have a very high and favorable regard for the Soviet Union. It is the one country where racial and religious discrimination is a crime and where the criminal laws governing this subject are rigidly enforced. The Negro population took special pride in the great contributions made by the Red Army in defeating Hitler and they have viewed the equality in fact enjoyed by the peoples of the Soviet Union as an example set for the world, including their own country.

Although it is well known that the 15,000,000 Negroes are not Communists (a small percentage are, however), they realize that any setback to the Soviet Union is a setback to democracy and freedom among peoples, and would have harmful consequences for the democratic principles of our own country. Most of the Negro newspapers reflect a real positive appreciation of the Soviet Union and attempt to deal fairly with news about the role and achievements of this Socialist land.

Knowing that the capitalist rulers of America occasionally succeed in getting a Negro leader to betray his own people for a mess of pottage, large sections of the Negro workers understand quite well how American and British imperialism are able to get certain reactionary, anti-Soviet forces in Iran to betray their country for sinister purposes. Certainly, the Negroes are not easily taken in by the pretensions of Secretary Byrnes, of the poll-tax, anti-Negro regime in South Carolina, when he claims to be deeply interested in the "weak and defenseless" colored people of Iran. New York, N.Y.

* * *

SOME are taken in, however, indicating there still is a small market for anti-Soviet peddlers in restricted Negro circles. For example, Mr. Walter White spoils one of his recent columns in the Negro press by falling hook, line and sinker for the current slander of "Russian imperialism" hurled against the Soviet Union in connection with the so-called Iranian question. In so doing, Mr. White shows that he understands neither the "Iranian question," the Soviet Union, nor imperialism. In brief, the "Iranian question" is merely an artificially-created crisis by the American and British governments to incite hostility against the Soviet Union in preparation for an anti-Soviet war—World War III. If it isn't the "Iranian question," it will be some other "crisis" unless the people intervene for world peace and security.

Imperialism is the exploitation by the monopoly capitalists in the mother country of the peoples of colonial or subject countries. The Soviet Union is a classless society without capitalists or capitalism and cannot be imperialist. These facts and laws of economics are very elementary and Mr. White should know them. It is the imperialist policies of our government which are driving toward war. The Soviet Union is a fortress of peace and world security.

Sun 4-28-46

WALTER WHITE is secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which makes many contributions for Negro rights and on other issues of internal democracy, particularly on the legal front. But every now and then he swallows a piece of anti-Soviet bait, evidently not fully recognizing that the white supremacy forces dangle the same type of bait against the Negro people in America. It is about time he learned the facts of life.

How Alabama Achieved Its Quota

The Worker

By HAROLD BOLTON

New York

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—On April 5, Alabama, with a quota of 150, reached its goal, almost two months ahead of the deadline! New York

Of the 159 new members, over 33 percent are from the district's concentration industries, steel, coal and ore. Over 61 percent are from the organized labor movement, CIO and AFL. In round numbers, 95 out of the 152 are trade unionists.

The main question the district faced in the drive was to overcome the lethargy and passivity of the older members, many of whom clung to the theory that only a deep economic crisis such as in 1926-36 would move the people to the party. This theory was used to discount all the rich possibilities in the strike struggles, especially in steel, which in turn affected ore, coal and other industries.

In many instances it was necessary actually to bypass the older members and to arouse the newer ones who were more alert to the moods of the people and to the danger signals of a third world war, Truman's desertion of the path to peace, the slander against the Soviet Union, the murder of FEPC, the organization of the Klan, and the rising cost of living.

The killing of Timothy Hood, young Negro war veteran in Bessemer, Ala., by the police chief [of Brighton, Ala.] for the "crime" of moving the segregation sign on a street car, the attack against the Negro people in Columbia, Tenn., the call for increased segregation in transportation, on the part of the state's white supremacists, all tended to move the masses of the Negro people into action.

PASSIVITY BROKEN

Sun 4-21-46

Leaflets, organized work by the clubs, and activity in unions and churches broke through the fog of passivity and thus in a comparatively brief period the deadlock was ripped apart and we began to move into action. Our clubs raised funds for the steel strikers, as well as for the Timothy Hood case. We became increasingly active in the communities, through the distribution of leaflets and we increased our Worker circulation from about 150 copies weekly, both subs and bundle orders, to over 500 copies weekly, in the space of less than three months.

The club have begun to grow, although even yet there are some which have not moved in the drive. However, most of the clubs, both new and old, are participating in some activity. Many new clubs were formed, three in steel, one in coal, one in grain and three in food, as well as others.

The district functionaries spent the great bulk of their time in the clubs assisting the work, not taking over the work. No extra "tempo" meetings were called but emphasis was placed on the club leaders' work in the clubs.

NEW GOAL

The drive is not yet completed. We have resolved to reach 210 new members by May 11 and then attempt to bring our recruiting to 250, to equal the Texas goal of 250.

Whether or not the pace can be held remains to be seen. It is necessary to improve the concentration composition to better than the present 33 percent, although actually our goal was to double our membership in these industries, which has been accomplished, except in ore.

Highlight of the campaign is the readiness of the Negro people to join our ranks, if they are properly approached. The great majority of the new members are Negro workers. Sun 4-21-46

It is no accident that one of the newly formed clubs calls itself the Ben Davis Club. Ben Davis' election to the New York City Council, as well as his fighting activity there, has helped us immeasurably in this drive.

BIG GROWTH AID

The role of the newly established shop clubs and the supporting activity of the community clubs during the recent strike struggles were major factors in the Party's growth in the key industries. Many of our community clubs became recognized as an important factor in the strike and some locals issued union credentials authorizing the Clubs to send out speakers and committees to speak and collect for the union.

While placing our major stress on building the party in basic industry through the improved functioning of the shop clubs, we must never lose sight of the fact that to really forge ahead in concentration, the entire party organization must participate. Thus, through the efforts of the Cleveland West Side striking brought home to the com-

Communists at Work:

55% Ohio Recruits Are Basic Workers

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y.

Fri - 5-17-46

By Martin Chancey

In setting forth Ohio's objectives in the Party Building Drive of 1,000 new members, 50 percent of whom shall come from basic industry, our State Committee emphasized that the success of this drive shall be judged, in the first place by the extent to which we achieve our concentration objectives.

Examining the results of the drive to date we can say that although we are by no means satisfied with the tempo of our recruiting we have exceeded our concentration goal. Out of 450 recruits 55 percent are in basic industry, coming from steel, rubber, auto, electrical, coal, aluminum and railroad workers.

We decided to make steel the pace-setter in the drive. To dramatize our steel concentration and to formulate concrete plans, a statewide steel conference was convened in Youngstown. One hundred delegates assembled, the bulk of them steel workers. They came fresh from the picket lines bubbling over with experiences of the contributions of our Party and the press towards achieving victory in the strike. The conference worked out a program of building the party in steel "in the course of struggle to preserve and extend the strike-won gains."

It wasn't long before we began to get results. A Lorain steel worker was so enthused that within a few days he recruited 7 others. Steel recruits were reported from Youngstown, Cleveland, and Canton. A Negro steel worker from Ohio Valley, President of an active NAACP branch composed mostly of steel workers, was deeply moved by the conference discussion on the need for our Party to be seen and felt in the life of the community. At the next meeting he informed the members that he was a Communist. The response was such that he has now built up a list of 20 prospective recruits. Fri. 5-17-46

Youth Club, a tool-and-die-maker, a Westinghouse and railroad worker were recruited. Comrades in the white collar and professional groups assisted in recruiting steel workers by the sale of **The Worker** in Lorain and in the Broadway steel area of Cleveland.

The broad movement against the Tennessee lynch terror that was developed by the Ohio Party brought many key workers into our ranks. A striking example of that is the campaign conducted by the Canton Communist Party in the course of which 24 Negro steel workers joined.

Greatly increased mass education in industrial communities, utilizing the radio, press and leaflets has proven a powerful aid to Party building. In Ohio Valley the weekly message of the Communist Party broadcast by A. Krchparek is awaited with intense interest by thousands of coal miners. No wonder that 26 coal diggers and steel workers have joined the Party in the past 4 weeks.

The voice of Andy Onda can be heard weekly in the homes of numerous steel workers in Youngstown and Warren discussing such problems as: How to fight speed-up in the mills, how to prevent layoffs of Negro workers regardless of seniority and how the veterans can win back their vacation pay.

Similarly, the Cleveland broadcasts by Gus Hall and those in Akron by Joe Friedman, have made a considerable impression not only on the rank and file, but also on many of the leading forces in the labor movement. Fri. 5-17-46

ONE GETS SIX

The great opportunities for Party building in new fields that are opened up by new members were

66 New Members

The Worker
New York N.Y.

By Nat Ross

Sixty-six workers joined the Communist Party in a single meeting in one of the industrial centers of the South. An examination of how this came about should be of some value to our Party throughout the country.

A carefully selected list of 150 active trade unionists and other community leaders were invited to this meeting. A total of 110 were present, all but 10 of them Negroes. The chairman of the meeting was a well-known Negro trade unionist. The district chairman of the Communist Party, spoke on some problems of the people in the South. The writer dealt with the struggle for peace, Truman and labor, the Negro people and the profound developments in the South. The main talk was delivered informally with numerous stories and incidents related to bring home some political lessons. Sun 6-16-46

Fifteen minutes was devoted to an appeal for joining the Communist Party, during which time the role of the Communists all over the world was discussed. The significance of the Benjamin Davis election received particular attention. The role of the Communists in the trade unions was discussed during the question period.

Literature worth $5.50 was sold, including Minor's pamphlet, **How Ben Davis Was Elected,** Wilkerson's **Why Negroes Should Join the Communist Party,** Dennis' pamphlet on the **Struggle for Peace** and Magil's on **Socialism.** The meeting opened with an invocation and closed with a benediction.

6-16-46 Sun

Practically every one of the 66 who signed up is a trade unionist, the majority being active members. About half of the new members are women. Out of the 87 non-members present, only 21 failed to sign up, some because they did not have the initiation fee.

What lessons can be drawn from this meeting:

1. The working people and **especially the Negroes,** are profoundly stirred by the political upsurge in the South, dramatized in the registration-to-vote movements and the union organizing drives. They are anxious to join in the struggle for higher wages, jobs, against Jimcrow and against the imperialist war drive.

2. The fighting policy of the Communist Party on the Negro question and the exposure of the anti-labor and strikebreaking role of the Truman Administration has won many friends for the Communist Party.

3. The drive to organize the unorganized millions in the South comes at a most crucil time. Southern Communists promptly overcame certain negative attitudes in their ranks toward this drive, which had been provoked by official red-baiting and anti-Negro statements. This dynamic approach is enabling the Party to make a vital contribution to the historic drive to organize the unorganized. Sun 6-16-46

4. Proper planning and organizational measures prior to, during and after the recruiting meetings are essential.

5. There are dozens of cities in the South, as well as in other sections of the country where similar results can be achieved if proper plans are made.

6. The National Party Building drive officially ends on June 18. But in reality it should be the beginning, the springboard from which all Party organizations shall move to recruit thousands upon thousands of new members who ardently believe that the Party's fighting policy is their policy, the only policy in the defense of the American people.

rades in Youngstown. Thus, a steel worker recruited in the mill invited six others to attend a public meeting arranged by a community club, where all six were recruited.

The Cedar-Central Section of Cleveland has not only set an example in recruiting, but also in the education of new members. A number of new members' classes have been set up with an excellent attendance record. They have also formed a class for 18 steel workers who wanted to learn more about the Party. Their enthusiasm has mounted with every class they attend, Abe Lewis, the organizer for Cedar-Central reports.

of the drive, we are determined to:

1) To make a determined effort to involve in the drive those individuals and clubs which haven't as yet done any recruiting.

2) To ask all the clubs to check up on other recruiting plans and take the necessary measures to guarantee the carrying through of their decisions. The need to check up on the execution of correct decisions is not only true of the clubs, but of the higher bodies as well.

3) To schedule the drive in the State, County and Clubs on a week to week basis. This means setting a weekly goal, and a program of activities that will make possible the realization of that goal, to include special meetings of nationality groups, youth, vets, mass activities in connection with price control, peace, etc. Fri. 5-17-46

4) To arrange in Ohio 50 well-prapared house parties during the National Recruiting week-end of May 24, 25, 26.

5) To give more direct assistance to the main concentration points in the final phase of the drive. The State Chairman has been assigned to spend two weeks in Youngstown and the State Secretary in Canton and Akron, to assist the local leadership both in planning the drive as well as in speaking at meetings and visiting of contacts.

Editors, Daily Worker,
50 E. 13th St., New York 3, N. Y.

I am ready to join the Communist Party and take my place in the ranks of my fellow-Americans fighting for economic security, peace and Socialism.

Signed .....

Address .....

City .....

State .....

Buffalo Club Recruits 44, Mostly Negroes

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

BUFFALO, April 10.—The Frederick Douglass Club of the Communist Party, six months old, has recruited 44 new members, most of them in the fight for Negro rights.

The club functions in Buffalo's Fifth Ward, predominantly a Negro community. Thur. 5-11-46

On Nov. 3, a white candy store owner was brutally murdered. The next day, the police began to round up Negro young men, and held them for hours for questioning. As a result some of them lost their jobs

[illegible] humiliation.

[illegible] weeks later, five young Negro boys were arrested for riding in a stolen car. These boys, ranging in age from twelve to eighteen, were then accused of the murder.

The club leaders immediately got in touch with the families of the boys, got the facts from them and went with them to get a lawyer. A leaflet was issued, exposing the frameup and calling for mass protests. The Club organized a delegation of Negro and white to see the Mayor and to demand the release of the boys. A mass meeting was then called in one of the leading churches in the community, and the campaign was picked up by other groups and by the churches in particular.

BOYS RELEASED

As a result, the boys were released and the murder charge dropped. The father of one of the boys not only joined the Party, but recruited 15 workers from his shop, a steel plant, to build a shop club. In all, 23 people joined the party as a result of this successful campaign.

In Buffalo, Negroes who applied for jobs as cab drivers were turned away with the statement: "What would we look like sending you after a white woman." The Club got busy on this issue, got out a leaflet, held a protest meeting, and brought the question up in several community organizations. Thur. 5-11-46

The Common Council was forced to hold a public hearing on this question. The Party, the CO Council, the ALP and many other organizations were represented. The Mayor was forced to postpone the voting for two weeks, after which a negative vote was sneaked through. This fight is by no means over, and ten people have already joined the Party on the strength of this campaign.

When the International Bowling Tournament opened in Buffalo, some members of the Club learned that a Negro team, of the Jesse Clipper Post of the American Legion, had been refused admission. On inquiry it turned out that the rules of the American Bowling Congress allowed only "white male" players. Thur. 5-11-46.

A telephone campaign was organized by the Club, involving the entire Party in Buffalo. We tied up the box office phone successfully. On the opening night of the Congress, the Party picketed the Armory where the tournament was being held, with the overwhelming majority of the pickets white members and sympathizers. Sen. Mead refused to cross the line and wide publicity resulted.

The NAACP, The CIO Council, the Urban League, Jewish War Veterans, churches, and unions took up the fight. To get the heat off, the Congress announced that at its convention the question would be taken up of changing the constitution. On that day that the Convention opened, a representative delegation of the labor movement and the Party was present, put up a stiff fight to state its case to the delegates, but were unable to.

This fight must be continued, and it will be continued at the tournament. The independent, leading role of the Party in this fight received wide attention in the press, and at our last meeting twelve new members have joined the club.

This kind of activity has resulted in real Party Builidng. Our recruits are mostly steel, and other basic industrial workers. Many of our new members are vets. Our Club is sure that continuing such fights in behalf of the people will lead to further strengthening and further victories.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY
CONTINUED

Sirs:

I am puzzled about the statement in Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.'s article, "U. S. Communist Party" (LIFE, July 29), reading, "With the attack on Russia, the Communists soft-pedaled the race question. The party is currently trying to make up the ground thus lost by exploiting the riot in Columbia, Tenn. as it exploited the Scottsboro affair and by sinking tentacles into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

This has been variously interpreted as either a) infiltration into the association or b) making attacks upon the association. Could LIFE and Mr. Schlesinger tell us just what is meant?

WALTER WHITE
Secretary
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
New York, N. Y.

● Mr. Schlesinger says, "My statement meant only attempted infiltration by Communists and was not intended to impugn the present national leadership or organization of the Association, which is resolutely opposed to Communists."—ED.

THE U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY

Life

Sirs:

Congratulations on the excellent article by Schlesinger on "The U.S. Communist Party" (LIFE, July 29). In the muddle of so much careless thinking about Russia and the Communist party it is good to read such an objective and rational article, free from hysteria and red-baiting. . . .

WILLIAM F. EDGE
Dover, Del.

Sirs:

Professor Schlesinger's "The U. S. Communist Party" not only shows up the C.P.U.S.A. as a fanatical fifth column but—more important, perhaps—rebukes those influential Americans who fellow-travel where Russian foreign policy is concerned. While these (often) well-meaning Americans do not hew absolutely to the party line, they do manage to place major blame for the present impasse of the Big 3 on Britain and America. . . .

Three on Britain and America. . . .

CARLTON F. WELLS
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Chicago 8-19-46.

45d 1946

Staunch No Dealer: Harold L. Ickes blasts Democratic Party deals which caused the break between him and President Truman and announces his resignation as Secretary of the Interior at his farewell press conference. [Story on

Communist

11 Bronx Reds Are Expelled As Too Radical

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Wed. 11-6-46

Group Had Threatened Rebellion Within Party

Special From The New York Times to The Courier-Journal.

New York, Nov. 5.—Eleven rank-and-file members of the Communist Party have been purged for attempting open rebellion within the party ranks because they thought the official Communist line was not radical enough, it was announced today.

The party's indictment against those it expelled charged that they were guilty of making exaggerated and "one-sided" attacks on the Democratic Party and the Truman Administration while sparing the Republicans, whom the Communists regard as "the main centers of reaction."

Others Ousted Earlier.

The ouster, which hit "small fry" members of one of the party's Bronx clubs, was the first announced wholesale expulsion of leftist heretics since the party began to rid itself of influential members, one and two at a time, for the same reasons.

As such, it was the first indication that the top-level heresies had filtered down to the Communist rank and file and had enlisted some of them in defiant opposition to the party.

Victims of the purge held views substantially the same as those for which four members recently were ousted. The four were William F. Dunne, who once shared leadership of the party with William Z. Foster and Earl Browder; Vern Smith, a leading West Coast Communist; Ruth McKenney, author of the "My Sister Eileen" stories, and her husband, Richard Bransten, who wrote for The New Masses under the name of Bruce Minton.

Only Four Are Named.

Sopkesmen at the Bronx County committee of the party declared it was believed that the 11 dissidents had been tied up with the Dunne-McKenney group or at least had engaged in "some contact" with them. Only four of the 11 were identified by name: Sylvia Price, her two sisters, Eileen Rechtman and Bea Rechtman, and Jerry Schwartz.

The eleven were accused of carrying on "disruptive antiparty activities of a left-wing, sectarian, semi-Trotzkyist nature."

Recruit and Educate, CP Board Calls

Daily Worker New York 2-15-46

Local Groups to Set Quotas, To Stress Socialist Teachings

Party building in a new manner—with quotas set by district, county and club organizations instead of by top committees—was voted unanimously after a full half-day discussion yesterday by the National Committee of the Communist Party.

Recruiting is to be carried on in the course of a campaign to strengthen the Party politically through educational activity, simultaneous with organization and leadership of mass struggles.

This was the meaning of the resolution authorizing the drive, which was adopted by the committee.

2-15-46

Education for socialism as the only final solution to the problems of the American people must be an important feature of the drive, a number of speakers stressed. This political enlightenment must go hand in hand with the day to day struggles for wage increases, lower prices, housing, Negro rights and the election of a progressive Congress in 1946, they said.

FIGHT ULTRA 'SELECTIVITY'

A majority of members who spoke argued against any tendency to restrict or narrow down the drive. They warned against being so "selective" in recruiting as to exclude from the party workers willing and eligible to join. The perspective, as hammered out in the discussion, developed for a drive to win the masses of workers, especially in the basic industries, and to educate them to an understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

Some members warned against "paper recruiting" or recruiting for the record which leads to high levels of fluctuation.

The basis for the discussion was laid by John Williamson, national organizational secretary, in a sub- report on the proposed party building drive.

Williamson said that strike struggles involving millions of workers was a crucial test for the party, which **"had to demonstrate its leading role and provide immediate answers to numerous problems confronting labor and the nation."**

FOUGHT FOR FEPC 2-15-46

The strikes activized many members who had not attended club meetings for months, he said, and where there were Communists, strike activity and morale were at their highest. He documented this with examples from Chicago, Buffalo, Boston, Youngstown, Flint and other strike areas.

Communists were also active in organizing the national campaign in support of legislation for a permanent FEPC, Williamson said, and stimulated other groups to activity. As a result, a conference on a city FEPC was held in St. Louis which strengthened the fight for national legislation.

He gave other examples where initiative by the Communists resulted in action of labor, the Negro people and other population groups, for progressive ends.

In the course of these struggles, Williamson said, **"Our party has started to relearn how to function as a vanguard political party of the working class."**

"It is by helping the workers to understand and meet complicated problems which go beyond the elementary experiences and practices of the trade union that our party will re-establish itself with the confidence and support of the workers."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn reported on her recent visit to Paris as a member of the American delegation to the International Women's Congress. She described in glowing terms the great Communist Party of France and spoke of its interest in the American party's struggle against Browderism. 2-15-46

IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN

Gil Green, Illinois state secretary, said the drive must be approached with the aim of building a solid, Marxist-Leninist party which will function as a vanguard.

"The issue is between real party building and the sort of recruiting drives we used to put on. Party building must have as its main fulcrum an ideological campaign." He described reeducating cadre as essential, to eliminate bad habits of work acquired during Browder's revisionism.

One of the highlights of the day's session was the speech by City Councilman Peter Cacchione.

"One part of the good old days I'd like to go back to," he said, "are good old days before Browderism, when we organized and led mass struggles."

Cacchione recalled that when he entered the party in 1932, New York had 6,000 members. It grew to 15,000 in a year and a half as a result of the struggles led by Communists for unemployment insurance and the veterans' bonus.

Housing, said Cacchione, is one of the biggest issues facing the people today. 2-15-46

"There are two and a half million families without homes. Before another year, the figure will be three million. Many young people cannot get married because they can't find homes. Many young couples are worried about having babies for the same reason. Yet capitalism boasts about its protection of the sanctity of the home."

HOUSING MAJOR ISSUE

Miss said Miss Gaulden, "is a millstone around the Negro people's neck. We attract the Negro people because of our militant fight on issues which concern them. But we have not yet found the medium to train and hold our new members."

Irving Potash said that the Communists were among the workers. He asserted that unions led by Communists in many unions and many struggles isn't known by the party and the trade unions is shown to the workers. He emphasized the most successful in winning conditions for their members. "It is time for correct educational activity on socialism.

SOUTH NEEDS COMMUNISTS

Gabor Kish, secretary of the Washington, Pa., organization, said that the party drive will succeed only if the difference between the party and the trade unions is shown to the workers. He emphasized the necessity of more educational activity on socialism.

"But fluctuation," said Miss Gaulden, "is a millstone around our neck. We attract the Negro people because of our militant issues which concern them. But we have not yet found the medium to train and hold our new members."

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SOUTH NEEDS COMMUNISTS

He urged the Communist Party to take up housing as a major issue and fight for a solution.

Rose Gaulden, Harlem party leader, said the Negro people of Harlem want and need the Communist Party. She told of Negro veterans who learned about socialism from their Communist buddies in foxholes. They came to party headquarters to join, she said.

Daily Worker New York 2-15-46

Nat Ross, Southern representative of the national committee, asserted that the Southern people desperately need the Communist Party, because it is the only party that has a solution to the Negro question and will lead struggles in the interests of Negro and white. The revisionist period has left its scars in the South, he said, and there is resistance to party building which a drive will overcome.

Morris Childs, editor of the Daily Worker, emphasized the role which the party press can play in the recruiting drive.

Mother Ella Reeve Bloor, with her usual spirit and humor, welcomed the party building drive and expressed confidence in its success.

Other speakers on party building included: 2-15-46

William Schneiderman, California state secretary; Carl Winter, Michigan state secretary; Bella Dodd, New York state legislative secretary; Arnold Johnson, Ohio state secretary; Jack Stachel, member of the national board; John Steuben, New York; Henry Huff, Washington state chairman; Anne Burlak, Massachusetts state secretary; William Norman, New York state organizational secretary; Roy Hudson, western Pennsylvania secretary.

4,000 in N.C. Ask Action On Lynching

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
Mon 4-22-46

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.—Petitions bearing more than 4,000 signatures have been sent to President Harry S. Truman by the Carolina District of the Community Party demanding that "the Federal Government do more than talk" in the face of the reign of terror under way against the Negro people in the South.

The petitions were presented in the name of the Communist Party, and Communists who circulated the petitions found no hesitation on the part of workers to sign a petition bearing the name of the Communist Party.

MEET THE COMMUNISTS

New York, N.Y.

The Party That Fights For the Negro People

Daily Worker

—— By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

(Continued from Yesterday)

We are especially inviting Negro Americans, men and women, who are deeply and justifiably stirred against segregation, discrimination, lynching and violence—North and South. They will find their efforts to wipe out jimcrow and to attain full democracy shared by every Communist.

Mon 4-22-46

The Communist Party is uncompromisingly opposed to all concepts of white supremacy as of the same barbaric ideology which produced fascist Aryan supremacy and anti-Semitism. We are fighting for the full rights of Negro Americans, and all our past activities demonstrate this.

We first became known to the Negro people through the Scottsboro case and the fight to free Angelo Herndon. Any illusions that the winning of the war would automatically carry with it the complete equal rights of Negro Americans has proved to be a will-o'-the-wisp.

FOUGHT AND DIED

Negro soldiers fought and died gallantly. The record of the 92d Division glows with their heroism. Negro air forces were ranked among the best and bravest. Negro women were nurses, WACs, Red Cross workers, and worked faithfully in every war industry. Negro seamen helped to "keep 'm sailing" and many were killed by submarine attacks.

The names of Dorie Miller, Captain Mulzac, Mrs. Bethune, Ferdinand Smith, and countless others are identified with America's war effort.

Capitalist America is now saying to our Negro citizens: "Go back to the kitchen, back to the porter's jobs, back to the mops and pails; back to the unskilled, underpaid, overworked, dirty, menial jobs; back to the plantations, back to the share-cropping. Put on your maid's cap, put on the patched overalls, lay aside your diplomas, your natty uniforms, your service ribbons, your medals, your union cards (you're out—the last to be hired, the first to be fired); forget about the four freedoms (keep your place)—back of the bus, sandwich in a bag, watch that sign: 'White Only,' keep your mouth shut if you don't want to be killed.

No American Legion Posts in the South for the black soldiers and separate Jim Crow Posts in the North. Don't try to vote, soldier in the Southland, if you value your life.

Mon 4-22-46

UNITY OUR AIM

The Communist Party fights all such disgraceful Jimcrow practices—North and South. When a Bilbo froths at the mouth and shouts—"Communist" at all who fight for Negro rights, we are complimented. Unity of black and white workers and all other liberty-loving people is one of the main objectives of the Communist Party; solidarity to wipe out this fascist shame in our country.

We plan to double the membership of our Party in the South in this coming campaign, to strengthen our work in this direction. We are very proud of our Negro leader, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., who is one of our two Communist Councilmen in New York City, which exceeds in population, many countries.

Peter V. Cacchione of Brooklyn is the other Communist Councilman, a veteran of the last war, a leader of the unemployed demonstrations of the Hoover days, a staunch fighter for the people on every issue.

DAVIS CHEERED FOR ATTACK ON POLLTAX IN CHARLOTTE

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Tue 4-30-46

Special to the Daily Worker

CHARLOTTE, N. C., April 29.—New York City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., denounced the polltax at a student rally at Smith University here Friday.

Seven hundred Negro students attended the meeting, which was sponsored by the Alpha Omega chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity. This was the first time that a Negro university has heard a Communist leader address a student meeting.

When Davis arrived yesterday he was met at the station by a police escort and a large crowd. Davis also spoke at the second ward high school and the local church. He received ovations at all meetings.

Davis was presented to the students of the university in connection with National Citizenship Week. His topic was "A Voteless People Is A Hopeless people." At the conclusion of his speech, Davis was congratulated by the president of Smith as an outstanding representative of the Negro people.

A Negro Newspaper Echoes Hearst

New York, N.Y.
Daily Worker

By CLAUDIA JONES

Growing lynch terror against the Negro people has called forth militant indignation and action on the part of their allies—organized labor and its Communist vanguard. Strong aspect of the reaction to this pro-fascist drive has been the unity expressed by the Negro people themselves.

Obviously, the Negro people recognize that unity is vital to defeating this drive—unity both among themselves and with their allies.

Mon 4-22-46

That's why it's strange to find a prominent Negro newspaper stating editorially," "News that Communist Party is becoming actively interested in the Columbia, Tennessee riot causes . . . . is disturbing."

Why should the participation of the Communists be "disturbing" to the editors of the **Richmond Journal and Guide?** (April 20) Everyone knows that it's not news that the Communists were among the first to expose these dastardly events. Well-known also is that the Communist Party, north and South today represents the most outspoken force against this lynch terror directed against the Negro people, and particularly Negro veterans. Communists, above all recognize that this domestic pro-fascist assault upon the Negro people, as well as on labor, democracy's two strongest forces, is part of a well-planned drive on the part of our own imperialistic for world domination and a new world war.

ATTACKS SCOTTSBORO

It is therefore all the more incredible that the **Journal and Guide** should refer to "bitter experience" in the fight for Negro equality with the Communists. What is this "bitter experience?" It is—says the **Guide**—holding up "Exhibit A" — the "notorious Scottsboro Case." This historic case in which the Communist Party fought and won the lives of nine Negro boys who were scheduled to die in the electric chair! Of this case which Dr. Adam Clayton Powell wrote recently could not be measured in terms of the effect on Negro-white unity, the guide holds up as "bitter experience."

Here it where it stubs it toe. One may compare the Scottsboro Case and the long hard struggle it took till the victory was won with **the Ferguson Case in Freeport,** L. I. Within two months; the mass struggle of the people, Negro and white, in New York State has brought three signal victories, in the exoneration of the brothers by the Army, Navy and Court authorities. Will the **Guide** see the prime role of the Communists in winning such victories as "disturbing"?

Mon 4-22-46

Insofar as the "notorious" aspects of the Scottsboro case it refers to is concerned, the **Guide** should be reminded that what was notorious about Scottsboro was the lynch-like justice this case represented. What was notorious was the official silence from official circles—than—as now. What was notorious was the freedom that the lynchers were to receive. It was the Communist Party that **challenged** the Big Business and Southern Bourbon forces in Scottsboro. It is this **challenge** that makes the Communists disturbing, alright—not to the mass of the Negro people, but to their enemies.

TOO MUCH AT STAKE

Therefore to do what the **Guide** tells its readers: "Let's Not Have A Tragic Repetition of Scottsboro" is to miss the key significance of the anti-Negro violence. It is to be guilty also of subtle red-baiting. The way to have no Scottsboro's is to fight unitedly to prevent them and to uncover the reasons for the occurrence of lynch law. The way to have no "tragic repetition" of Scottsboro or Tennessee is to prevent the divisive ideologists of the enemy, whether red-baiting or otherwise to infect the forces of unity who sincerely fight to achieve full equality for the Negro people. Certainly the editors of the **Journad and Guide** know that the Tennessee victims are the martyrs of a Jimcrow imperialist system which oppress both the Negro people and their white allies in the heart of the South.

There is too much at stake in this vital case for the **Guide's** editors to yield to red-baiting or any other pressures. There can be no disagreement with the **Guide's** emphasis that the defense of the Tennessee victims by the NAACP is in good hands.

Any exclusion of democratic forces, including the Communists, can only hurt the mass campaign which will be required to free the indicted Tennessee victims.

On Joining the Communist Party

Daily Worker

By SAMUEL SILLEN

IN AMERICA today it is not easy to be honest with other people, but it is a hundred times harder to be honest with yourself. A social system based on deception keeps driving us to deceive ourselves. And this is one of the most hateful features of capitalism—its pressure on human beings to avoid facing their real feelings, their real ideas.

Very often, for instance, one hears a man say (I used to say it myself): "Yes, I agree with the program of the Communist Party, but I won't join because I can be of more help outside the Party; I will not be labelled." Or another person will say (and I have said this too in my day): "The Communist Party is the only consistent party of progress, but it needs people of much greater courage and selflessness than I possess; I'm not quite good enough to be a Communist." 5-20-46

The second argument is flattering, and the first is friendly; but neither, I suspect, quite gets to the point.

And what is the point when you get right down to business with yourself? It is usually, especially among those of us who are white-collar workers, professionals, etc., a hesitation to snip the cord that attaches us to the very system that we understand breeds war and fascism and the exploitation of man by man.

It is not easy to be a Communist in America today. For capitalism, despite all pretences of freedom, skilfully envelops people in an atmosphere of intellectual terror; it threatens to punish us for being honest with ourselves; it holds our job as a club over our heads; it identifies our children as hostages.

In a measure this threat works. But on serious people, on people who have not yielded their innermost selves, it has a reverse effect. It sharpens a man's hatred of the tyranny and fraud that perpetuate Jimcrow and anti-Semitism. It gives an edge to his deepest desire as a decent human being to make himself felt as a force against fascism. It steels his will to stand up for what he knows to be the truth about Socialism. N.Y. N.Y.

None of us was born a Communist. Every agency of public miseducation pressed upon us the subversive, foreign-dictated, regimented horrors of Communism. And if we at last struggled through this swamp of lies to the sunlight, it was because a sense of man's dignity and worth could not be killed. 5-20-46

The Communist Party battles for such human integrity. It is composed of men and women who understand that in our day, when nothing less than the fate of all humanity is being decided, nobody can afford merely to dip his ankle in the struggles that swirl around us. We need a science of history as a guide to action; we need firm organization; we need a sturdy weapon of criticism and a clear, attainable goal. We need a concrete, day-to-day program on all living issues. And this we find in the one American Party basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, the Party of the working class.

Why is it that so many of the great intellectuals of all lands have joined the Communist ranks? Why did Dreiser in America, Picasso and Joliot-Curie, Haldane and O'Casey, Ehrenberg and Simonov, Ting Ling and Kobayashi? It is because they have understood that as Communists men best fulfill their mission to battle for those singing tomorrow which Gabriel Peri envisioned even under the shadow of the Nazi executioner. 5

A man must in the end make his own decision. The Communist Party cannot make up his mind for him. It can only urge him to assert his strength against a decaying system that moves headlong toward war, using science—the inheritance of all mankind—for destruction, imposing on the people the unbearable burden of its own toppling structure. Mon.

We appeal for recruits in a volunteer corps that fights for liberation of men's minds as well as release from economic bondage. We appeal for class-conscious, vanguard fighters against fascism. We appeal for men and women who dare to face not only the world but themselves, who wish to enhance their value as human beings through scientific understanding and organized action.

The Daily Worker has set itself a goal of 500 recruits to the Communist Party directly through its pages. I shall be happy to receive applications or letters of inquiry. Many of them

Harlem Communists Find:

Concentration Gets Recruits

Daily worker

By John Hudson Jones

Since March 15 the Harlem Communist Party has recruited 250 of its quota of 400 new members. Rose Gaulden, member of the Harlem Section Committee, in charge of industrial concentration, yesterday stated that, "since our direction of recruiting has changed from loosely organized community work to concentration on industrial workers, the Party now has the basis for mass growth."

Freedom Road Club is leading the Harlem party organizations with fifty-six new members. It has begun concentration on railroad workers. Twenty of the fifty-six are veterans. new York, N.Y.

The new members have come from among shoe workers, furriers, office workers, housewives, veterans, musicians, seamen, domestic workers, teachers, artists, railroad workers, garment workers, and long shore workers. 6-7-46

The recruiting is planned on a week to week basis, with a careful check-up on decisions and plans of work for each of the six clubs. Each concentration worker is assigned three to five people from the contact lists. Kits of educational material are made up, consisting of pamphlets by William Z. Foster, Benjamin J. Davis, Doxey Wilkerson, and others. Leaflets on current emergency issues, and the Daily and Sunday Workers are included. Friday

VISITS IMPORTANT

Miss Gaulden placed great emphasis on the visits to the contacts, "for it's then we discuss the issues of the day, and the program of the Party." 6-7-46

"We have found that the Daily Worker has been of invaluable assistance in this respect. Many of the people have commented that, 'of all the papers they read, the Daily Worker says more about the problems and life of Negroes, than any other'."

The recruits are immediately taught the principles of communism, and the basic program of the Party, in new members classes. In the six branches, eight classes are now going on simultaneously.

Miss Gaulden mentioned four things she considered good "Party Building Practices":

1 — Communists must be bolder, and show more imagination in presenting their program.

2—New members must be carefully integrated into club life on the basis of individual interest and ability.

3—Communists must be constantly sensitive to the basic needs of their communities, and organize struggles around them.

4—Communists must develop the attitude that there are never enough Communists, and talk to a prospective recruit every day.

ACTION PROGRAM

On housing and community sanitary conditions, the Party action program is based on these demands:

1—Compel landlords to obey the law and repair our homes.

2—Organize tenants and demand action from the city commissioners.

3—Serve summonses on all landlords guilty of violations.

4—Write and send delegations to Mayor O'Dwyer protesting the filthy conditions of Harlem's streets.

Michigan CP Wins a Tough Fight

By CLAUDIA JONES Daily Worker Detroit.

The victorious campaign of the Michigan Communists to regain their place on the ballot was a grand demonstration that a mass party can be built. N.Y. N.Y.

One of the stories going the rounds is that of a housewife in Albion county who greeted the Communist petition collector with the words: "So you're a Communist!" Standing in the rain this housewife told Abner Berry, educational director of the Communist Party of Michigan. "I declare I'm so glad to see a Communist." This housewife told how she knew of the Communist Party in its fight for the workers demands for equal rights for the Negro people.

It must be understood that Michigan law operates against minority parties being on the ballot. Some indications of this: A minimum of 11,744 signatures of registered voters are required to place a political party on the ballot. What is more; such signatures must come from 10 counties in the state. Not is this all. Not more than 35 percent may come from any one county 5-20-46

In many outstates counties, reactionary control has militated against securing petitions. **In 1940, for example, wholesale intimidation of the people of Michigan followed a successful drive to get the Communist Party on the ballot. The capitalist press printed lists of names of signers, resulting in loss of jobs, social ostracism, even to the extent of forcing signers of petitions out of communities. Many of the collectors were molested by the police.**

Yet 14,000 people of Michigan from 27 counties signed the Communist Party petitions.

Behind this figure of achievement, a significant story lies. How was it achieved? Early scouting in the outstate areas resulted in the sum total of 3 signatures after three days in the field. This at first resulted in a feeling of pessimism.

But something happened to make the difference in the final results. What had happened was a firm recognition that not to have achieved this drive would have meant a failure to rid the "revisionist," lack-of-struggle methods of work; of lack of confidence in the working people, the Negro people, the women, veterans and youth of Michigan.

This is by no means to imply that there was easy unanimity in such thinking. For example, Jack White, Labor secretary of the Michigan CP District described to me in detail a state board and staff meeting in which these questions were discussed.

This was at a time when with only two weeks to go—3,500 signatures had been collected—the majority in Wayne County. The maximum allowable — another twist of Michigan law for minority parties—were 4,100 in any one county. Assessing the situation mathematically, he stated, some 50 signatures a day were required —with some hard traveling through the state, to boot. Approximately 1,000 manhours were required to insure fulfillment of this petition drive 5-20-46

But the entire Party staff was organized to head crews that were sent out into the field to secure signatures. A large part of the credit for this, all CP workers

emphasize here, goes to the stubborn determination of Carl Winter, chairman of the Michigan State Committee of the Communist Party. Sunday

EAGER RECEPTION

Many Michigan Communists tell you enthusiastically today of the surprise they experienced at the response of the people for the message of the Party. Not only, they tell you, in the eagerness with which they were received, but the conviction uttered by the people in such words as: **"if the Communists are not on the ballot here, they must have something"; "I have heard about the Communists"; "Tell us more about your Party"; "We have heard about your fight for full equality for the Negro People," and "I want more information about your Party."**

Indications of the response include the financial contributions of the people which in many instances provided for the maintenance of the entire stay of collectors in outstate areas. Main backbone of support were the Negro people to whom the Communist tradition of struggle is an honored one. The women, the veterans and the workers also proved the correctness of the concentration policy of the national leadership of the Communist Party in outlining its drive.

Some 150,000 pieces of literature were distributed and in the course of securing the signatures some 100,000 people, it is estimated were contacted. 5-20-46

Among the results were: (1) realization of the readiness of the people for a mass Communist Party and setting higher sights for the recruiting campaign, (2) the entry of William Allen, Daily Worker midwest correspondent, for the post open in the coming Detroit Common Council by-election, and (3) the organization of a general victory celebration May 26.

Foster, Ward Talks in Luce Radio Debate

The essentially democratic nature of Communism was demonstrated by Communist Party Secretary William Z. Foster and Dr. Harry F. Ward in a radio debate against Clare Booth Luce and William Henry Chamberlin on Tuesday, May 21. The opening statement of Foster and the opening statement and closing remarks of Dr. Ward follow:

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

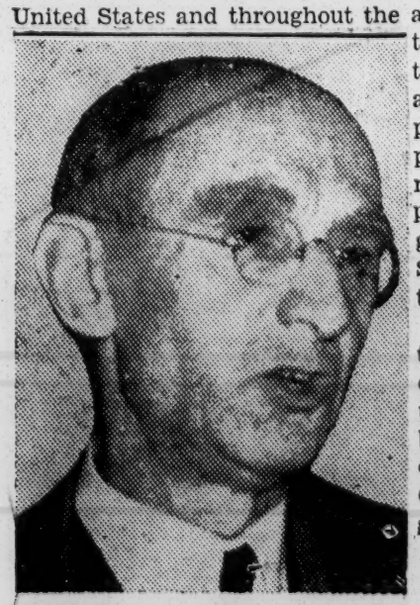
Foster's Opening Statement

Communism, far from being antagonistic to democracy, is the most profoundly democratic social movement in the world.

This is proved by the basic principles of Communism, by the progressive, anti-fascist programs and struggles of the Communist Parties in all countries. Above all, it is proved by the Socialist democracy and the anti-fascist foreign policies of the USSR.

The Communist movement, and the trade unions and other popular forces working with it, are the major bulwark of world democracy. The danger to world democracy and peace comes principally from the monopolies in the United States.

The monopolists, with their predominant influence in shaping American foreign policy and their imperialist determination to rule the world, are, together with their British junior partners, a malignant threat to democracy in the United States and throughout the world.



DR. WARD

American monopolistic forces are the basic cause of the present highly dangerous tension in the United Nations, and they must be curbed by the American people.

Wed. 5-29-46

Dr. Ward's Opening Statement

In principle there is no antagonism between communism and democracy. Communist theory regards democracy as an historic process which moves through three stages, capitalist, Socialist, Communist. It sees each as higher form than the other, bringing more freedom and more equality to more people.

In practice what we are now dealing with in the Soviet Union is not communism but Socialist democracy under Communist leadership.

The Soviet founders held that political guarantees of freedom and equal rights were ineffective as long as economic power was in the hands of the few. So they first laid the foundations of economic democracy as the sure basis of more freedom and more equality. Wed. 5-29-46

After the people had learned to share in the making and execution of the economic plans on which their lives and future depend, then came the constitution of 1936 with its unlimited democratic guarantees. And now the further decentralization of control through the "party and non-party bloc," in the recent election.

In this general course there is agreement with, not antagonism to, the equal, inalienable rights of the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's "government of the people, by the people, for the people." It was this basic agreement, not merely the need for national preservation, which bound together the people of the United States and the Soviet Union in the war.

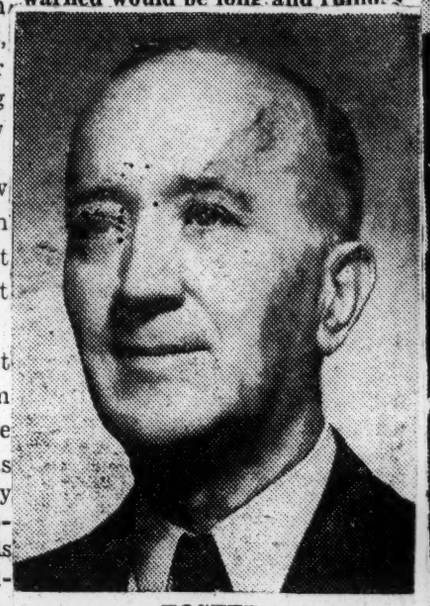
If the further development of the democratic way of life is now our aim, the unfolding of the Century of the Common Man can also become a joint enterprise. If our objective is to be the American Century, antagonism is bound to grow.

* * *

Dr. Ward's Closing Remarks

Mr. Foster and I, in different approaches, have shown that both in theory and practice communism is thoroughly democratic. We have shown that the Soviet Union has a highly democratic regime, and that its postwar foreign policy makes for democracy and peace.

Our opponents have indulged in reckless distortions and misrepresentations of Communist policy. Their logic leads to war; a war which Gen. Eisenhower has warned would be long and ruinous.



FOSTER

We have shown that the danger to world democracy comes, not from Communists, but from American economic royalists and their British friends. American monopolists are a menace to everything democratic in our country and the world. With their imperialist aggression and their control of our foreign policy, they have become the mainstay of world reaction.

To avoid disastrous atomic war, costing millions of American lives, the American people need to take their foreign policy away from the monopolists and their unholy alliance of Republicans and southern polltax Democrats. They need to stop the shameful persecution of the Negro people, and enact the late President Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights.

They need to return to Roosevelt's program of world collaboration, and compel the Truman Administration to restore Big Three unity, to drop the warlike "get-tough-with-Russia" policy, and help build the United Nations into a real organization for peace.

The Soviet Union suffered 30 times as many killed as we did in our common war to save democracy, and it wants to live in democratic peace and friendship with us. Wed. 5-29-46

World peace and democracy depend upon the American people getting our foreign policy out of the hands of the monopolists, imperialists and warmakers.

NEIGHBORS SAVED HER HOME—The constable eviction of Mrs. Sophie Smith (shown with her three children) was halted when the Communist Party took action. At her home at 3825 Mt. Vernon St., Philadelphia,, Mrs. Smith said: "I was delighted. I was just about to go out of my mind. The constable said he didn't care how many babies I was going to have—he was going to throw me out. But he changed his mind. All the people in the street were inside the house and outside. I never belonged to any organization. I never even voted. But I am going to join the Communist Party." Mrs. Smith had been paying her rent to the holder of the lease who disappeared with it. Now she has her home in her own name.

Will Not Be Communists

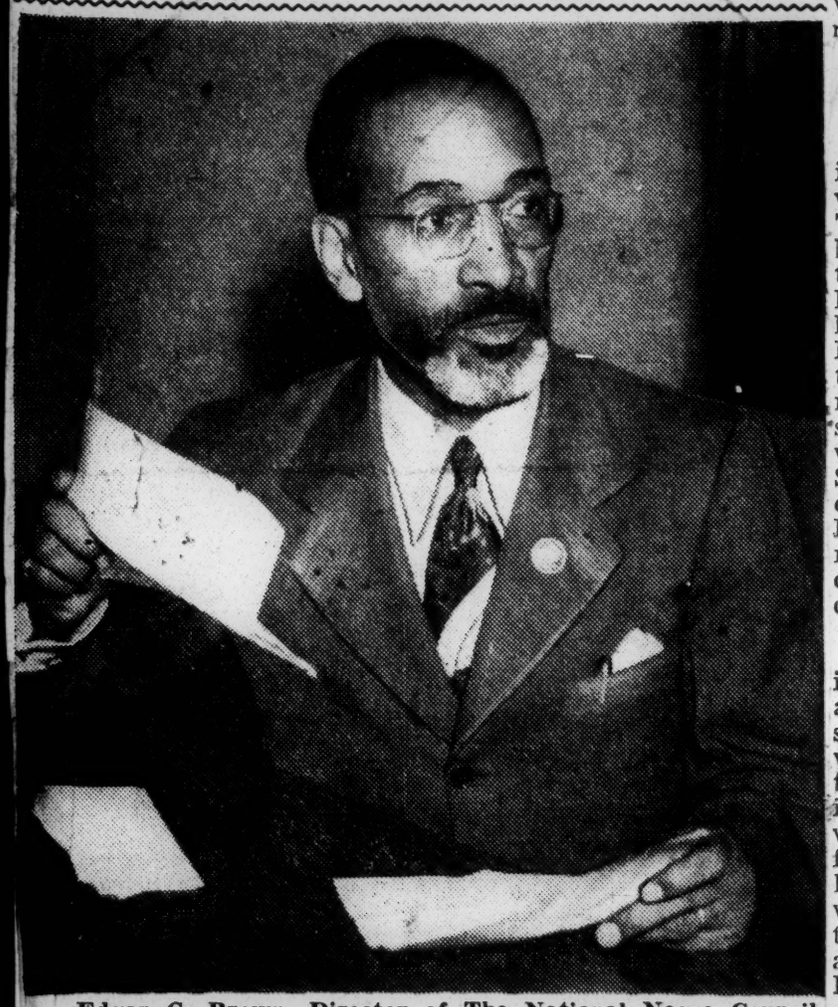
The News and Courier Charleston, S.

In a newspaper published by and for colored readers in South Carolina an advertisement invites people to come and hear a "world famous Star of Screen, Stage and Radio", and in another newspaper one reads that the head man of an organization claiming to have a membership of 500,000 colored people says that the star in question is a Communist. Anyway, whatever be the truth or untruth of the allegation, The News and Courier is confident that colored people of South Carolina will not turn Communist as long as they remain in the state. The colored people of South Carolina are not disposed to run wild unless they be set on by politicians. All qualified negroes have the privilege of voting in South Carolina, and any person, white or colored, who intereferes with them in the enjoyment of their privileges should be punished swiftly and sternly. June 10-15-41

45d 1946

Communist

Blows don't silence him; disputes Robeson



Edgar G. Brown, Director of The National Negro Council, who was beaten up by a gang of Legionnaires for protesting poor recognition of Negro vets, last Friday in San Francisco, continued his protests here by contradicting far-famed Paul Robeson in his statements favorable to Communism as the voice of the Negro. —Photo Courtesy L.A. Examiner

PAUL ROBESON'S STATEMENT BEFORE BODY CHALLENGED

The Neighborhood News
Los Angeles, Calif. Thurs. 10-10-46

With the eyes of the nation focussed on the Negro with his unstained record as an optimistic patriot, another dramatic incident last Tuesday followed that staged by singer Paul Robeson on Monday. The latter was a speech by Edgar Brown.

"Heart and Hand Society" card clubs now are operating as under ground offshoots of the Ku Klux Klan in California since the courts outlawed the hooded order in the state.

Testimony covering these two points was given Tuesday to the State Senator Jack B. Tenney committee on un-American activities at the State Building here.

ROBESON CHALLENGED

Edgar G. Brown, National Negro Council director, challenged Paul Robeson's testimony of Monday.

At that time, Robeson spent more than an hour extolling the advantages of Communism over the American way of life.

Robeson has no right or authority that I know of to speak for the Negroes of America," declared Brown, who said he had attended numerous large gatherings of Negroes in the past year.

"Robeson was not at one of them," he continued, "and I might say that 99 percent of the Negroes are opposed to what he is advocating. We are not interested in anyone, including Robeson, who is trying to tear down our Government."

District Attorney Edmund G. "Pat" Brown of San Francisco, candidate for State Attorney General, and a representative of his opponent, District Attorney Fred N. Howser of Los Angeles, was on yesterday's list of witnesses.

This Evening

News-Birmingham

LET'S FACE REALITY

Let me take as my text three front-page items in Friday's *News*. One is the interview which Maj. Laurie Battle gave to Fred Taylor, the second is Gov. Sparks' speech before the Alabama Bar Association, and the third is Secretary Byrnes' historic declaration at Stuttgart. The point I would like to make is that, in the light of what Mr. Byrnes said and implied, both Maj. Battle and Gov. Sparks give the effect of irrelevance. Maj. Battle is all for calling Russia's bluff, as though that were not what we have been doing for many months. Gov. Sparks is for getting tough with Communists even to the point of amending the Bill of Rights—a queer way of proving that democracy is preferable to communism. At this crucial hour in history, clear thinking by our political leaders is badly needed.

Alabama

Maj. Battle has been orientating himself in Washington. He has returned with pleasant anticipations of service there. He is still the modest, solid, serious-minded man who won the favor of so many voters in this district earlier in the year. He is going to Congress next January with the best wishes of an overwhelming majority of Jefferson County citizens. But one wishes that he were not already giving evidence of what can be called a congressional lag. On the very day Mr. Byrnes spoke so plainly and creatively on the German problem, Maj. Battle talks about calling the Russian bluff.

If there's a bluff to be called, Mr. Byrnes has been doing that at the peace conference and in the Foreign Ministers Council ever since the abortive meeting in London. Our government has been showing its teeth to Russia for months. To suggest at this stage of the game that our foreign policy involves "appeasement" is not to realize what is happening and what has been happening on the stage of world affairs. Mr. Battle supports our government's course but he is merely endorsing a *fait accompli* What his constituents are concerned about is the consequence of this program of calculated risk. 9-9-46

Gov. Sparks has delighted many Alabamians with the way he has grown during his tenure as chief executive. He has shown a progressive spirit, he has taken a large-minded view of affairs. He has demonstrated an eagerness to make our democratic system work as an instrument of strength and hope in terms of a steadily enlarging freedom. But when he addressed the lawyers, he lost step with himself. Disquieted by the activities of American Communists, he urges that they be dealt with punitively even if freedom of speech has to be curtailed. This is a queer conclusion for a man like Gov. Sparks to reach.

One wonders what sort of literature he has been reading. His jitters are surely not the result of Communist "infiltration" in Alabama. The brethren may be ganging up on Montgomery, but there is little sign of them or their works in Birmingham. The governor doesn't like their ideology and their subservience to Moscow. Neither do the rest of us. But what excuse is there for assuming that the Commies are a threat in this state—so great a threat, indeed, that Mr. Sparks is willing to consider, if not to urge, placing an embargo on the free trade of ideas, the freedom of speech and press guaranteed by the first article of the Bill of Rights. 9-9-46

If, as Gov. Sparks and most other Americans think, the situation in the world presents a contest between democracy and communism for the favor of mankind, we do not strengthen democracy by imitating totalitarian dictatorship. There is no freedom of opinion or press in Russia. If we are to win out in this war of ideas, we can do so only in terms of democratic values. If Gov. Sparks wants to help democracy abroad, he might have chosen to discuss a deepening of democracy at home—even in Alabama. He might have spoken out against the Boswell amendment. He might have reiterated his opposition to the cumulative feature of the poll tax.

You protect democracy by enriching it, by spreading it. That is the meaning of Mr. Byrnes' pronouncement on the future of Germany. The German people, he said, must be set free to stand on their own feet, to have their own government, to shape their own destiny—short only of becoming a military menace again. It is in the diffusion of competent democracy that our best hope lies against any rival system. You do not aid that diffusion, you do not persuade the beaten masses of Europe to turn to democracy, by poisoning the well-spring of democracy at home. You do not make ready for the eventualities of tomorrow by growing panicky and dispraising the heartfelt things inestimably dear without which democracy is a mere label, without which we cannot achieve any ultimate triumph in the struggle for peace among men and security among nations.

Promise of New South Seen

Daily Worker, New York, Thurs. 9-5-46

By Theodore Ward

Andy Brown must be some guy, I thought, as I rode out to meet the district secretary of the Alabama, Tennessee and Mississippi Communist Party.

And I was right. I found that out later, after I learned that Andy's health had been beaten down some by overwork and beatings administered by cops and white-hooded gangsters who rule the South these days.

He's in New York, I discovered, for a medical check-up.

As he opened the door, I encountered a tall, well-built Negro, about 52.

"I'm from the Daily Worker," I said. "I'm out here to interview you."

"Just give me a chance to shave up a bit," Brown said, "and I'll be with you."

The host went into the kitchen and returned with a glass of wine.

"It's terrible how short we are of forces in the South," he said, handing me the glass. "But they've just had a big successful drive for new members."

Brown entered from the hall just then.

"You just ask what you think of," he told me.

"Well, how long have you been in the Party?" I asked, choosing the commonest question you hear among comrades.

"Since '31," he said.

"How did you come to join?"

"I used to listen to the open-air meetings of the Party in Birmingham. Every day," he said, "I used to come by and listen. Then I got to reading the Daily Worker and the pieces of literature they used to distribute. After about six months I made up my mind this was what I was looking for, and I've been in ever since."

I wondered what he could say about what was happening among the Negroes of the South since the outburst of the present lynch terror. How was the temper?

"High," he said abruptly. "Since the outbreak of terror, our worry has been and is are we going to be able to give leadership to the masses, they're moving so fast."

"It's the old matter of too few in the Party—is that it?"

"In a way, yes," he replied slowly. **"But you must understand, we're not alone down there. There's a surprising number of organizations which are putting up a militant fight against the lynchers and Bilbo and Talmadge."**

Turning to the role of the trade unions in the South, he said: **"One of the most reassuring things we've got down there is the response to Operation Dixie. Here we see the beginnings of real unity. I noticed too,"** he added, **"the NMU of New Orleans voted a $1,000 reward for the Georgia lynchers; while the Mine, Mill and Smelters Union along with a number of others have been very active in the fight to bring the lynchers to justice."**

This seemed in contradicition to the sort of evidence of disunity and racist sentiments being brought out by questioning of the whites called up for jury duty in the Columbia, Tenn., case. I questioned him on his.

"You forget two things," the thoughtful Negro leader said. **"First you forget the men called for jury service there are mostly farmers with little or no contact with labor and the progressive whites of the South. Secondly, the reason behind all this terror. It's an organized effort to smash the growth of democracy in the South.**

Negro People Are Joining the Party That Leads Struggle for Equality

The Worker New York N.Y.

By CLAUDIA JONES

Fifteen years ago, a small anguished Negro woman rushed out on the streets of Chattanooga, Tennessee asking everyone she met: "Where is the Communist Party?"

She found the Communist Party; and it acted. Sun. 4-7-46

That woman was Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of the two framed up Scottsboro Boys, Andy and Roy. Her question was answered in a historic struggle by the Communist Party which made the Scottsboro Case a worldwide cause. The legal and mass defense of these boys represented the first time since the Reconstruction era following the civil war that so vigorous a defense of Negro victims of lynch terror was made. It led to the raising of the question of full democracy in the heart of the South for the first time since post-Civil War times.

The Communist Party fought for the lives of those nine boys and won. Out of that historic and effectively-led case, the right of Negroes to sit on juries was won again. Out of Scottsboro, thousands of Negro and white workers were taught that the source of lynch law and police violence against Negro citizens stems from Wall Street and its oppression of Negro citizens and white workers in the heart of the South—the Black Belt. Out of Scottsboro, the fundamental lesson of Negro-white unity against imperialist oppression was re-learned in our land.

The Communists were the first to recognize that this case involved more than the persecution of nine teen-age boys, because this is the Party that carries forward the democratic heritage of the Abolitionists, against present-day semi-slave conditions of the Negro people. Then as today, the Communists led in the uncompromising demand for full punishment of the lynchers, because its principles inspire it to fight for the rights of all oppressed peoples.

PARTY OF THE OPPRESSED

This is so because the Communist Party is the party not only of the Negro people but of all the oppressed. It was able to see deeper meaning of Jimcrow and segregation because it recognizes that all attacks on the Negro people by Big Business and their Southern Bourbon hirelings is aimed at putting the crassest exploitation and reaction more firmly in the saddle. The Communist Party fights for the strengthened unity and alliance of Negro and white because it realizes that only thus can the common enemies of both be defeated.

Its principles are based on the great truth enunciated by Karl Marx: "Labor in a white skin cannot be free while labor in the black is branded." Sun. 4-7-46

These are basic motives which have found the Communists in the forefront of the fight for full political economic and social equality for the Negro people. It is no humanitarian or paternalistic approach which governs its acts.

BARS BROKEN

It was this Marxist-Leninist principle that the Communists brought to the labor movement, more than 25 years ago. This principle won wide support among labor and other progressive sections of the population. Sun. 4-7-46

Those were the days of organizing the unorganized. It were the Communists who inspired this fight which led to organizing Negro and white sharecroppers in Mississippi, Georgia and Alabama. They sought tirelessly to integrate the Negro worker in the labor movement. The Negro worker, in turn learned greater organization and discipline by struggling side by side with labor. Through the common fight, many bars were broken down, narrow nationalistic prejudices which white labor had accepted from the hands of the monopolists, who seek only to divide and conquer, began to be broken down.

The answer to the age-old question asked by Negro Americans: "Who are the friends of the Negro people" was answered. If today the unprecedented unity of Negro and white exists [illegible] vage struggles of labor, it is [illegible] because the Communists pioneered and zealously supported the nation-wide agitation to organize the workers of basic industries into industrial unions. If today, Negro workers in packing, steel and other strike struggles are referred to as solid champions of labor's cause, not a small part of the answer is the pioneer[illegible] of the Communists.

Nothing has so contributed to the political development of the Negro people than the work of the Communists within the labor movement to secure for him a place of equal opportunity. Sun. 4-7-46

INSEPARABLE ALLIANCE

Today, the Negro need no longer, indeed he cannot now fight alone He is part of an inseparable alliance of organized labor and its Communist vanguard.

That is why the best sons and daughters of the Negro people have found their way into the Communist Party. They recognize that the Communist Party fights not only in the tradition of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth, but that the Communist Party is a party of a new type—a party of the working class—a Party that is building the future of mankind—Socialism.

In that free society of the future, there can be no exploitation of man by man and no economic, political and social inequality. The Communist Party is the conscious force that shows Negro and white workers that you cannot compromise with the jimcrow system but must fight without quarter to destroy it.

It is no wonder that the enemies of the Communist Party have charged in the past that it is the Party of the Negro. We Communists say the charge is true. It is the one party that is proud of being the party of all oppressed peoples.

Such are some highlights of the Communist tradition of struggle for full equality for the Negro people.

Naturally, as a result of this tradition, thousands of Negro Americans who have become conscious of the impetus which Communists have given to their battle for democracy, ask:

"Where is the Communist Party?"

This Party fights on, and is giving battle to the issues faced by the Negro people and the working class just as 15 years ago when it was found by Mrs. Ada Wright. Today it fights against the wholesale driving out of Negro workers by Big Business employers; for maintenance of the war-time gains of the Negro people; it fights for enactment of legislation for a permanent FEPC; for the anti-poll tax and anti-lynch bills; it fights to unite Negro and white against the anti-Negro crimes of Freeport and Columbia Tennessee; it is fighting to unite the people against the war mongering drives of the British-American imperialists; for true peace and security to cement unity with our great ally, the Soviet Union. Sun. 4-7-46

In the Communist Party, Negro workers have a better opportunity to fight in alliance with white workers for their demands. Today in the South, Communist Party represents the key vanguard force that is fighting for unity of Negro and white and for full equality of the Negro people. Throughout the country, it is the Communist vanguard that leads in the fight for equality, peace security for American workers.

If you are a fighter for Negro rights; or wish to learn more about how you can best speed this fight, your place is in the Communist Party.

CP Spurts in Harlem—Members Double

Daily Worker N.Y.

By Claudia Jones

All signs point to the growth of a mass Communist Party in Harlem. This is what the 300 new, enthusiastic recruits tell you. This, too, is the estimate of the Harlem Communist Party leaders, with whom I recently spoke, following completion of their recruiting drive.

Above all, it is shown in the people's response to the CP's fight for their "bread and butter" needs. Mon. 7-15-46

The new members represent the accomplishment of 75 percent of the original quota set by the Harlem CP in the national recruiting drive.

It likewise represents a doubled membership since the organization of the Harlem Section of the CP.

STRIKE STRUGGLES

They are wonderful people—these new members. Leaders of the Harlem CP Section, Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, chairman; Robert Campbell, executive secretary; John Lavin, administrative secretary, and Rose Gaulden, industrial concentration director, point with pride to the new industrial recruits.

Fifty-five percent of the recruits are from this category and were recruited mainly as a result of the recent strike struggles of the trade unions. They include longshoremen, among the most exploited workers in New York City; railroad workers;; hospital and fraternal organization members.

Several new CP branches are now set up to meet the day-to-day needs of these workers, and work is proceeding to stabilize them as industrial clubs. Great credit for this work goes to Rose Gaulden, National Committee member of the CP.

Fifty-five percent of the recruits are Negro veterans. Many came straight from the armed services looking for the CP; they tell you today that it is the CP who has taken up their battles in a forthright way as evidenced in the fight against lynch violence and Jimcrow justice in Columbia, Tenn., and Freeport, L. I., and the recent Gestapo-like action of a South Carolina policeman, in Secretary of State

Many and varied are the experiences of this consumers and tenants movement. Chief among these experiences is the vanguard work of the Communist Party itself, spearheaded by the work of the ever-battling Councilman Benjamin Davis in the New York City Council. Mon. 7-15-46

The key lesson of these experiences is that **victories have been won** by the Communist Party in its struggle for better conditions.

HEAT ON LANDLORDS

One of the stories going the rounds in the Harlem CP today is how the spade work of two small Communist Clubs, the Abe Lincoln and Nat Turner, by their mass activities forced N. Y. Housing Commissioner Thomas N. Saxl to repudiate his former generous policies and practices toward landlords who failed to clean up garbage in their slum tenements.

This work resulted in the biggest court fines to date leveled against landlords for such violations.

Another is the first-time ruling won following a CP fight against Byrnes' polltax state, who gouged out the eyes of a Negro veteran less than three hours after his demobilization from the Army.

Without a doubt, the Communist Party has rewon its place as a frontline fighter for Negro rights and for Negro-white unity.

In the course of its recruiting drive, the Harlem CP aided in initiation of a Consumers and Tenants Movement. This new movement, known as the United Harlem Tenants and Consumer Organization, welcomes Communists and non-Communists.

As told me by Bob Campbell, Harlem CP executive secretary, "The party has embarked on a campaign to rid Harlem of the onus of being a slum, unhealthy community because of neglect of the city administration and the policy of the greedy landlords. We are interested in breaking Jimcrow in the existing housing projects (such as "Stuyvesant Town") and also forcing the greedy landlords to use their super profits, piled high for decades, to improve the health and housing conditions in the community."

the unwarranted eviction of the Whaley family at 16 W. 125 St., issued by the City Marshal's office, which is: before anyone gets an eviction notice, personal permission must be granted by the City Marshal.

By no means do these imply self-satisfaction. The Harlem CP leaders, conscious of the effect of the revisionist errors on the Party in Harlem, consider the manner in which they are now working to help place the Harlem CP fully on the road to surpassing even its past traditions of militancy and struggle.

Their sights are set on (1) combating the rising prices, rents and growing unemployment, (2) training new leaders for the party, (3) building a stable CP organization in the community through consistent struggle for peace and against World War III.

And in it all, they have their eye on socialism. You feel it everywhere—as in a new members' meeting I attended a few weeks ago, which welcomed the 300 recruits, who bought literature to learn more about socialism.

A Negro Leader from Bilbo's State

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

By CLAUDIA JONES

In famous Paseo Park, in the heart of Kansas City, Mo., 13 years ago, a 21-year old Negro youth stood before an immense crowd listening to white and Negro speakers tell about the fight to free the Scottsboro boys.

On the speakers rostrum were Herb March and Abner Berry. They mirrored in their words what was then becoming an international fight, led by Communists, not alone for justice, but for the full economic, political and social equality of 13 million Negro Americans. Thursday

Two kinds of petitions were passed among the crowd which this Negro youth signed. One was a Communist Party petition to free the Scottsboro Boys; the other an appeal to join the Communist Party. The Negro youth, known as Henry Winston, signed them both. 1-10-46

SAW TERROR

From then on, Henry Winston's life reads like an American working class saga. For 11 years a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, veteran of World War II, and Secretary of the National Negro Commission of the CP, he is one of the scheduled speakers at the forthcoming Lenin Memorial Rally, next Tuesday, Jan. 15, at Madison Square Garden.

HENRY WINSTON
During Army Service

Winston born in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, not far from Bilbo's home, had himself been witness to terror and injustice of the feudal polltaxers and lynchers in the Black Belt; he too had experienced the plight of Negro sharecroppers and workers. 1-10-46

These were the days of hunger marches; the days of the fight for unemployment relief. And "Winnie," as his friends call him, was in that fight. He told me with pride how deeply he felt when a Negro youth in Texas, Barney Ross, framed much like the Scottsboro boys, had his life sentence commuted by the Governor of Texas, as a result of the activities of his Communist co-workers. "We could both fight and win," he said. 1-10-46

Henry became active in the YCL. Holding many posts, not alone in Kansas City, but in Ohio, in Harlem as director of the YCL, and in Brooklyn, he was elected to the National Committee of the YCL in 1935. Shortly before this, he went abroad to visit the Soviet Union, France and England.

"I found in France and England much of the same kind of problems as those faced by the American working class," said Winnie. "In the Soviet Union I saw how Socialism works. I brought back a lasting impression that freedom of all peoples and internationalism—true inter-racial brotherhood, has been achieved there since racial discrimination is punishable under Socialist laws and customs." 1-10-46

Author of many pamphlets and articles, Winston pioneered in the movements which developed in the last decade, as a result of the growing political maturity of the Negro people. He helped found the Southern Negro Congress, the National Negro Congress, and participated in both the American and World Youth Congresses.

Winston enlisted in the Army shortly after Pearl Harbor, serving over 3 years, in the American and European war theatres. He received the Certificate of Merit, highest regimental award, and the Certificate of Proficiency. He served as army correspondent, and as assistant to the Educational office. He was responsible for orientation classes, helping to prepare the men for return to civilian life. 1-10-46

In an interview on the coming Lenin Memorial meeting, Winston emphasized Lenin's contributions to the fight against national oppression.

"Lenin," he said, "was first of all an internationalist. The cornerstone of his teachings is that of proletarian internationalism. It was this that led him to understand not only the problems of Russia but those of oppressed peoples everywhere. As far back as 1913, he made a study of the national oppression of the Negro people which had within it the elements of solving the Negro question in the United States. Today in our country, Lenin's internationalism lies in the unity of Negro and white—a unity against monopoly capitalist oppression of the working class and its imperialist oppression against the Negro people."

Negroes and the Communist Party

By Benjamin J. Davis

The Worker New York, N.Y.

The election of Henry Winston, young Negro veteran, as national organizational secretary of the Communist Party, is an event of notable importance whose significance will not be lost in any circles of the American people. Sun. 9-8-46

While our Party functions through a collective leadership, the three pivotal posts of its structure are the national chairman, held by William Z. Foster, the national secretary, occupied by Eugene Dennis, and the organizational secretary, now held by Winston. Winston was unanimously chosen at the July session of the National Committee of the Party.

This event will bring joy, added confidence and determination to the Negro people who, today, find themselves the victims of the most virulent drive unleashed against them by the white supremacists in the last half-century.

Negroes will not fail to note that while monopoly capital, through the Bilbos, Rankins among both Republicans and Democrats, are seeking to deprive them of their elementary citizenship rights, the forces of labor are giving practical demonstration of their determination to secure an equal and free life for Negro citizens. The Negro people will recognize that the Communists are the most advanced of these forces.

None of the capitalist newspapers carried anything about this important fact. Those that did, in this case, failed to point out that as Winston is a Negro. That, of course, was entirely unnecessary. But it might be remarked in passing that if Winston had been the victim of some vile frame-up as is so often the case with innocent young Negro veterans, from Mississippi to Freeport, L. I., the fact that he is a Negro would have been plastered all over the most sedate capitalist newspaper.

Hundreds of Negroes hold extremely minor posts within the two major parties, although some of these posts have very big titles. This event within the Communist Party will strengthen their fight against Jimcrow within their own parties.

Communists make to the fight for Negro rights are weapons against Jimcrow wherever it rears its head.

The special pattern of national oppression imposed on the Negro people by capitalism makes any recognition of the dignity and equality of the Negro people a rare and exceptional occurrence. It will become even rarer if the present aggressive plans of American imperialism, pursued by the Truman administration for war and world domination abroad and fascist reaction at home are not defeated. ★

BUT SUCH recognition is not new for the Communist Party. It is the bone and sinew of our Party, which is schooled in the science of Marxism-Leninism, and which effectively fights for the ultimately irresistible proposition that the American working class cannot be emancipated from exploitation without the liberation of the Negro people.

The Negro people know the Communist Party as an organization which practices what it preaches. Three Negroes are on the national board of 12 members; 10 on the national committee and Negro members in our Party hold many of the highest posts of responsibility. They are leaders not only of their own people but of the labor and progressive movement, white and Negro alike. Only the Daily Worker and The Worker, of all the daily press, can cite Negroes as editors and as equal staff members in all departments of the paper, and this is only a beginning.

Most of these Negro Communist leaders, like Winston, are workers and come from the very backbone of the Negro people.

★

IT WAS ONLY after the defeat of Browderism within our Party that it could make such a giant stride toward fulfilling its responsibility on Negro rights. Only then did Winston's election take place. The revisionism of Browder which tailed after monopoly capital—the main enemy of the Negro people—could not but blunt the Party's sensitivity to the special oppression of the Negro.

While the general staff of the Republican Party and certain of its allies in the Democratic high command fill the air with words about Negro rights, it is from the working class, its allies—and from its Communist vanguard—that the deeds spring. It is clear that the collaboration of the Negro people and the labor movement in the present crucial elections and the building and strengthening of the Communist Party is the best guarantee in turning back the present offensive of Bilboism in our country.

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ALTHOUGH A SMALL fraction of the membership of the Communist Party are Negroes, there is a warm friendliness toward Communists among all sections of the Negro people. This feeling is naturally most pronounced among the Negro workers, the most politically mature and stable majority of the Negro people. But it is by no means confined to them.

Addressing the recent national Negro Elks convention in Buffalo, N. Y., on Aug. 25, the Rev. D. Ormond Walker, Negro pastor in Buffalo, who is not a member of

Reds Use Klan Scare to Build Party, Charge

Examiner Los Angeles, California Tues. 10-8-46

Communists are using the infamous Ku Klux Klan as a means of recruiting Negroes and Jews into their fold, was charged here yesterday before the State Senator Jack B. Tenney Committee on Un-American Activities.

During recent months, witnesses related, the KKK has been accused falsely of violence against Negroes and Jews, though exhaustive investigations have shown irrefutably that the Klan was not involved.

NEW TACTIC——

"Red" newspapers have played up such stories, which thorough going inquiries failed to substantiate, law enforcement officials told the Tenney Committee at the State Building.

"Communists have taken a new tack," explained Senator Tenney. "They now describe themselves at every opportunity as 'anti-Fascists.'

"They point to the Ku Klux Klan as a Fascist organization, and in that manner convert hundreds to their cause.

"This committee holds no brief for the Ku Klux Klan, which must be stamped out, together with Communism. Both groups are strictly un-American."

The Communist trick in using the Klan's bad name for their own purposes came out after Police Officer Russell Camp played a recording of a recent Mobilization for Democracy broadcast.

This recited scores of terroristic incidents, blamed on the KKK, against Negroes and Jews in this area.

State Attorney General Robert W. Kenny also referred to them, in charging the Klan was to blame, in many instances, and that the hooded order was increasing its activities and membership here.

Paul Robeson, noted Negro singer-actor, denied being a Communist, but said he would choose that party over either the Democrats or Republicans.

the Communist Party, said:

"In most of the Southland today American democracy is robbing the Negro of the right to vote, the right to travel as a free man and the right to education. Our race would be better off in a communistic society."

Is there any wonder why such sentiments are expressed?

The Communist Party — and with it the whole labor and progressive movement — will be strengthened by the elevation of this staunch young Negro leader to his new post of honor and responsibility.

South Communists Win Recounts in Fight on KKK

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y.

Fri. 4-5-46

By DOROTHY LOEB

Five fiery Ku Klux Klan crosses were set afire in Birmingham, Ala., one day last week. The next day, the Communist Party had leaflets in preparation, attacking the Klan and exposing this terror as being directed not only against the Negro people but against

Terror was unleashed against the Negro people of Columbia, Tenn. A mob spread destruction throughout the Negro community. Two were killed while in police custody and scores of others arrested in a prelude to a wholesale frame-up.

Within a short time a Communist Party organization rose in Columbia. This very onslaught, in which fascists and klansmen intended to crush developing democracy, produced the struggle that called people to take their place in the ranks of a fighting party.

That's the way it went, according to Nat Ross, assigned by the national committee to lead party work in the South. He tells about these developments when you ask about progress in the drive for 20,000 new Communists by June 1.

DRIVE ROLLS ON

Despite terror, despite acute financial hardship, despite a costly liquidation policy under Browder, the party drive is going forward, Ross reports. Fri. 4-5-46

He gives a few figures. Texas had recruited 128 of a goal of 250 up to a few days ago. Alabama accounted for 135 out of a goal of 150 and its party leaders are already figuring on going over the top by April 15 and using the rest of the drive time to better it.

The Alabama district includes Tennessee, but recruiting there has been fruitful enough to permit establishment of a separate statewide apparatus there.

miners, who were preparing to go on strike.

From the word is 44 recruits in Florida reports 18 signed up. Louisiana and Florida are reported "coming along" but there are no late figures.

Ross says also that despite the difficulties, Communists in the South are operating more militantly and more openly than before. There has been a wide sale of Robert Minor's pamphlet about Ben Davis' election, he reports, and many areas make good use of the Sunday Worker. In Texas, for example, regular sale of The Worker has been organized in front of union halls. CIO and AFL workers who took subscriptions were among first new recruits, Ross tells us.

Ask Ross what accounts for the step-up in sign-up in the South and he tells you: Fri. 4-5-46

"The party is applying a correct policy in the struggle for equal rights for the Negro people, especially in the defense of the rights of returning servicemen.

"Our emphasis on the registration of Negro and white people for the 1946 primaries so that action can be taken against polltax Congressmen is effective.

"The participation of the party in support of strike struggles and in the preparatory stages of the drive to organize the unorganized in the South means a great deal."

But there's an inter-action between what Communists do and say and the militancy of the people themselves that promises success for the party recruiting drive, Ross indicates.

PEOPLE'S FIGHTING SPIRIT

He says there is a fighting spirit general among the people. They are up in arms against the attacks of the employers, wage cuts through loss of overtime, downgrading, the closing of plants and growing unemployment. Returning war veterans, especially among the Negroes, are politically conscious. They are not going to be kicked around.

Ross reports, too, that there is growing awareness of an identity in interests between labor and the standing that both are simultaneous targets of the lynchers.

Thus when Communists in trade unions or the small group of Communists in Columbia call for joint action, this rings the bell. The Nashville AFL Central Labor Union adopted a resolution demanding that those indicted in the Columbia, Tenn., frame-up be freed.

The CIO council in Nashville and the CIO council in Birmingham took similar action.

These are unprecedented developments in the South, Ross says, and he asserts that they arise not just from a sense of outrage over lawlessness in Columbia but from recognition that the same mob that attacked Negroes is out to destroy unions, too. Fri. 4-5-46

Ross cites a few facts about Columbia to show that this isn't mere theorizing.

"The biggest company in Columbia," he says, "is the Monsanto Chemical Corp., which has carried on persistent and brazen anti-union campaigns.

"Monsanto was exposed by the newspaper 'In Fact,' as connected with the notorious German trust, I. G. Farben. Fri. 4-5-46

"In 1942, three Columbia people, two of them still there, were arrested for activity in connection with the German American Bund.

"Careful examination indicated that there is a tie-up between Bundists, Ku Klux Klan elements and fascist-minded corporation executives, with their base in the nearby village of Culleoka. It was from Culleoka, not Columbia, that the mob came to sow destruction in the Negro community."

The Negro people have learned that they can count on the Communists to champion their rights. They have seen the Party's struggle to free the Scottsboro boys. They have seen the Party fight to put an anti-lynch bill through Congress. They have seen the Communists fight for justice in Georgia's recent mass lynching disgrace.

Organized labor has known the Communist Party as a leader in the fight for a powerful union movement. The American people have recognized Communist help in organizing the bonus and hunger marches to Washington. They have wherever Americans have fought for freedom, the party has lent active combat fascism in Ethiopia and Spain . . . in America itself.

Tenney group delves into Mobilization for Democracy

Daily News, Los Angeles, Calif.

Tues. 10-8-46

State Sen. Jack B. Tenney's committee on subversive activities, looking into affairs of the Ku Klux Klan here, turned its guns upon the Mobilization for Democracy yesterday.

The Mobilization for Democracy, whose chief aim is combating the Klan, has as its honorary president Atty. Gen. Robert W. Kenny, and Kenny was the first witness in an afternoon devoted to investigating the Mobilization.

Kenny and Richard E. Combs, committee counsel, repeatedly brought up the question of whether the Mobilization in effect, left-handedly aids Kluxism.

Police Chief C. B. Horrall and Asst. Chief Joe Reed testified they thought the Mobilization did harm.

Mayor Fletcher Bowron, a brief witness, said he agreed in principle with the Mobilization, but complained that those groups opposing the triple K do not bring specific evidence to the police.

The committee heard a recording of a radio broadcast by the Mobilization, which dramatized KKK terrorist incidents in this area.

"We feel that something must be done to stop this kind of broadcast," said Assistant Chief Reed.

"I would say such broadcasts are very detrimental," Chief Horrall testifed.

Kenny, with a straight face, topped his testimony by suggesting that Senator Tenney's committee join with those groups which are fighting the Klan.

When he mentioned the most recent appearance of the KKK symbol on the door of a resident, Combs said it had been discovered that it was the work of a landlord wishing to frighten a tenant.

"For goodness sakes!" cried the attorney general. "Don't give that landlord the impression he can get away with it. That's playing with dynamite. That kind of stuff led to Hitler in Germany."

Kenny said it was difficult to get indentification in Klan cases.

He suggested state rewards for evidence leading to conviction of the KKK terrorists and a state law requiring such organizations as the Klan to list all members with the state—as New York law requires.

Other witnesses questioned by the committee included William Bidner, secretary of the Mobilization, and Sgt. George H. Weiner of the sheriff's office.

Weiner told of the discharge of a sheriff's deputy who was reported soliciting membership for the KKK.

Bidner defended the Mobilization.

"Neither the Mobilization nor organizations affiliated with it are detective organizations, nor are we equipped for the job that properly belongs to a $10,000,000 police department," he said.

Earlier, the committee heard Paul Robeson testify that he was not a member of the Communist Party, but that he saw no reason for "the inference that communism is evil." He told why he is an "anti-fascist independent."

He pointed out that Fascism to him, for a personal reason if for no other, simply means death.

"I, as a Negro, know that Fascism will wipe me off the face of the earth," he said.

And he declared the danger of Fascism is growing more acute in this country.

He was questioned about the aims of the newly formed National Committee to Win the Peace, which is jointly headed by Robeson and Brig. Gen. Evans Carlson, who may testify later.

That committee, Robeson explained, is concerned with the failure of American policy to oppose the Fascist elements it fought during the war.

Robeson said Fascism results when a reactionary minority grows fearful of a rising popular democracy, and cracks down.

"I fear it is going to crack down in this country," he said. "I know a lot about Fascism. I have seen it in many countries."

Robeson's testimony followed that of Emmet G. Lavery, president of the Screen Writers Guild, who denied he was a Communist.

Communist Party 27th Anniversary

To review its 27 years of activity and set its course for future action, the Communist Party will stage a dramatic anniversary meeting Sept. 19, at Madison Square Garden in New York.

Emphasizing the theme that the giant steps forward; the Negro people have won new rights; America's democratic tradition has been given new force. Throughout this period, wherever Americans have fought for freedom, the party has lent active combat fascism in Ethiopia and Spain . . . in America itself.

In the 27 years since September, 1919, when the Communist Party came into being, labor has taken leadership in some of America's most significant labor actions; Eugene Dennis, general secretary and Robert Thompson, who won the Distinguished Service Cross.

leaders plus a pageant presentation leading figure in struggles

fight for freedom is never ending spearheaded by the party. Speakers the meeting will feature speeches include William Z. Foster, Party chairman, who himself has been a by the outstanding Communist

International

The Talmadge Way: Georgia Democrats, brandishing Confederate battle and state flags, whoop it up for white supremacy

RACIAL: White Supremacy?

Fri. Newsweek Dayton, Ohio

The white supremacy moment in the Southern wing of the Democratic party made news in two states last week:

Alabama: White-supremacy die-hards had long since resolved to find some way to dodge the Supreme Court decision outlawing the Democratic white primary (NEWSWEEK, April 10, 1944). Cotton farmers in the "black belt," so called for its black clay soil and not for its Negro majority, were especially aroused by Reconstruction-era fears that colored candidates might capture their local offices. They hit upon this scheme: Amend the state constitution to make Alabama's educational requirements for voting the strictest in the country, so that only a handful of Negroes would qualify. Mon.

Last week this proposal had split Alabama Democrats into two warring camps. Gov. Chauncey Sparks joined the white-supremacy wing, led by State Chairman Gessner T. McGorvey, in urging the voters to ratify the pending Boswell amendment on Nov. 5. A voice from the past, that of ex-Sen. "Cotton Tom" Heflin, the Bilbo of the '20s, echoed their pleas. Just as earnestly, Sen. Lister Hill and the liberal Birmingham News, Alabama's biggest daily, joined in fighting the amendment. On the fence: Senator-designate John J. Sparkman and Governor-designate "Big Jim" Folsom. 10-21-46

Should the Boswell amendment pass, all voters would have to be "of good character" and able to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution and "the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government." To all it was obvious that only a dull-witted registration board would let many Negroes pass these tests.

Georgia: Whereas the Alabama plan would use education as the excuse for disfranchising Negroes, Governor-nominate Eugene Talmadge of Georgia was not so subtle. Ailing from a stomach hemorrhage in Jacksonville, Fla., last week he sent a message via his son and manager, Herman, to a Talmadge-handpicked convention of Georgia Democrats in Macon: "We Democrats who believe in the democracy of our forefathers believe that a Democratic white primary should be restored to our Southland."

Frankly Talmadge argued that "the Negro has not demonstrated his capability of casting intelligent ballots." His proof: "99 per cent of the Negro vote" in Georgia's July primary (NEWSWEEK, July 29) favored James V. Carmichael over Eugene Talmadge. His remedy: permit only whites to be members of the Democratic party.

Dutifully and boisterously, the convention approved this plan and a companion measure to perpetuate the county-unit rule which gave Talmadge the gubernatorial nomination even though Carmichael won a popular plurality.

To dodge the Supreme Court's ruling, Talmadge planned to adopt the system, first used in South Carolina last summer (NEWSWEEK, Aug. 26), under which the Democratic state party was reorganized into a whites-only private club. All that was needed to put this plan into effect was for the 1947 Georgia legislature to erase all primary laws from the state's books. Then, theoretically at least, the new Democratic club would be exempt from Federal laws and court rulings.

Both Parties 'Jim Crow'

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C. Thurs. 10-24-46

The national "Democratic" party of James F. Byrnes, Henry Wallace, "Bob" Hannegan, Candidate Mead and Harry Truman, Esq., president, uproariously demands political equality for white and colored people, and, under the leadership of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt seconded by her late husband, has succeeded in luring the Northern negroes into camp. That party has been in power more than 13 years, and in all these years, while shrieking denunciation of "Jim Crow", it has practiced "Jim Crow" in federal offices in Southern states. The understanding has been complete between the Southern "Democrats" in congress and other Southern politicians and the national chieftains of "Democracy" that, as long as the Southerners shall "stick to the party," no colored man will be appointed federal district judge, district attorney, collector of internal revenue or postmaster in a Southern state. Th t this exclusion of negroes from offices in the South has been and still is the national "Democratic" policy The News and Courier approves—the opposite policy wou cause serious trouble to the Southern colored people. That it is a "Jim Crow" policy will not be disputed. Since the inauguration of the late President Taft, 1909, the Republicans also have pursued "Jim Crow" as to federal offices in the South—the policy of the Republicans of appointing negroes to important offices in the South virtually ended when Mr. Taft did not renew President Theodore Roosevelt's repeated appointments of Dr. Crum to be collector of the port of Charleston. Mr. Taft sent Dr. Crum to Liberia as American minister. Colored men of the South who are hungering for offices should migrate to Northern states where they can get them. Reports are that Northern negroes are swinging back to the Republicans, the party of their daddies, this year. It is an evidence that the hypocrisy of the relations between the Northern city "Democrats" and the white Southerners is plain to them. In the Harlems, negro "Democrats" can be and are elected to congress.

'TWAS TO BE EXPECTED

Globe and Independent

Paul Robeson was a proper spokesman for the delegation that went before the leader of Paul's party to request him to abandon what is jokingly called his FOREIGN policy and take a look at the domestic scene, where some of the most brutal lynchings in the history of this country have taken place and under the administration, headed by a man who was the darling of the Political Action Committee with which Robeson was affiliated in the 1944 election.

It appears that Robeson is riled and embarrassed over the do-nothing policy of HIS party leader. And Robeson's party leader appears also to have gotten riled over the way Robeson talked. We are just as worked up over the wave of lynchings as is Mr. Robeson, otherwise we would get Satanic glee from his embarrassment over the behaviour of the present leader of the "Party of Humanity." Nashville, Tenn.

In 1944, Franklin D. Roosevelt was sick unto death when he was nominated for his fourth term. The Democratic Party manipulators knew this and that is why they manifested such interest in putting the "right kind" of a man in line for Mr. Roosevelt's successor. That right kind of a man would have to be one who could be depended upon to fetch and carry for the Dixie Bourbons and the political machine bosses of the big Northern cities. That right kind of man, to make a long story short, was Harry S. Truman. Fri 9-27-46

Colored Republicans tried their hardest to convince colored Rooseveltians that they ought to desert the New Deal ship and support Dewey and Bricker. Dark New Dealers not only refused to do this but were the most intolerant and vindictive assailants of the Republicans that were on the loose in 1944. Theyrow were the difference between victorya and defeat for the finest ticket that was in the field in 1944—the ticket of Dewey and Bricker.

Roosevelt died, as was expected. Truman came to power and there was deep bon of the deepest die. And Robeson

Better luck next time, Paul, and don't expect any relief from lynchings until we get a fearless and competent man in the White House.

Tru-and Company made Truman not only presidentially possible, but sure.

Where The Democrats Fail

The Informer
Houston, Texas Sat. 9-28-46

An Associated Negro Press article from Philadelphia not so long ago brought the news that Negro medical school graduates in the class of 1947 had been refused opportunities to receive internships in army hospitals, while at the same time the Surgeon General's office was announcing that "there were 83 vacancies available," presumably to other races. Here is where the Democrats fail to make good on their vaunted belief in "equal rights to all, special privileges to none." The Democrats are in complete control of the armed forces and no legislation is needed to see to it that crass injustices like this are eliminated. They should take action, but they don't.

Struggle for Negro

By Frank R. Kent

The News and Courier
Charleston, S. C.

WASHINGTON.

It was in 1936 that the great negro vote in the pivotal Northern states, which had been the basic Republican asset since the Civil war, was transferred almost solidly to the Democratic party through the Machiavellian machinations and low guile of the Honorable James A. Farley.

For 10 years, covering three presidential and three off-year congressional elections, the negroes have remained in the Democratic camp, registering Democratic and voting Democratic all the way from 75 to 98 per cent. In this year's campaign—the first since the Roosevelt death—the Republicans have real hope of regaining this great group of voters whose defection counted so heavily against them. The Republican sufferings on this score can be easily understood, particularly when it is considered that each negro vote lost counted twice It not only had to be subtracted from the Republican total but added to the Democratic. Sun. 9-29-46

And now the Republicans, after more than a decade of futility, are making their first hopeful attempt to recover this practically indispensable party asset, which from 1861 to 1936 helped elect their presidential candidates and since then has been potent in defeating them. Neither time, money nor work will be spared this fall. The effort will be intensive and extremely earnest. All of which makes it pertinent to list, first, the means by which these votes were taken over by the Democrats, and, second, the reason the Republicans believe they can get them back now.

It was Mr. Farley, with Mr. Roosevelt's enthusiastic cooperation, who engineered this transfer in 1936. In the order of their importance he would list the means as follows: (1) The WPA, then under Mr. Harry Hopkins, and upon the relief rolls of which an amazing percentage of negroes was placed; (2) Mrs. Roosevelt, whose fraternization was exceedingly effective—a million copies of her picture taken with a group of male and female negro students were distributed among negroes in 10 selected states by the Democratic National committee; (3) federal patronage, a larger proportion of which went to negroes in the early Roosevelt days than had been given by any other president; (4) employment by the Democratic committee of an unprecedented number of negro teachers, preachers and speakers who, well paid both as to salary and expenses, traveled the selected states spreading the Roosevelt gospel; (5) the negro press which in, one way or another, had become strongly pro-Roosevelt.

By these means was accomplished what Mr. Farley, with reason, regards as the most effective coup in the history of national politics. Now, the Republican grounds for feeling this is the time to "right the great wrong" as some have referred to it, are these: (1) Mr. Roosevelt is dead; (2) the WPA no longer exists; (3) the Democratic party failed to repeal the poll tax or to pass a Federal Fair Employment Practices act, whereas one was passed by a Republican governor in New York; (4) the federal patronage has mostly been distributed; (5) the negro press, like a number of negro leaders, has become disaffected and is now largely Republican again; (6) the present Democratic chairman, Mr. Hannegan, is many grades below Mr. Farley in skill, judgment, knowledge and tact.

He appears too busy proclaiming himself a "true liberal" and carrying on his personal feuds within the cabinet to give the necessary time and attention to blocking this Republican effort or to appreciate what its success will mean to the Democratic ticket in about ten important and debatable states. Checking the first list against the second, it does seem that the Republicans have about a 60-to-40 chance of achieving their objective in this struggle for the negro vote this time. It is one of the basic reasons for their general confidence.

The Negro and the G.O.P.

The Courier Journal

In the December 7 issue of The Courier-Journal Sidney Simms, a Negro Democrat of Louisville, informed the Democrats how they could prevent the colored people from returning to the G.O.P. Such a letter puzzles me, for, as I understand Mr. Simms, he is begging the Democratic Party to allow the Negro to exercise and enjoy the rights G.O.P. Presidents and Congress have given to the Negro during the last 80 years. Louisville, Ky.

If Mr. Simms feels that the Negro has gained from any general social legislation of the New Deal (and they have) he must realize that he was able to do so only because the G.O.P. has seen to it that he was on a legal equality with his white brother. Any basic right the Negro has has been received through the efforts of the Republicans (e.g. the 14th Amendment). Democrats, Mr. Simms, give lip service to Negroes' rights, but do little to help them to exercise such rights (as you pointed out in your letter), while Republicans not only recognize the existence of those rights, but, for the most part in Northern States, allow the Negro to exercise them. Mon.

Mr. Simms, you'd best stick to the party which has given your people the constitutional and legal right to demand other rights. Stop begging the Democrats. It will be of no avail.

Bloomington, Ind. 12-16-46 HORACE ISAACS.

The Claudian Line

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

This Senator Claudius Pepper of Florida is a wholehearted supporter of the New party's, the "Democratic" party's, demand for the repeal of the poll tax as a requirement for voting, for the passage of a federal FEPC law and for the trial of accused lynchers in federal courts. Sun. 12-29-46 If that be "Democracy", he is a true "Democrat", loyal to national "Democratic" program. He is every inch a "Democrat", and so are the young negroes and their white associates who met in Columbia not long ago. If other Southern congressmen are opposed to him and to his friend Wallace, what are they?

Slavery to Names.

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

The recent prediction of Ransome J. Williams, Esq., now rapidly climbing down from the governorship of South Carolina, that "the South will vote for anybody the Democratic party puts up" is also a prediction that any party calling itself "Democratic" would be able to make a fool of the South. Perhaps the horrible Republicans, having this in mind, may change their names to "Democrats". Meanwhile, in South Carolina, the "Progressive Democrats", negroes, are the 'Democrats' loyal to the Roosevelts. Sat. 12-14-46

A Negro Democrat's Suggestion

The Courier-Journal

As a Democratic worker and a Negro, I have some suggestions which, if carried out, would prevent the Negro voter from returning to the Republican Party. Louisville, Ky.

All of the policy makers of the Democratic Party should select a staff for Democratic Headquarters that would be courteous to the Negro. If they would remember the campaign pledge of Mayor Taylor to treat Negroes as citizens the vote trend would be in the direction of the Democratic Party.

Mr. Taylor, our Mayor, must answer these questions: What about segregation at the Municipal Auditorium? Why does police brutality continue? Will juke boxes, dice, and numbers be patronage for Negro party workers? Is it the policy of the Democratic organization not to welcome the support of liberals such as Charles Scott and Alfred Carroll?

Louisville. Sat. 12-7-46 SIDNEY SIMMS.

Outnumber White, New Dealers

The News and Courier

To this time the "Progressive Democrats", negroes, in South Carolina, have not made a formidable showing; they have held no primaries, and there is no way by which their number can be estimated. The News and Courier believes that at this time there are more loyal New Dealers and Rooseveltians among them than among the white people. Charleston, S.C. Mon. 12-30-46

The Forty-Eighters

Jennings Perry

PM

A consummate Texas politician tells me that in 1948 the Democrats will run either Sen. William Fulbright of Arkansas or Ellis Arnall, present Governor is a lifelong Democrat who has attended every convention of his party of Georgia. He is pretty sure it will be Arnall.

Perry

Sun. 12-15-46 New York, N.Y.

My informant (name furnished on *subpena duces tecum*) is a Democrat since 1900 but one. He was a Roosevelt man because Roosevelt was the best vote-getter. He divides his time between Dallas and Washington and thinks politics as the plane flies.

His argument goes like this:

Sam Rayburn (he says) would not take the Minority Leadership in the next House because Rayburn has figured out that the margin of Democratic defeat in several crucial states equates the Negro vote in those states. Rayburn realizes (he says) that the curse of Talmadge, Bilbo and Rankin must be taken off of the party if the party is to have any reasonable hope of returning to power, and that for this nothing will serve but for a liberal Southern Democrat to be put forward. My Texan agrees with his eminent fellow Texan.

He believes that Tom Dewey's overwhelming re-election was due in large part to the New York State FEPC law, and that the existence of this law ("It don't matter whether it works or not so long as it's on the books") in states under Republican administrations will have a tremendous pull on equal-rights-conscious elements.

The Democrats' problem being how to counteract this factor, their choice, he says, must be Arnall, whose elimination of the poll tax was, for Georgia, a far greater step forward than was Dewey's FEPC for New York.

He picks Arnall also because the young Georgia Governor has fought Talmadge on every front, and because he has been a good, sound administrator of state government. Fulbright is a bright star with a national name, and some of the party's strategists might prefer him, but he lacks the administrative record Arnall has been able to make—and he does not come from the deep South. The man who can take the race-prejudice curse off of the Democratic Party must come, my Texan feels, from "as deep in the South as possible."

He thinks Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida, though from farther South even than Arnall, and an even more commanding figure in the fight for liberalism, would not be chosen by the party regulars because "Claude is too smart: they're all afraid of him." Pepper has sponsored Federal anti-poll tax legislation, "but his law didn't pass. Arnall's did."

My Texan points out that Arnall, soon to leave the Governor's office, is "staying on top of the ball" by prosecuting the hate-mongering Columbians and the Ku Klux Klan, and that he is "speaking all over the country all the time."

"The boys," he says, "are keeping their eyes on him. He's young and ambitious. He hasn't stumbled in a gopher hole yet."

Arnall, he says, would be acceptable to Northern liberals—and "the groups around Wallace." He recalls Arnall's strong speech for Wallace at the Chicago convention.

"They like him—and the old wheelhorses of the party down here, dad blame 'em. They'll have to go along with him because they want to get their committees back."

When I ask him what Arnall's election chances would be, I learn how eloquent a Texas shrug can be:

"Oh, it will be a sacrifice play. He'll have to run for the fun of it—unless, of course, we have as many as six-seven million out of work by then, which is probable. Then he'd be elected. Arnall hasn't got any hard and fast program for job insurance. But he's got the best one. He just says we've got to do whatever is necessary to make a job for every man that wants one. . . ."

My Texan friend says it's nothing to him—except that he likes to see Democrats win. He's for Arnall, he admits, "just for the same reason I was for Roosevelt."

THE UPPER SOUTH

The Times

Southern Democrats Gain Influence in Party

New York, N.Y.

By VIRGINIUS DABNEY

RICHMOND, Nov. 16—Democrats of the Upper South see some rays of hope in the political situation brought about by the recent Republican sweep, but their prevailing view seems to be that the region will lose a good deal more by what has happened than it will gain. Sun. 11-17-46

Southern Democrats are now much more influential in determining Democratic party policy than formerly, since the ranks of the Northern Democrats in Congress have been decimated, but they will be much less important in Congress, where they have dropped many important committee chairmanships, as well as the speakership of the House and the Presidency pro tem of the Senate.

It is argued that for the next two years the Republicans will be unable to override any of President Truman's vetoes without the aid of the Southern Democrats, and that this will give the region a bargaining point for use in dissuading the GOP from pushing FEPC and anti-lynching bills which most Southerners find distasteful. But the prevailing opinion is that the Republicans will capture the White House in 1948, in which event they will no longer have to count on the Democrats for aid in combating a hostile President. It is believed that the GOP will push FEPC and anti-lynching bills at that time, if not sooner.

Election of a Republican President two years hence may bring policies as to freight-rate equalization, tariffs and other matters directly contrary to the South's desires. Furthermore, the South has been almost completely ignored in the past by Republican Presidents when important appointments were made.

The argument is being made that the South has itself to blame for this situation, since it has adhered rigidly to the Democratic party

Sue S. C. Democrats For Quarter-Million

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 1-11-46

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP) — An answer to a $250,000 libel suit against the Progressive Democratic Party by Representative Fred L. Hiers of Bamberg County was filed this week by Atty. Harold R. Boulware, denying allegation of libel set forth in the Hiers' complaint.

Disclosure of the action and the suit was made at an executive meeting of PDP officers here

The executive heard the letter to defendants by Hiers.

Representative Hiers from John PDP executives said the Hiers' H. McCray, PDP chairman, inaction was of little concern, but which was set forth protestations was importantly a political move, against interference with the regime. An official statement by the executive officers said: "The Hiers action suggests that the white Democrats in South Carolina hope to create a diversion for Negro Democrats and to so engage their interest and energy as to prevent the colored citizens from completing the job of registering, voting and breaking down the unjust barriers to Negro voting."

POLITICAL MOVE"

Officials unanimously approved the letter and voted to defend officers named in the complaint. McCray, Mrs. A. B. Weston, party secretary; J. C. Artemus, party secretary, and Lucius Wright of Denmark, S. C., were named de-

Negro Voters Still Favor Democrats

Richmond, Va.

GOP Makes Few Gains In Winning Support

Times - Dispatch

By George Gallup

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J. Feb. 15—Recent Republican efforts on behalf of FEPC legislation in the Senate once again highlight the longstanding Republican party problem of winning the Negro vote back into the GOP fold.

These efforts are naturally concentrated upon Negro voters outside the Southern States, since the vast majority of Negroes in the South do not cast ballots.

There is no evidence today to indicate that Republican efforts are winning over any great proportion of Negro voters in the States outside the South.

In fact, a poll just completed throughout the nation, which included a cross-section of Negro voters, finds the voters favoring the Democratic party today over the Republican party by a vote of three to two.

The fact that Negro voters continue to prefer the Democratic to the Republican party can be explained in large part by economic factors. 2-16-46

Comparable Groups

Here are the figures of Negro voters and white voters in comparable occupation groups.

The figures are based on the question:

"If a presidential election were being held today, which party would you vote for—the Democratic or Republican?"

	Democratic	Republicans
Negro voters	60%	40%
White voters in same occupations	58	42

The figures above are of those with opinions on the subject. Three out of every 10 Negro voters, about two out of 10 white voters in the comparable group, had no opinion.

As was mentioned earlier, the above figure of 58 per cent Democratic for white voters in the same occupation groups as the Negro voters, represents the opinion of white voters in the skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled occupation categories. The Republican party is preferred by a majority of white voters in business and professional and farm groups, outside the South, and the two parties are about equally strong among the white-collar workers. 2-16-46

Race Important

This is not to say that race will not at times be more important as a determining factor than economic status, but the evidence does indicate that until the present economic cleavages give way, or until the Republican party can convince voters in the middle and lower economic income groups that it represents their best interests, little headway in winning the Negro vote is likely to be made.

At the present time, institute surveys find, only about one out of every 10 in the lower economic groups think that the Republican party represents his best interests.

A Negro Democrat's Program

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Negro Democrats work on election day and make financial contributions to the Democratic organization whenever they are solicited. Since some Negro voters in the recent Mayor's race supported the Republican Party some adjustments are required to hold the Negro vote for the Democratic Party.

I am an election worker and a financial contributor. As such I propose the following program for the Democratic Party:

(1) Name a Negro Democrat to the City-County Executive Committee; (2) in the next legislative race give Representative Charles W. Anderson, Jr., opposition; (3) have Mayor Taylor name a Negro attorney on his legal staff; (4) Federal patronage for Negro Democrats from Kentucky; (5) dismissal of police officers for brutality; (6) appoint a Negro Democrat to the Democratic State Central Committee; (7) the integration of competent Negro Democrats into various governmental agencies.

Louisville. WILLIAM N. JONES.

GALLUP POLL CLAIMS 2 OUT OF 3 NEGROES PREFER DEMOCRATS

Plaindealer Kansas City, Kansas

Fri. 2-22-46

Princeton, N.J.—Negro voters favor the Democratic Party over the Republican Party by a vote of 3 to 2, it was determined this week in a nation wide Gallup Poll.

Thus recent Republican efforts to pass FEPC legislation in the Senate again highlight the long-standing Republican Party problem of winning the Negro vote back into the GOP fold.

These efforts, it was reported, concentrated upon Negro voters outside the Southern states, since the vast majority of Negroes in the south do not cast ballots.

There is no evidence that Republican efforts are winning over any great proportion of Negro voters in states outside the South, according to the poll.

The poll, which included a cross section of Negro voters, was based on the question:

"If a presidential election were being held today, which party would you vote for, the Democratic or the Republican?"

	Democratic	Republican
Negro voters	60%	40%
White voters in same occupations	58	42

That above figure of 58 per cent Democratic for white voters in the same occupation groups as the Negro voters, represents the opinion of white voters in the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupation category. Fri. 2-22-46

The Republican Party is preferred by a majority of white voters in business and professional and farm groups, outside the South, and the two parties are equally strong among white-collar workers.

At the present time, Institute surveys find, only about one out of every 10 in th elower economic group thinks that the Republican Party represents his best interests.

Public Jobs Suggested For Able Negroes

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

I was pleased to read the letter by William N. Jones entitled "A Negro Democrat's Program."

In the recent campaign E. Leland Taylor was fortunate in having Fletcher Martin, Negro war correspondent, to manage the Negro division of his campaign. Martin is competent and is a true representative of the new Negro. I observed his activities in the recent campaign daily.

If the Democratic Organization is interested in future Negro support the party leaders must recognize a man of this type. Sun 2-24-46

I recommend that Mr. Taylor appoint a Negro to the Board of the Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home. (2) Employ several competent Negro Democrats in jobs in the City Hall. (3) Recognize the leading Negro Democrats, J. Clark Jefferson, Dr. M. A. Blackburn and D. W. Wilson. (4) Name a Negro Democrat to the City-County Executive Committee. (5) Advise Senator Alben Barkley and Congressman O'Neal that no Negro Democrat from Louisville has received federal recognition.

Louisville. ROBERT J. SMITH.

In Case Overton

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7.—Filibuster quote from Sen. John H. Overton (D., La.): 2.4.

"We do not want the Negroes in the Party. They do not belong in the Democratic Party."

The gentleman from Louisiana, whose concern for his party's fortunes might be assumed, ignored vote statistics which showed that the Democrats and President Roosevelt would have lost the 1944 election if it had not been for the Negro vote. 2-7-46

as Forgotten

In 10 states, representing a balance of power in last year's balloting, the Negro vote turned the Democratic trick, according to compilations by political statisticians here. The States were New York, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, West Virginia, Kentucky, New Jersey, and Ohio.

Now, in the filibuster against the Fair Employment Practices Commission, Democratic statesmen are inviting Negroes out of the Democratic column in 1946, a critical Congressional year.

President Truman, a harassed man, was known to be worried about this invitation from Southern leaders of his party.

Drew Pearson

Wallace Starts Political Campaign

WASHINGTON—Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace isn't taking any chances on being left holding the political bag if the Truman administration begins to lose out with the public.

He continues on excellent terms with Truman, but has also embarked on a speech-making campaign which, while supporting most of Truman's enunciated program, makes it plain that the ex-vice president still has a very forthright political mind of his own.

It didn't get much attention, but Wallace made a significant speech at a Negro fraternity meeting in Washington the other night which drew wide acclaim in the Negro press—a segment of the public that Bob Hannegan has been worried about ever since Mr. Truman tossed aside the question of the D. A. R. and Hazel Scott, wife of the Negro congressman, who was barred from singing in Constitution Hall.

Wallace's next talk will be at a 10-state farm meeting in St. Paul on Jan. 11. This will be Wallace's first farm speech in almost two years and has more significance than meets the naked eye. After January, Wallace will make three or four speeches a month all over the country, renewing his contacts with the hundreds of delegates who voted for him at the last Democratic convention, at the same time checking his political fences around the nation.

Wallace doesn't plan to resign from the cabinet before June, and when he does he will go out with Truman's blessing in order to campaign for liberal congressmen who will support the Truman program. This is the type of campaigning where Truman is weakest and Wallace strongest, so there will be no break with the Truman administration—unless.

The "unless" hinges on plans to get Wallace to testify before Congress regarding Truman's recommended labor legislation and the much debated cooling-off period. Wallace is opposed to this, and if called before Congress will be forced to say so—in which case he will follow customary practice and submit his resignation. Trouble-makers on Capitol Hill already are maneuvering to put him on the spot.

Florida Democrats In Tampa Parley Discuss Extent Of Negro Votes

Kansas City Missouri Star

2-1-46

MIAMI.—(ANP)— The Florida Democratic Executive committee which includes three party officials from Miami, where the bulk of Negroes are expected to swing Republican, is meeting in session in Tampa. This gathering, reputed to be the largest political get-to-gether in Florida this election year, is seriously watching the extent of Negro registration as Democrats throughout the state.

Va. Demos Elect Head

Richmond, Va.

RICHMOND, Va.—(ANP)—The Coloured Democratic league was filled recently by the election of Henry McDougald. Roscoe C. Jackson, who retired in January, as head of the organization.

his vicinity is expected vote in this Palm Beach where Negroes are out-registering whites at West Palm Beach and Orlando are also expected to swing a heavy Negro Democratic chalk-up. Included among the principals at this meeting is Rep. George S. O'Kell, president of the Florida's Democrats. It was O'Kell who last year introduced a bill in the state legislature to keep Negroes bottlenecked in congested areas.

At a previous meeting the question over to the respective groups are decision of whether special arrange-county chairman in their respective ments should be made to handle 2 to 1. Jacksonville and Orlando the possibility of a large Negro tive counties. 2-1-46 vote in the primaries was tabled Members of the Dade County for further discussion. Executive committee expressed a belief that Democratic registration would not be heavy among Negroes in Dade county, due to the programing activity of Republican leaders in Miami and throughout the county. The heaviest Democratic Negro precinct in Dade county, which includes three Negro precincts created to work up a lickish situation like a bombshell as it hit the floor like a bombshell. After much evasive debating it was finally decided to pass this

Between the Lines

Gordon Hancock

Kansas City, Missouri

THE SOUTH IN THE SADDLE; FILIBUSTER MAY HAVE VIRTUE

For better or for worse the South is in the congressional saddle. With the President hailing from Missouri and the secretary of state hailing from South Carolina and with key committeemen throughout congress hailing from the South, it can be truly said that the South is in the saddle. From the color point of view this may seem calamitous; but a closer inspection of circumstances and history shows this is not necessarily the case. 2-1-46

Paradoxical as it may seem the Negro's greatest political advance came under a Democratic administration; and this administration would have been impossible without the solid Democratic South. Roosevelt was without doubt the ablest of all presidents and this ability was largely shown by his heroic attempts to integrate the Negro into the citizenship of the United States. It is no wonder that Gunnar Myrdal said that the New Deal was the first serious attempt to integrate the American Negro into the political and economic and social United States. But this brilliant administration would have been impossible without the support of the "solid South"—solidly Democratic.

ELECTED FOUR TIMES

The ability of Mr. Roosevelt to get himself elected four times can be explained largely in terms of the support he had guaranteed in the South. The South's democratic votes were always in the electoral bag. So then if the South gets into the pay off, it is to be expected that they accede to power.

This writer is beginning to wonder if the Negro's fears on this score are justified. Nominally the North has been in the political saddle a long time; but actually the South has held the whip hand in politics ever since emancipation. The North has always tried to appease the South since Appomattox. Tacitly and explicitly the North has conceded to the South the right to handle as it seems best the Negro issue. The dismal failure of anti-lynching legislation is a case in point. The decline of the FEPC is another. The North thinks more of the political feelings of the white South than of the social feelings of the Negro South.

The North has religiously refused to invoke cloture rules which might have made impossible the filibusters which have thwarted the legislature more directly affecting the color question. Politically this is easy to explain, however distasteful it might be to the Negroes. Politicians are slow to insult voters in favor of non-voters. However sympathetic a politician may be toward the righteous claims of the Negro, their first obligation is to get themselves elected. That the immortal Roosevelt could so successfully fly into the face of these ugly political issues and reach down for the masses and so generally saw to it that Negroes were included in these masses, is one of the political wonders of history.

SOUTH IN SADDLE

That the South is in the saddle does not spell doom for the Negro any more than it has spelled doom with the North in the saddle letting the South hold the reins. It amounts to the same thing. Fortunately even the reactionaries and Negro-phobes of the South are beginning to see the disadvantages that lurk in the oppression of the Negroes. It is here that hopes lie for our ultimate integration into these political and economic and social United States.

It is the fond hope of this writer that the current filibuster over the FEPC bill may go on indefinitely. It takes something like this to show the nation and the world how nasty is race prejudice. With a revolution of nationwide proportions hovering over the country, with bankruptcy of the nation a startling possibility, with Russia rising and bidding fair to stand at the head of the nations, our country is being cursed with Negro-phobes who are willing to subordinate everything to keeping the Negro down. What is more, they are attempting to thwart a measure that is both democratic and Christian. 2-1-46

When a group of political Nazi-minded men becomes so oblivious of its country's weal as to jeopardize the nation to hold down a few million people because of their color, we are witnessing one of the sorriest spectacles of history. The longer these color bigots filibuster, the better the world can see democracy at its worst! These Negro-phobes are doing more to advance Communism in this country and the world than any other force. The greater tragedy is that these men were elected by the voters of a so-called democracy. The pith of it!

2 Out Of 3 Negroes Democrats: Gallup Poll

Chicago Defender

Chicago, Ill

PRINCETON, N. J. — Negro voters favor the Democratic Party over the Republican Party by a vote of 3 to 2, it was determined this week in a nation wide Gallup Poll.

Thus recent Republican efforts to pass FEPC legislation in the Senate again highlight the long-standing Republican Party problem of winning the Negro vote back into the GOP fold.

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There is no evidence that Republican efforts are winning over any great proportion of Negro voters in states outside the South, according to the poll.

The poll, which included a cross section of Negro voters, was based on the question:

"If a presidential election were being held today, which party would you vote for, the Democratic or the Republican?"

	Democratic	Republican
Negro voters	60%	40%
White voters in same occupations	58	42

Sat 2-23-46

The above figure of 58 per cent Democratic for white voters in the same occupation groups as the Negro voters, represents the opinion of white voters in the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupation category.

The Republican Party is preferred by a majority of white voters in business and professional and farm groups, outside the South, and the two parties are equally strong among white-collar workers.

At the present time, Institute surveys find, only about one out of every 10 in the lower economic group thinks that the Republican Party represents his best interests.

A Negro Democrat's Grievances

The Courier-Journal

I am a Negro Democrat who has supported the party for 20 years. Mayor Taylor promised in his campaign platform to treat Negroes as citizens. If he intends to receive future Negro support, he must consider the following grievances: Wed. 3.27.46

(1) The city and county executive committee does not have a Negro member; (2) the Jefferson County delegation did not introduce any bills favorable to Negroes; (3) the Democratic organization refuses to support a Negro candidate for the General Assembly; (4) the law-abiding Negro Democrats cannot obtain an audience with party leaders.

Louisville. Louisville Ky. GEORGE E. THOMAS.

A Negro Democrat's Complaints

Courier Journal Louisville Ky.

I am a Negro Democrat, interested in good government. Mayor Taylor promised to treat us as citizens and we are expecting action.

The Republican Party has two Negroes in positions of public trust, Alderman Eugene Clayton and Representative Charles W. Anderson, who will join the Commonwealth's Attorney's staff, May 1.

If the Democratic Party wants future Negro support the following complaints must be remedied:

(1) There are no Negro employees in the City Hall above the janitor level. (2) Police brutality continues as under the Wyatt administration. (3) The State Central Executive Committee and the County Democratic Executive Committee do not have a Negro member. (4) Law-abiding Negro Democrats do not want vice as political patronage.

Louisville. Fri 4-19-46 SIDNEY J. SIMMS.

Negro Democrats Hold Meeting at Waycross

Constitution Atlanta Ga. 4-28-46

WAYCROSS, June 1—Fourteen Counties were represented here this week at the Eighth District meeting of Negro Democratic Clubs. A leader for each of the 20 Counties in the District was named. Atlanta Ga.

The District officers are: M. A. Cassells, Brunswick, Chairman; M. C. Moore, Waycross, Secretary. Charles A. Moore and J. M. Atkinson, State officers, were present at the meeting. The Roosevelt Democratic Club, of Ware County, was host. 6-2-46 Sun

Negro Political Group To Meet in Brunswick

Atlanta Constitution Atlanta Ga.

BRUNSWICK, May 10—The South's first all-Negro political organization paying allegiance to the Democratic Party, but founded by a group of one-time "traditional Republicans," will meet in Brunswick Saturday to lay plans for an educational campaign among Negro voters. Sat. 5-11-46

Pres. A. T. Walden, Negro attorney in Atlanta, said the group, known as the Georgia Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs, was founded in Macon last year.

As for the strength of the group, Walden said, "we haven't made any special effort to enroll members as such, but we have 20,000 easily. And there are new clubs springing up all over the State."

Purpose of the Association, he continued, is to educate the Negro in the values of citizenship and to "encourage the Negro to have an interest in government as well as have some voice in it."

To Be With White Folks

News & Courier Charleston, S.C.

Fancy that half a dozen bold, able, intellectually and personally honest Democrats should appear on the South Carolina scene.

Suppose that they should demand reform and should expound the Democratic principles of Hammond Hayne, Calhoun, Hampton, Tillman, insisting upon reduction of federal government, non-interference with the constitutional rights of states, rigid economy, tariffs for revenue only, with radical lessening of taxations, federal and state, as the wholesome result.

Imagine that these Democratic leaders declared for a cleaning out of state government from top to bottom and the utter destruction of state and court house rings.

How would they be received by the people, by the honest and industrious, thrifty citizens? Wed 6-19-46

Suppose that they insisted not only upon the certain and swift punishment of all criminals, but particularly upon the arrest and punishment of bands of persons, called pickets, when they resort to insult, intimidation, assault and battery, force, to prevent other people working when they wished to work.

Thus, these leaders would resist establishment of a form of slavery in South Carolina. Note again, we are thinking of half a dozen men of invincible courage as well as fully informed, of high order of intelligence, who would not hesitate to invite danger to themselves for the sake of the state.

Finally, think of these leaders as persons now calling themselves "Progressive Democrats" and having black or brown skins.

From the ranks of the "Progressive Democrats" is not the remotest likelihood that such leadership will come. Not one suggestion or hint of understanding of Democracy, or hint of improvement in government has been uttered or written by them.

All they want, all they are asking for, is to vote in company with the "white folks" and to have some of the jobs from the hoppers of the state and federal ringsters.

All they want is to be in company with the "white folks". 6-19-46

Carolina Negroes Attack Democrats' Exclusion Plan

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Columbia, S. C., May 30 (AP)—A Negro organization today challenged the South Carolina Democratic Party's claim that it was merely a private voluntary association of individuals mutually acceptable, and therefore not subject to court decisions. 5-31-46

If Negroes are refused enrollments, James M. Hinton, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that affidavits will be filed with the Department of Justice, asking a federal investigation, and civil suits for damages will be filed against party officials. Tuesday

Back Powell Democrats

Daily Worker

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell has been nominated as the Democratic candidate for reelection to Congress from the 22nd Congressional District, and has also been endorsed by the American Labor Party, Joseph Ford, co-leader of the Party, announced yesterday. 5-31-46

Mr. Ford also said that Tammany picked Daniel Flynn to Assembly seat. N.Y.C.

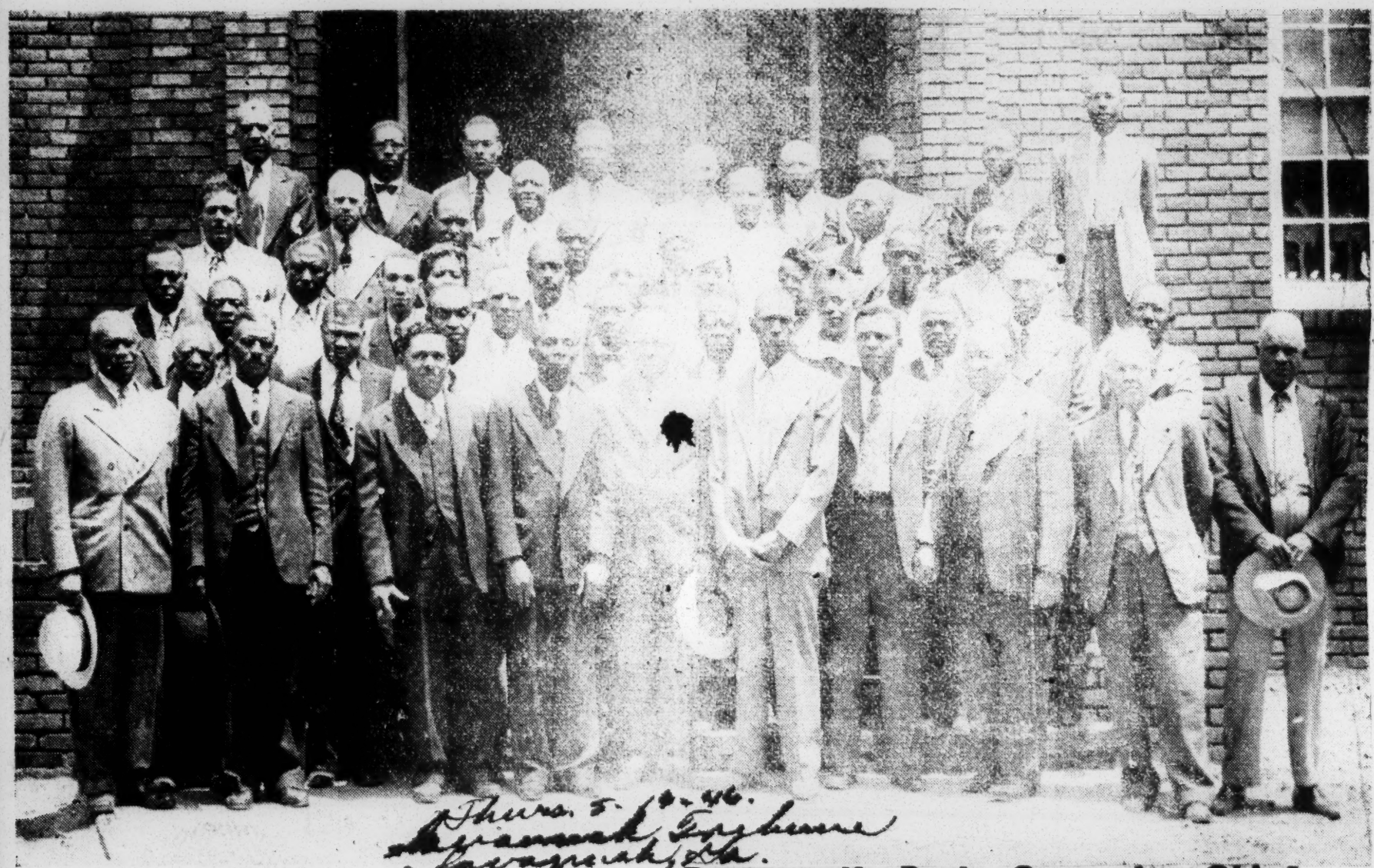
Powell will enter the race for run for Congress from the 23 rd nomination in the Congressional District. Flynn is

In 1944 he won now State Assemblyman from his

ALP, and Republican district. Democrats are nominating

Harold A. Stevens to fill Flynn's

primaries. New York



Thurs. 5-16-46
Savannah Tribune
Savannah, Ga.

DELEGATES TO THE STATE DEMOCRATIC MEETING LAST WEEK IN BRUNSWICK—Above are the delegates to the annual meeting of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs which met Saturday at Brunswick:

Shown in the picture are M. C. Moore, Waycross; M. Brown, Douglas; T. J. Hopkins, Savannah; J. T. McLean, Douglas; Denn's Horston, Everett City; Rev. L. C. Hines, Waycross; A. F. Cummings, Dublin; E. S. Myers, Dublin; Esau Johnson, Waycross; Ray Ware, Athens; H. K. Gross, Statesboro; M. L. Wright, Brunswick; Rev. J. H. Carter, Albany. Thurs. 5-16-46

Photo by Cables (Brunswick).

trude W. Holmes, Brunswick; L. B. Deans, Brunswick; Charles W. Greenlea, Atlanta; J. W. McGlockton, Savannah; Rev. O. T. Holmes, Brunswick; Dr. Joseph H. Griffin, Bainbridge; H. E. Bruant, Fort Valley; Harry L. Thorpe, Brunswick; Rev. A. B. Dixon, Brunswick; F. L. Hanson, Waycross; J. M. Atkinson, Brunswick; C. A. Scott, Atlanta; J. H. Butler, Savannah; S. A. Jones, Savannah; V. W. Hodges, Atlanta; A. T. Walden, Atlanta; W. H. Wilburn, Augusta; Collie Denson, Waycross; Nathaniel R. Bradley, Savannah; Ralph Moore, Cordele; Marion Harper, Dorchester; F. J. Denny, Americus.

Thurs. 5-16-46

Democratic Party Campaign Chief Opposes FEPC, Anti-Lynching Bill

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

WASHINGTON — The Democratic Party platform may call for an FEPC, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, but one of its chief campaign directors is opposed to all three. Representative John Sparkman (Ala.), chairman of the campaign speakers' bureau, stated his position on the "Meet the Press" program over the Mutual Broadcasting network last week. Sat. 10-19-46

Cecil B. Dickson asked Mr. Sparkman how he stood on the issues vitally affecting Negro rights and he stated: "I am against all three of them. Also, against any aggressive part of the program. Further, I would like to say that endorsing the Democratic program generally doesn't mean that you have to endorse every single part of it. The Democratic Party doesn't hold members to the exact letter of the program."

Local Democratic Club Gets Going After Hectic Start

Savannah Tribune Thurs. 5-16-46
Savannah, Ga.

In an atmosphere charged with explosive expectancy and uncertainty, a crowd of about five hundred persons gathered at St. Philip AME church last Friday night to reorganize the Negro Democratic Club of Chatham County.

Scarcely had the meeting been called to order by the Rev. H. W. Murph, pastor, and then turned over to C. L. Alexander, the retiring president, who explained the purpose of the call, than a pent up feeling of suspicion began to show itself through the representatives of the various elements present. Thurs. 5-16-46

A heated wrangle ensued for some time and at one point it such a way as to obviate any further trouble.

A committee, headed by the Rev. Murph, was sent out to draft rules for the proper procedure of the meeting and upon their adoption the body proceeded to elect its permanent officers. Thurs. 5-16-46

Dr. Gilbert declined to allow his name to be presented as president, due to the urgency of other business, therefore, the race lay between the three nominees T. J. Hopkins, John W. McGlockton and John Q. Jefferson. Mr. McGlockton won by a comfortable margin.

For the office of first vice president, Dr. Gilbert did not decline the nomination and he was elected without opposition. Mrs. Ophelia Lee McIver was elected second vice president and T. J. Hopkins was elected to the third vice presidency. John Q. Jefferson was named financial secretary, Sidney A. Jones, recording secretary, and Dr. E. J. Smith was made treasurer. Thurs. 5-16-46

The organization will meet on Friday night, May 31, at St. Philip AME church, where plans will be made to further increase the number of Negro registrants. Other matters of vital importance will also be discussed.

Savannah Tribune

Savannah, Ga.

JOHN W. McGLOCKTON,
President

Negro Democrats To Offer Ticket For Congress

The executive committee of the South Carolina Progressive (Negro) Democratic party, meeting yesterday in the Masonic Temple on Washington street, adopted a plan calling for the employment of a full time campaign director to encourage registration for the general election; decided not to put out a statewide ticket this fall, but voted to put out congressional candidates in the several districts.

Only one congressional candidate, James E. Prioleau of Georgetown party, presided at the meeting, with various agencies in the county for the Sixth district, was formally attended by about 150 committeemen. He said the plan for a full time director of employing a full campaigns for encouraging registration was being left to the mat- ter of a candidate is being discussed at some length with the district executive committee and was finally adopted, the employment to extend over a two-year period. This director will cooperate

John H. McCray, who is secretary of the Progressive Democratic

4 Enroll In Columbia, But Democrats Refuse Negroes Privilege Of Enrolling

Daily World

COLUMBIA, S. C. (SNS)—

Four Negroes were permitted to affix their names to club rolls of the Democratic Party in Columbia Friday by Lane L. Bonner, acting secretary of the Richland County Democratic organization said these names would be purged, presumably after enrollment ends late this month. 6-6-46 Thurs.

Four other Columbia wards, however, refused enrollment, as did a ward at Lake City Saturday; and general conclusion was that Negro enrollees would be refused throughout the state, in keeping with a resolution adopted at the May 15 convention of the party and, a subsequent request made by a special rules committee.

FOUR IN WARD NINE

Atlanta Ga.

The enrollees, all in ward 9, were George A. Elmore, Rev. F. M. Young, Rev. E. A. Davis and James M. Hinton. However, wards 2, 7, 3 and 8 refused enrollments.

The Friday attempts were led off by Rev. J. P. Reeder, pastor of Mt. Zion Baptist church and president of the Columbia Citizens' Committee Club, at ward two. He, John H. McCray, state chairman of the Progressive Democratic Party, and C. L. Lilliewood, a barber, all live in ward 2, first stop on a motorcade tour of Columbia enrollment places. 6-6-46 Thurs.

Suddenly confronted by these men and others in a party who acted as witnesses to each other the woman enrollment clerk nervously denied her identity and referred the applicants to the party headquarters, which explained to Rev. Reeder the rules, referring them to John I. Rice, county chairman of the party.

At ward 7, where enrollment was attempted by J. W. White, Leonard Hazzard, Samuel Osborne and Dr. L. H. Hallman, the group was also referred to Chairman Rice. Atlanta Ga

Rev. Robert H. Wilson attempted enrollment in ward 3 and Roosevelt Franklin in ward 8. Both were referred to Chairman Rice.

GENERAL ATTEMPTS WEDNESDAY

The Columbia attempts were made ahead of the Wednesday scheduled date in order that Rev. Reeder and Rev. E. A. Adams, state president of the Citizens' Committee, both of whom had to be out of the state on the agreed upon day, could participate. The general attempts were set for Wednesday. Unable to make even the Friday attempts, Rev. Adams was scheduled to establish further evidence of denials Monday, morning.

CASE TO COURT

6-6-46 Thurs.

Attorney Harold R. Boulware began Friday afternoon preparing affidavits on the denials for their submission to the U. S. Department of Justice and the national NAACP office. He said he received by mail Monday morning an affidavit from L. M. Green of Lake City, setting forth denials in that town.

Ga. Democrats Urge Continued Registration

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 6-16-46

Albany Meeting Slowed Up By Talmadge Crony

By V. W. HODGES

ALBANY, Ga.—(SNS)— Georgia Negro Democrats, at a one-day meeting here Thursday, urged continuation of the current registration campaign over the state; pledged cooperation to member clubs in overcoming impediments in the registration of Negroes in the several communities; called upon all employers of Negroes to grant them "reasonable and proper" time from their jobs in order that they may pile up the "largest possible" vote in the July 17 primary, and counseled their members to be alert to any plot or trap which may be designed to ensnare them by their foes.

The Albany gathering embraced clubs belonging to The Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs for the Southwest region and was attended by representatives of over 55 Democratic clubs. A. T. Walden, president of the state body, presided over the meeting and oultined the agenda for consideration of the delegates.

HITS SNAG

Meeting at the Union Baptist Church here, the original opening of the gathering was slowed up temporarily when local representatives of the Albany Progressive Democratic Club spotted the presence of Dr. J. W. Holley, deposed President of the Albany State College and Talmadge henchmen, whom they demanded to be asked out. For a while it appeared that Dr. Holley would have to be evicted from the session; but apparently sensing the extreme displeasure of the delegates over his presence, together with his purported espousal and advocacy of the Talmadge cause, he was persuaded to leave without incident. Four, others, whose credentials could not be certified, were also requested to leave. 6-16-46

MANY NEW CLUBS

With this unpleasant task finished, the delegates plunged headforward into the business of the meeting. Twelve new clubs matriculated into the state body. Significant among these was one from Baker County, the home of Sheriff M. Claude Screws; one from Early County, and another from the extreme southeast corner of the section, Brooks County.

TESTIMONIALS Atlanta Ga.

Attorney Walden called upon the delegates for expressions relative to difficulties which may have been encountered in attempts of their people to become qualified registrants. This was perhaps the most illuminating phase of the entire session. One representative revealed that over 400 Negroes in his community stood in the registration line an entire day, only to show up the next day, in their determination to qualify to vote. Similar expressions, though on a somewhat smaller scale, were made.

As to be expected in some communities, Registrars were reported to be hostile to the registration of Negroes. One leader reported that Negroes in his county were subjected to various types of questions in an effort to exact the literacy test. In one case, a prospective registrant was asked who was the 16th U. S. President? Who elects the judges? What is a document? In two other cases reported, Negroes were either asked to recite the Preamble to the U. S. Constitution or else listen to its reading and then write the part read and hand to the Registrar perfectly correct just as was read.

HOLIDAY PROPOSED

In order to bring out the largest possible vote on election day, July 17, the Association proposed and called upon all employers to permit their workers a day, or a half-day, or time "reasonable and proper" in order that they may exercise the sacred responsibility of voting. Daily World

NO ENDORSEMENTS

The Association again steered clear of endorsements for any candidates for state offices. But the qualifications, past records of performance and general fitness of all announced candidates were reviewed for the information of the leaders, following which the Association authorized the appointment of a committee "with power to act," should it be deemed expedient to make any committment of its members to any candidates. No mention was made of local candidates, since those matters are left to the discretion of the local clubs. 6-16-46

'The People of South Carolina'!

The News and Courier

J. Strom Thurmond, Esq., nominated for governor, having declared that "the people of South Carolina have passed on the issue of private versus public development of Clark's Hill in last summer's Democratic primary", it were as well to inquire to whom he referred as "the people of South Carolina". Charleston, S. C.

Are 60 per cent of the white adults who did not vote in that primary excluded from consideration as of "the people of South Carolina"? Sat. 11-2-46

Are 142,000 persons who voted for Mr. Thurmond and no others "the people of South Carolina"?

In the state are approximately 650,000 white adults. About 500,000 of them were non-voters for Thurmond.

Meanwhile, it is customary for politicians to dismiss from mind 381,000 negro adults. Let it go at that.

Those of the people of South Carolina who have minds well know that the election did not turn on Clark's Hill. It was a third-rate issue in a campaign of second-rate issues.

Persons who have minds are aware that the people of South Carolina are committed to nothing which J. S. Thurmond and other candidates advocated. Mr. S. was nominated because more people liked him than liked other candidates, and if that he does not know, he has the lessons of the primary school yet to learn.

The nearest to an issue in Mr. Thurmond's "race" was his antagonism to the "Barnwell Ring", to Brown and Blatt, and for the issue which he declares the people passed on he appears in person to second the contention for public ownership of Clark's Hill by Attorney Edgar A. Brown.

If "the people of South Carolina" decided in the little primary (white man's primary and not Democratic) in favor of public ownership versus private ownership of Clark's Hill power, the state is committed to public ownership of utilities. That is New Dealism. That is Rooseveltianism. Moreover, it is the policy of the "Progressive Democrats", negro "Democrats", the only group in South Carolina truly and fully loyal to the New party.

The negro "Democrats" perceive that when the federal government shall own Clark's Hill and other utilities, the federal government will dictate the rules of employment. The "Progressive Democrats", the "Liberals", the CIO-PAC, advocate the FEPC, federal laws to try lynchers, regulation of suffrage in the states.

Of course the negro "Democrats" would vote for federal ownership of Clark's Hill if they had a chance. They would vote for everything else federal.

The monstrous absurdity of it is that, in their eagerness to have Clark's Hill developed with money extracted from taxpayers, the politicians are delaying and preventing a development of it that would now be in process by a private company and that would cost the American taxpayers not a dollar.

Critical for White People

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

In 1948 or before, colored men and women of Barnwell county, calling themselves "Democrats" and advocates of the election of a "Democrat" to the presidency, will organize as clubs. Barnwell is a county of South Carolina in which the ratio of negroes to white people is one of the four or five largest in the state.

These negroes of Barnwell will demand the privilege of voting with the white people in their clubs and, if denied it, will demand representation as national "Democrats" in county and state conventions of national Democrats. Sat. 8-31-46

The News and Courier can think of no law or argument that can prevent a colored citizen being a national "Democrat".

In a state convention in 1948 delegates to a national Democratic convention to nominate candidates for president and vice president, presumably, will be chosen. In this state convention Barnwell will have representation for whole population, white and negro, and the large majority in its population is negro.

These colored national "Democrats" will go to Robert Hannegan's national Democratic committee and to the nation convention's committee on credentials demanding admission of delegates of South Carolina's negro Democrats to that convention and saying: "These white folks in South Carolina not only refused to let us negroes into their Democratic clubs, into their party, but they actually used us to give representation to negro counties disproportionate to their white votes whereby their politicians, such as Colonels Brown and Blatt, would be able to meet on something like equal terms the men of Anderson, Greenville and Spartanburg."

What would be the answer of "Bob" Hannegan, Esq., and Senator Pepper's Candidate Wallace, Esq., to that?

The News and Courier has proposed and insisted that the white people of South Carolina, holding primaries to nominate candidates for state and county offices, organize as a white party separate and apart from the national "Democratic" party. This party should elect its own chairman and members of committees.

In campaign speeches many candidates have roared and snorted about "white supremacy". Not one of them has pointed to the critical issue confronting the white people. The News and Courier, and The News and Courier alone, has pointed to it and to the way out. In less than two years all of the "leaders" will be forced to discuss it.

The Saddest 'Democrats'

The News and Courier Thurs. 11-7-46

The saddest "Democrats" in South Carolina are the colored "Democrats", true New Dealers, loyal to the memory of the late President Roosevelt. Charleston, S.C.

National Democrats To Bar S. C. Group, Negro Head Declares

Columbia, Oct. 3.—(AP): In a statement to officers of the South Carolina Progressive (negro) Democratic party, Chairman John H. McCray said today that steps had been taken by national Democratic party officials to bar from the 1948 national convention delegations from states that declined to include negroes in their state parties, as is the case in South Carolina.

He said he understood the Republican party was contemplating the same step.

McCray said he was under obligation to withhold the source of his information, but that he hoped to have a "full report" within 10 days. His statement:

"This is to report to you that I am informed, as of this date, that success of an issue raised by the Progressive Democratic party in 1944, pressed during conferences with members of the national Democratic committee during conferences in Washington and other Democratic leaders during the national convention in Chicago, seems assured.

"I have been informed that necessary steps will be taken at the next national convention to disbar from membership in the convention, presumably through refusal to admit as delegates, delegations from those states and territorial possessions who purport to represent states and territorial possessions who deny and limit membership in the party within their sections on a basis of race and color.

"While it is not expedient at this time to make public the authority of this information, it can be said that the advice is reported to me after extensive efforts on a nationwide basis which leave little doubt as to its possible occurrence. I am made to understand further that few delegations will be affected.

"I understand, also, that a similar action will be undertaken by the next national Republican convention.

"The full significance of this unprecedented move will be covered in a full report to all executive and unit officers we hope to submit within the next 10 days. But it writes 'finis' to the several deeades of unfortunate political operations which, principally among Southern states, have made a great mockery of the very word 'democracy'.

"At the moment, it technically affects only South Carolina. However, it may well affect pending or expected actions in several other Southern states."

EDWARDS FAVORS SEATING NEGROES

Roanoke, Va., Times

Believes Them Eligible for State Convention

Aug. 16, 1946

Horace Edwards, state Democratic chairman, has written James F. MacTier, city chairman, that, in his opinion, Negro delegates will be seated at the party's state convention in Richmond September 5.

The communication was in reply to MacTier's request for an opinion after the point had been raised last week by Dr. H. T. Penn, local Negro, at a meeting of the city committee.

Cites Court Opinion

Edwards wrote that it was his belief that the supreme court had nullified a party provision that limited membership to white persons through its action in a case from Texas two years, and added that he believed that any Negro delegates to next month's meeting would be seated. At any rate, he went on, such delegates will be certified to the temporary convention roll.

"I recall," Edwards wrote, "the Negroes participated at the convention two yeares ago. I see no reason why they should not have the same rights this time."

The convention he referred to was held in Roanoke, and his statement appeared to conflict with that made by Dr. Penn that Negro delegates were not seated at the convention, although they actually took part in the proceedings.

Bamberg Solon Sues Negro Democrats; Slander is Charged

News and Courier Thursday Charleston, S. C.

Bamberg, July 17.—Special: Suit for $250,000 has been filed in circuit here against officers and agents of the South Carolina Progressive (negro) Democratic party by Representative Fred L. Hiers, of Bamberg. He charges circulation through the mails of letters derogatory to his character.

Listed in the complaint are "John M. McCray, Mrs. A. B. Watson, J. C. Artemus and Lucius Wright", described as executive officers and agents of the party. The first three named are said to be officers of the party in Columbia, and Wright was described as a Bamberg county man active as an agent.

Mr. Hiers said the group planned a "scheme to charge" him with lacking requisite qualifications to practice law, charged him with improper practice, and charged that his acts and ability as a representative is "a gross reflection on the integrity of Bamberg county". 7-18-46

He said false and libelous statements were published "in the form of letters" mailed to persons in Bamberg county last May 29 and that on the same date similar statements were made in a letter mailed him, a copy of which was sent to the United States department of justice. He said the latter letter charged him with improper conduct, ignorance of law, lying to the public, and false legal advice.

Mr. Hiers denied the charges. He said they were made maliciously in an effort to cause him public ridicule. 7-18-46

NEGRO DEMOCRATS MEETING TODAY

T 28

A meeting of the negro Democratic leaders of the Eighth Congressional District is being held in Waycross this afternoon at the negro USO building, and several from this city are attending. Dr. M. A. Cassels, of Brunswick, district director, is presiding.

State officials of the Association of Democratic Clubs are present and plans for a stepped-up statewide campaign to reach every person before the July 5 registration deadline, will be implemented.

Negro Democrats Ask Libel Case Change of Venue

Bamberg, Oct. 24—(Special)—Harry R. Boulware, attorney for the defendants, has petitioned the court for a change of venue in the $250,000 libel suit of Bamberg county house of representative Fred L. Hiers against the Progressive Negro Democratic party of South Carolina. Arguments on the motion will be heard by Judge J. Henry Johnson at common pleas court here November 4.

The suit grew out of statements alleged to have been made in a letter received by Hiers from the Columbia headquarters of the Progressive party.

Hiers said yesterday that if Judge Johnson overrules the motion for a change of venue, the case probably will be tried in the next term of common pleas court here.

Pepper Wants Wallace For Race In 1948

The Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 8-24-46

WASHINGTON — The political aspirations of American liberals were given voice last week when Sen. Claude Pepper (D., Fla.), flatly stated he would like to run on the Democratic presidential ticket along with Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace.

The Florida defender of Negro rights conceded, however, that President Truman's chances for renomination was overwhelming.

But the hard-hitting Senator did not hesitate in favoring Wallace for the nation's number-one job. At the last party national convention in Chicago, Pepper was probably Wallace's strongest individual support during the heated battle for the vice presidential nomination.

Pepper is genuinely identified with the most progressive wing of the Democratic party. On most issues he has been snowed under by old-line Southern politicians who conspire with reactionary Republicans, but he has staunchly supported antiracist legislation.

No Organized Effort

Queried concerning his political aspirations, Pepper said that he did not intend to campaign for the Presidential nomination but that he surely would not run away from the offer. When asked about a "Wallace-Pepper" ticket or a "Pepper-Wallace" ticket in 1948, he replied, "I would be happy to be on the ticket with anyone."

However, the progressive Dixie senator made no bones about whom he expected to get the nomination. He said he believed President Truman would be the party banner bearer in 1948, and added, "If he is nominated I will support him."

Pepper assured his questioners that "if I am a convention delegate I will fight for the nomination of some one who will make the party more liberal," so that it will actually represent the elements fighting reaction, fascism and big business control of the nation's economy."

Both conservative and liberal quarters recognized the Pepper statement as a prelude to ensuing struggle for control of the Democratic party. On the other hand Republican hopes of the situation precipitating a split ticket were scotched by the Senator's flat stand on party solidarity, regardless of who is nominated.

Democrats to Seat Regular Delegation, Johnston Declares

Columbia, Oct. 15. (INS)—U. S. Senator Olin D. Johnston today denied reports that the Democratic party would refuse to seat a delegation to the national convention in 1948 from any state that didn't allow negroes to vote.

John McCray, negro newspaper publisher in Columbia and chairman of the Progressive Democratic party, said recently that he had been advised by national party leaders that such an action would be taken and pointed to South Carolina.

Johnston, who is the national committeeman from South Carolina, insisted that any matters dealing with South Carolina be referred to him. He said that he had heard of no such action by national party leaders.

He said:

"I believe in allowing each state to handle its own affairs, and that's what we're going to do."

Senator Johnston said that he was bitterly opposed to the federal government taking a hand in the case of Batesville Chief of Police L. L. Shull. Chief Shull is to face trial in the United States court in Columbia next month on a charge of violating the civil rights law in connection with the beating of a negro veteran in Batesburg early this year.

"The FBI and other federal law enforcement agencies should remain out of state affairs," Johnston said.

When advised that Circuit Judge G. Duncan Bellinger, of Columbia, told the Spartanburg grand jury yesterday that the state should put the Democratic primary rules back on the statute books to halt improper election, Johnston said that he was still of the opinion as he was in 1944. In that year, the senator called a special session of the general assembly to repeal all Democratic primary laws.

He said:

"I am still of the opinion, as was the house and senate in 1944 when we repealed all the Democratic primary laws and turned the operation of the Democratic primaries over to the party.

"We must keep the Democratic primaries as they are, so that the federal government will have no legal right to contest or to interfere with our primaries."

He said he would go to Mississippi next year to speak to the legislature of that state on how to remove primaries from state control.

Won't Meet in Charleston

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

In 1948 one of the issues that may interest South Carolina's Democrats is whether or not a delegation shall be sent to the national Democratic convention that will support candidates for vice president and president favorable to paying State Senator R. M. Jefferies the remainder of the fee claimed for services in the litigation preceding the construction of Santee-Cooper, of which he is now president and general counsel, wage only $10,000 a year. The claim is, or was, for about $130,000. The Democrats of South Carolina when they shall elect delegates to the convention of 1948 will, one takes for granted, not be unmindful of the claims of their fellow citizens. Unfortunately, the national convention is not likely to meet in Charleston in 1948. The Harlemite Democrats of the Northern cities would probably object strenuously to coming to a city where the hotels for white people would decline to provide them with rooms and entertainment. 10-5-46 Sat

What Failure Would Disprove

The News and Courier

If the colored "Democrats", members of the New party, fail to oust Dr. Byrnes from the office of secretary of state it will disprove his assertion on the floor of the senate, "The negroes have come into control of the Democratic party". The News and Courier would have no pleasure in the spectacle of a jobless Byrnes. Wed. 10-30-46 Charleston, S.C.

Slighted the Colored "Democrats"

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

Presumably the "Democrats" of New York, "Empire State", omitted to nominate a colored "Democrat" for governor or United States senator because upon diligently searching their ranks they could not find a colored statesman who they thought measured to Mead and Lehman. This "Democratic" aspersion on the colored statesmanship of the Empire State will be deplored in Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit and Pittsburgh, and they may make amends for the discourtesy. Wed. 10-9-46

Talmadgism Spreads

Reporter Chicago, Ill.

South To Florida's Democratic Party

A legislative committee headed by Claude Smith Jr., of Jacksonville, a city councilman, has been formed to work with the state legislature to "repeal the laws which prevent the Democratic party from retaining an exclusive white primary." Sat. 8-17-46

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — (AN P)—Seeking to turn back the clock, the Florida Democratic party has organized a campaign to restore the white primary.

Negroes voted for the first time in the Democratic primaries last May, under a Supreme Court ruling barring closed-club political parties.

Democratic Club Opens W. Broad St. Headquarters

The Tribune

The Citizens Democratic Club has opened an office to the public at 907 West Broad street for the purpose of giving information as to voting, registration and candidates or questions which you feel need to be clarified.

It is very urgent that each citizen who has not registered, do so at the earliest possible convenience, as there are only nine days left. The deadline is July 5. Those who have registered can help tremendously by taking others. If this chance is lost, there will be another year of waiting before the opportunity will again be presented.

The West Broad street office will be open daily from 9 a. m. to 6 p. m., telephone, 9337.

The following is a schedule of meetings to be held by the club: The Tribune

June 23, First Bryan Baptist church; July 1, St. Philip Monumental; July 3, Townsley Chapel, West Savannah; July 5, Union Baptist church; July 8, Bethlehem Baptist church; July 9, Abyssinian Baptist church; July 10, House of Prayer; July 11, Brownsville Baptist church; July 12, Jerusalem Baptist church; July 15, First African Baptist church; July 16, St. Philip AME church.

Asheville Citizen
Sept. 26, 1946

Hunter Is Treasurer For Negro League

John Hunter was named treasurer of the Buncombe county Negro Democratic league at a meeting Tuesday night, it was announced yesterday. Finance and arrangements committees were selected at the session which was held in the Negro Y. M. C. A. auditorium.

Talks were made by C. J. McKinney, Carlos Pinkston, John Hunter, the Rev. J. T. Duke, Mrs. L. Butler, and the Rev. C. A. Edington.

The next meeting is scheduled for Tuesday, Oct. 1, at the Y. M. C. A. auditorium.

Savannah, Ga. Thurs. 6-27-46

AFTER SEVERAL LEADERS ARE BOOED OFF THE FLOOR

The Tribune

Acceptance of Carmichael Is Vociferously Cheered

Savannah, Ga.

ORGANIZATION HOLDING NIGHTLY BALLOT INSTRUCTION MEETINGS

Thurs. 7-11-46

In the most hectic meeting since its reorganization several months ago, the Citizens' Democratic Club thundered its approval of James V. Carmichael as the proper candidate for the Negro vote to support in the primary election of next week. The meeting was held Monday night at Bethlehem Baptist church which was filled to the very rafters, and was presided over by President John W. McGlockton.

Secretary in a Quandary

Everything was serene until Recording Secretary Sidney A. Jones was called upon to read the report of the policy committee. Mr. Jones in his opening remarks stated that he was in a quandary as to what report was wanted as the report he had was one which was framed by the president alone. At this point Mrs. Ophelia Lee McIver refreshed Mr. Jones' memory that he had in his possession a report that was properly made out by the seven members of the policy committee of which he, Mr. Jones, was a member, and that that report was the report which the president wished read.

Mr. Jones then read the report, which had already been approved by the executive board and was awaiting the confirmation of the organization.

Rev. Baker Makes Passionate Appeal

When Mr. Jones had finished reading the report, Donald Thomas moved the adoption of the report by sections. A substitute motion was made by the Rev. S. A. Baker, pastor of the church, in a passionate appeal, to adopt the report as a whole.

Unreadiness on the substitute was voiced by Mr. Jones, T. J. Hopkins and the Rev. H. W. Murph, all of whom were members of the committee, and, it is said, had concurred in the making of the report a day or so before.

Objectors Booed

Pandemonium broke loose as the three objectors attempted to voice their opinions, and they were booed off the floor. The motion was put and the report was adopted as a whole. It was brought out in the discussion of the report that the policy committee in attempting to ascertain the views of the two sets of candidates from Chatham county for the State Legislature sought an audience with them. Messrs. Evans, Skinner and Smith, candidates of the Citizens' Progressive League, met with the committee and satisfactorily explained their views on matters of vital importance to the Negro. The Tribune

Several Candidates Refuses Audience

An audience was not obtained with Messrs. Alexander, Connerat and McNall, candidates of the administration, but Mr. Bouhan, Judge Houlihan and Sheriff McFeeley met with the committee. It is stated that Mr. Bouhan expressed the opinion that he did not think it necessary for the candidates to meet with the committee. However, it is stated that Mr. McFeeley expressed the feeling that the candidates should give the committee a hearing. It is said that Judge Houlihan agreed with Mr. Bouhan on the matter. The failure of the committee to get a hearing from the three administration candidates for the legislature has been bitterly criticized by the Negro voters. Savannah, Ga.

Rivers' Literature Burned

At the conclusion of the meeting some Rivers literature which had been handed out to the attendants by some paid workers furnished fuel for a flaring bonfire which was started in front of the church.

The organization is holding several meetings every night at which the proper use of the ballot is being taught. Thurs. 7-11-

Danger in Their Silence

News and Courier

Members of the white party who vote in primaries take no pledge to vote in the general election for candidates of the national "Democratic", or Truman-Hannegan party—they may vote for Communist, Socialist, independent Democratic or even for Republican candidates for president and vice president, if they wish, without loss of standing in the white party. Sunday

If national "Democrats" recognize negroes as "Democrats" in South Carolina (they do), can white Democrats exclude negro "Democrats" from club meetings that elect delegates to county conventions that elect delegates to state conventions that elect delegates to the national "Democratic" convention that nominates candidates for president and vice president? Charleston, S.C.

If, in 1948, negroes be excluded from the white club meetings, county and state conventions, and those negroes shall send delegates to the national convention, will they be denied recognition?

Some of them came home from Chicago in 1944, after they had been denied admission to the national convention and told their fellow "racemen" that they were given assurance of representation in the national convention of 1948. 9-1-46

The News and Courier again advises and urges the white people who hold primaries to nominate state and county candidates to hold a convention after the primaries this year and form an organization separate from that one that has connection with the national "Democratic" party. It is no white man's party. Nobody says that it is.

The leaders of the white party in South Carolina, the senators, representatives in congress, the 11 candidates for governor, the candidates for other offices, especially for the legislature, should not remain silent on this subject. Sunday

Where They Will Enter

The News and Courier

The saying of The Barnwell People-Sentinel that negroes who have been delivering speeches in Columbia and passing resolutions in support of Editor Wallace, D.P., "might as well recognize here and now that they are not going to be accepted into the ranks of the white Democrats" is we believe, correct, but guaranty is not given that these negro "Democrats" will be denied representation in the convention of the national "Democratic" party, which is NOT a "white man's party". These negroes are faithful to the New party, the Rooseveltian party, a mixed racial party, and we are not sure that any white Democrat in Barnwell is a defender of its principles. If one be, let him speak. Charleston, S.C. Fri. 10-25-46

The South Carolina Clubs

Newsweek, 9-16-46

Dayton, Ohio

I was profoundly interested in your report about South Carolina's secession from the Union in defying the authority of the Supreme Court (NEWSWEEK, Aug. 26).

I was a member of the German Reichstag before Hitler's rise to power, and I can say emphatically that the tactics employed by the Democrats from South Carolina are pure Nazi tactics, quite aside from their racial Nazi beliefs.

Assuming Congress would pass a new law directing all [labor] unions, defined as unions, to account publicly for their affairs, to admit, in the South, Negroes as equal members, and to hold elections of their officers and permit Negroes to take part in these elections on equal footing; assuming the unions would oppose that law and would lose out, the Supreme Court upholding it and declaring it constitutional; and assuming the unions would reorganize themselves into private "clubs," as the Democratic party of South Carolina did, thus evading the law and defying the Supreme Court—the howl of public opinion would be deafening. All unions would be accused of rebellion against the law and all constitutional authorities, and the senators from South Carolina would presumably fight in the forefront against these Red unions dictating to the country and employing a dirty trick to thwart a Supreme Court decision. Newsweek

But this is exactly what the Democratic party of South Carolina has done. Eight hundred thousand Negroes . . . have been deprived of their constitutional rights as interpreted by the Supreme Court of this country. It is to be hoped that the Supreme Court will be called upon to uphold its authority against the racial Nazi supermen from seceding South Carolina. Mon. 1-16-46

GERHART H. SEGER
New York City

The Democrats and the Negroes

The Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.

Since before Mayor Taylor was elected Mayor of Louisville the Negro vote has been returning to the Republican Party. What is the cause?

As a Negro Democrat I shall attempt to explain why the Negro Democrat is leaving the Democratic Party. We have been unable to obtain federal recognition in Kentucky, along with the attitude of federal agencies, such as O.P.A. and W.A.A., and R.F.C., which have failed to integrate competent Negro Democrats into their organizations.

Recently we have lost the support of Charles Scott, influential Negro Democrat, because he complained of the following: (a) No Negro on the City-County Executive Committee. (b) No Negro on the Democratic State Central Executive Committee. (c) Police brutality. Thurs. 11-21-46

Since I have contributed financially to the Democratic Party locally, I suggest the Mayor take some remedial action before the Governor's race.

GEORGE E. THOMAS.
Louisville.

EDITORIAL

Pittsburgh Courier

One Year of President Truman

A year ago, April 12, Senator Harry Truman ascended to the Presidency of the United States. No element of the population was more alarmed by this event than the Negro people. A general feeling of distrust and fear prevailed. There were apprehensions based on Mr. Truman's Southern rearing and birth and the fact that he had won the Democratic nomination for Vice President because he was an acceptable compromise to the Negro-hating Southern politicians. His record in the Senate on racial matters had not been offensive, neither was it particularly attractive. Saturday

* * *

Despite doubts and misgivings born of these factors the Negro Press and public refrained from pre-judgment and charitably accorded President Truman the benefit of all doubts; and out of self-interest, fervently hoped for fair play and a successful administration.

4-27-46

* * *

On purely racial matters, President Truman has belied all presumptions and inferences raised by his Southern background and connections. His support of Negro legislation and Negro appointments far excelled the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. He has repeatedly declared for permanent Federal FEPC legislation and the abolition of the poll tax. He has been outspoken in favoring a national educational bill and for a measure giving greater medical aid to the poor, and other social legislation which would have vitally affected Negroes. Sat.

* * *

His Attorney General has not equivocated when it came to enforcing the decisions of the Supreme Court pertaining to Negroes' voting in Southern primaries. And the Supreme Court decisions in respect to equality of educational facilities in Southern States have taken on new meaning and force during his administration. He appointed the first Negro Federal judge ever to serve within the confines of the United States and the first Negro in Anglo-Saxon history to rule over a province where the population is mixed. In the light of this record, no one is warranted in challenging his good faith or friendship.

* * *

Despite this outstanding record of good intentions, all surveys indicate that Negroes, along with other elements of the population, are leaving the President. In most populous Negro districts of the North, recent registrations show a decided drift from the Democratic Party. An analysis of the causes shows many of them to be beyond his control. Pittsburgh, Pa.

* * *

The Roosevelt following among Negroes was built, in part, through Mrs. Roosevelt. The Roosevelts were a team in which the wife played almost as important a part in obtaining popular support as did the President. Mrs. Truman has not been an asset in winning or retaining Negro support. In the only opportunity she has had to win favor with Negroes she failed dismally. While Mrs. Truman acquiesced to the prejudices of the DAR, Mrs. Roosevelt, under a similar provocation, resigned from the organization.

4-27-46

* * *

Although President Truman advocated a permanent FEPC bill and anti-poll tax legislation he has failed to have either of these measures enacted. This is also true of other social legislation he sponsored, which, if passed, would have beneficially affected the lives and well-being of Negroes.

* * *

Negroes have a dual personality in our body politic. President Truman may have retained a large part of his Negro support if his social legislation which affects Negroes as citizens and not particularly as Negroes, had been enacted. Old Age Pension, Slum Clearance, Social Security, NYA, WPA, Relief, and other social legislation for the underprivileged, were the basis of Franklin D. Roosevelt's popularity among Negroes, and not the few special things he did in their behalf.

* * *

Mr. Truman, however, lacked the force and influence to have his programs and recommendations adopted by the Congress. The public gives little credit for good intentions; the test is a programatic one of results.

* * *

There is probably nothing that has occurred during the year of Mr. Truman's administration which has alienated so many Negroes from him and the Democratic Party, as the rise of Southern Congressmen and Senators to dominate in national legislation. President Truman must take some of the blame for this condition, for scarcely had he been elevated to the Presidency before he surrendered his leadership in legislative matters. 4-27-46

* * *

He publicly announced that he would hereafter give Congress full reins in initiating and controlling legislation. He erroneously assumed that this gesture of cooperation and good-will would keep within bounds of a liberal program, Southern members of Congress.

* * *

Instead of reciprocating the President's invitation for comradeship, Southern Democrats accepted it as weakness and as a licence for the unrestricted propaganda of their hates and racial theories. It is this abandonment of leadership which has contributed to the scuttling of FEPC and other racial and progressive legislation. The President should have known that every bit of strength, leadership and coercion would be necessary if these arch enemies of progress and liberalism were to be suppressed.

* * *

It is true that the Republicans cannot escape blame for their dastardly part in the Southern-Democratic-Republican coalition, but neither can President Truman, whose leadership has permitted the Southern bloc to get out of hand and his party to deteriorate. He lacks the statesmanship to sufficiently solidify the conflicting elements which make up the Democratic Party so that it may continue on a progressive and liberal course.

* * *

The Truman Administration has failed to take a firm stand for a fair and equitable disposition of colonial peoples. It has lagged behind while other Governments have championed the cause of black colonies.

* * *

President Truman has also been blamed for unfavorable delays and readjustments which are inescapable in the transition from war to peace. Relatives of soldiers overseas are resentful because their boys are not discharged as quickly as they think they should be. Veterans' housing, strikes and a multitude of other issues have all in a measure been charged to the President and lessens his popularity. Even the popularity of a Roosevelt would have suffered from these adversities which could not be entirely controlled.

* * *

President Truman has won the affection of all by his fine personal qualities. But the weak and underprivileged need a rugged, militant champion. Rights and privileges are not won except through struggle. We would be ungrateful if we did not acknowledge President Truman's evidences of friendship for the Negro people, and we would be derelict if we did not show that it has produced but little in racial advancement.

Truman's Poll Tax Stand Seen As Indication He "Won't Run"

Courier Atlanta, Ga.

Wed 4-10-46

WASHINGTON—(ANP)— President Truman's statement in Chicago Saturday that southern states must work out poll tax problems for themselves was seen by Clark Foreman of Atlanta as an indication that the President has lost hope for election in 1948.

Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, presiding over a "Win the Peace" meeting here, said the statement by Mr. Truman is a "most significant reversal of presidential policy." The President made the observation before a high school press conference last Saturday in Chicago where he was honored Army Day guest.

The President's statement at this time, as interpreted by Foreman, "can only mean he does not intend to run in 1948 because he can't get any of his program thru congress as long as poll taxers dominate both houses. He must have finally made up his mind he is a failure, cannot be President and will not run for election," Foreman said.

Does Truman deserve the Negro vote?

Tribune

CHICAGO — Should Negroes support Truman on the basis of his race record? Well, the answer seems to depend on whether one is a good Democrat or a true-blue Republican. Sat. 4-6-46

Two staunch Democrats, Mayor Edward J. Kelly and Sen. Joseph Guffey (Pa.) debate the question with two Republican leaders, Herbert Brownell and Perry Howard, in the June Negro Digest, and the vote, as might be expected, comes out even-Stephen. Los Angeles

Sen. Guffey cites Truman's support of FEPC, anti-polltax, and anti-lynching legislation, and his "precedent-shattering" nomination of a Negro to a federal judgeship, while Mayor Kelly praises Truman's "consistently liberal stand" as a senator and declares, "No other President has done so much to advance Negroes in so short a time". California

Brownell, ex-chairman of the Republican National Committee, depreciates the Truman record as "one of pious words but no performance", recalling that Truman was absent from Senate and not voting when FEPC and anti-polltax came up for passage, that he has said, "I wish to make it clear that I am not appealing for social equality of the Negro".

Howard, Republican committeeman from Mississippi, echoes these sentiments, "President by accident only, Truman means well. But he is so handicapped by the stranglehold that Southern Democrats have on his political throat that he will be able to do less for us in the future than he has in the past.

MR. TRUMAN'S RACIAL VIEWS

The Chronicle Detroit, Mich. Sat. 10-19-46

Several times in these columns we have pointed out that President Truman, despite all the criticism against him, is strong on the race issue. Last week Columnist Drew Pearson said much the same thing and Mr. Pearson is one of the most informed journalists in this country. He gave due credit to the efforts of Attorney General Tom Clark and his aide, Lamar Caudle, both Southerners, who have shown a disposition to do the right thing. He quoted Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., who said that "Father never stuck his neck out the way Truman does."

As we have stated before, President Truman has been victimized by muddle-head advisers, poor press relations, and the antics of his Missouri friends. The record, however shows that Mr. Truman has gone down the liberal line on the race issue and has spoken out when weaker men would have kept quiet. His appointments of Negroes to high offices have shattered all precedents. Despite this liberal record, many Negroes have swallowed the bunk dished out by the extreme left and the extreme right which makes Mr. Truman look like a dodo.

We do not agree with everything Mr. Truman says or does, and that goes for Mr. Clark and his aides, but we do feel that the administration has gotten a much worse press than it deserves, even in the Negro newspapers. We believe President Truman honestly wishes to carry on the liberal tradition of President Roosevelt and we know from first hand experience that Mr. Truman has stuck his neck out on some issues that would have frightened the daylights out of many others who have sat in the White House.

We do not know what Mr. Truman thinks personally about Negroes, but we do know his record cannot be called, by any stretch of the imagination, reactionary. Yet this is what he is called by those who ought to know better. Apparently these critics have forgotten how difficult it was to get even President Roosevelt to move on the race issue, to say nothing of those before Mr. Roosevelt's time.

The truth is that the whole liberal program of the Truman administration has been shamelessly sabotaged by the reactionary bloc in Congress. The President has said as much in some of his speeches and he has pleaded for popular support. If the voters, and that includes every individual one of us, do not elect a liberal Congress in November, the President will have his hands tied so tightly that his liberal tendencies will avail us nothing at all.

While there are some liberal Republicans who are right on the race issue, none of the Republican big shots who are being touted for the presidency in 1948 fall into that category. The guys who have got the Republican machine tied up are even calling Governor Dewey of New York a parlor pink. You can discount anything they say about President Truman.

TRUMAN ON DISCRIMINATION

Defender Chicago, Ill.

In answering a letter directed to him by Charles G. Bolton, chairman of the American Veterans' Committee, President Truman threw himself into the ranks of those opposing prejudice and discrimination without any reservations. Mr. Truman stated that discrimination was like a disease that must be eradicated.

The President's declaration came after the AVC had praised him for creating a national commission on higher education. Hope was expressed that the new commission would combat the discrimination against Negro and Japanese-American veterans practiced by many of the colleges in America.

Mr. Bolton also blamed Congress for failure to pass measures that would have protected minorities against lynching and would have removed all restrictions against voting and employment.

Sat. 9-21-46

The President concurred wholeheartedly with Bolton. Mr. Truman then cited the sacrifices in blood, suffering and material losses incurred to suppress hatred in the recently concluded war. Yet, it disturbed him greatly to find the same intolerance and prejudice, for which these sacrifices were made, running rampant in America.

He reiterated the belief that his new commission under Dr. George F. Zook would attack discrimination with all the resources at its command. Further pointing out that "the opportunity to vote, hold and retain a job and to secure adequate shelter and medical care is no less than to gain an education compatible with the needs and ability of the individual.

When the titular head of a nation expresses himself so forcefully on the question of discrimination and prejudice as well as on major social reforms, why doesn't the country adopt these progressive measures? The answer lies in the fact that the elected representatives of the people pay no heed to the elected head nor to the citizens who elect them. Neitner are the Congressmen their own masters. Their acts betray them as the tools of the vested interests whose sole purpose is to throttle liberal legislation.

The record of the last Congress is as dismal a record as ever attained by a legislative body. Grade their accomplishments on measures designed to improve the conditions among the common people and their mark will be zero. Fair employment was defeated. Anti-Poll Tax Bills failed to pass. Of course, anti-lynch bills were just a myth as far as Congress was concerned. Further, the Murray-Wagner-Dingle Health Bill together with the Wagner-Ellender-Taft proposal, which would bring housing construction within the reach of veterans and the low-income group, were studiously neglected.

So much for what the law-maker didn't do. Now, let's look at what they did. The phony Price Control Bill was perpetuated against the people. It protected the producer instead of the consumer. An emasculated Full Employment measure was finally pushed through. The United States Employment Service was returned to the states. And, finally, Congress had a field day in passing legislation favorable to big business, all the while condemning labor leaders and all liberals as either Communist or the tools of Communism.

President Truman has shown his stand on the question of rights for Negroes, Jews and other oppressed minority groups. Results have shown, however, that he is powerless against the present make-up of Congress to accomplish any social reforms.

Today the need is greater than ever before to start a grass-roots house-cleaning of all Congressmen based upon their voting record alone. Organizations like the American Veterans' Committee and the CIO-PAC are instructing and blazing the trail for political reforms.

Liberals of all color and tint must unite to elect a progressive Congress in 1946. Unless this is done, instead of witnessing a social "Renaissance" we will see the few gains already made fade before our eyes.

POLITICAL MOOD

The Defender Chicago, Ill. Defender

Negro People Disillusioned

Chicago, Ill.

By EARL CONRAD

NEW YORK—The political mood of the Negro American at the moment manifests itself in the form of an almost total disillusion with the Truman Administration, but a disillusion matched only by an equal mistrust and rejection of the Republican Party. 8-10-46

There is no evidence that the breakaway from the leadership of President Truman and those Democratic reactionaries whom he leads means that this is being followed by anything so simple as a swing of the pendulum over to the Republican Party. Sat. 8-10-46

At a moment when the Negro is actualy voting inside the Democratic primaries in the Southland in fairly considerable numbers, at a moment when a Negro-white Democratic alliance in Georgia actually outvoted Gene Talmadge in a historic primary, there is no consolation for the Republican Party; nothing but complication. There is nothing in the current disillusion of the Negro masses with the Truman cabal to lead the Republican National Committee to suppose that it has any other weapon at its disposal for corraling Negro votes other than the treasury of its public relations committee and the hope that quislingism among certain Negro leaders is as high now as it was in 1944 and that it will continue so. There is absolutely nothing in the Republican Party program or Republican individuals at the moment to convince the Negro people of anything other than that Republicans expect to go on carrying out the provisions of the "gentlemen's agreement" with the Southern Democrats of 1876 as faithfully as they performed this service under Mr. Dewey in 1944.

Defender

Continue Compromise

It is still the hope—a dangerous one right now—that the traditional North-South, Democratic-Republican compromise over Negro rights can be continued in 1948. 8-10-46

That this must be the strategy of the leadership of both major parties is evident in the fact that both parties promised a national FEPC in 1944, and, during the last session of Congress, both conspired to destroy even this modicum of concession to Negro advance. The Republican contribution to the defeat of this measure was so enormous, so unforgivable to Negro leadership, despite demagogic promises, that Republican repudiation appears to me to be as hearty at the moment as the rejection of Truman and Byrnes.

No one in America is clearer than the Negro that America is now dominated by a one-party system, a "Republican Party". Such a machinery that makes it possible for a popular vote to be nullified (Georgia's Talmadge) is now exposed as a dangerous and undemocratic instrument of class rule. The two major parties have operated trickily on a national scale as white supremacy has operated electorally in Georgia. The power of the Democratic-Republican coalition in Congress, defying the entire national will and repudiating Rooseveltism as if it were a disease, has become so evident as a "one-class, one-party" business, that it is no wonder the Negro group was quick to react to labor's intimations of the need for a new party and even to step out ahead of labor in asking for a clean break with the present "two party" combination of anti-labor, anti-Negro, anti-people's policy.

FDR Death A Blow

The current impasse in the Negro community's political direction stemmed directly from the death of F. D. Roosevelt. The dangers inherent in the ascent of a Missourian to the Presidency were feared and expressed at once. An examination of the headlines of the Negro press from that day until this shows a steady deterioration of confidence. There have been brief flurries of support to progressive views expressed by the President. There has been in fact a wholehearted support to movements to keep the Office of Price Administration alive. There was determined participation of the organized Negro in the recent strike wave. There has been, since the death of Roosevelt, a marked manifestation of Negro-white labor unity in the face of a rapid deterioration of national and foreign policy. The Negro has been looking sharply to the CIO, to PAC, to the organization drive in the South. That the Negro has not moved toward the Republicans, but has moved toward the left, has been evident in two main responses: alertness to third party possibilities and recruitment of Negroes in large numbers to the Communist Party. The Communist Party reports that one-third of its recent 15,000 membership gain is Negro. This is an enormous proportion, and it reveals the leftward movement of the Negro and counter-indicates any tendency to go over to the Republicans.

The manner in which the Federal Government has tolerated a resurgence of traditional violence against the Negro as a means of suppressing the Negro's natural and just post-war aspirations to an improved citizenship status, has been equalled only by the determination of Governor Dewey in New York to play compromise with the Negro question again as he did in the spring of 1944 when he succeeded in placating the South by sabotaging passage of the State FEPC. Now Dewey finds himself trying to whitewash the police killing of the Ferguson brothers in Freeport, L.I., even though a united front of Negro and white organizations in New York and throughout the country has urged trial of the policeman who killed the Negro GIs. Dewey has a people's fight on his hands and he has taken a class and party position. He hopes to kill off the case swiftly. If Patrolman Joseph Romeika, the killer, is not punished, Dewey won't get a Negro vote in New York for Governor this fall. What he will do after he kills off the Ferguson case is to make about three new $5,000 a year appointments to the key Republicans in Harlem—if there are any.

Chicago, Ill.

Republican Compromise

I mention in detail the foregoing case because it typifies traditional Republican compromise with Negro lives, and reveals better than any other single issue at the moment why the Negro in the metropolitan area is as sick of Republican politics as those emanating from Democrat Byrnes' State Department. Sat. 8-10-46

If the Democrats have taken little interest in the increased relief case load of Negro unemployed in New York and elsewhere, and the increased cost of living generally which affects Negroes in particular, the Republicans' only interest has been to cooperate with and help fashion Democratic Party sabotage of the people's standard of living. The Negro is full well aware of Republican collusion and joint responsibility for the current Democratic drive toward depression.

It would be a mistake, in my view, to attribute the developments of the past year to Truman's "weakness." Mr. Truman, it appears to me, has been trying to play the same kind of two-policy game as his predecessor, but operating well to the right of that policy. When Roosevelt uttered a left position but performed to the right, he could get away with it because in general he was left of center. When Truman utters a progressive sentiment it no longer carries weight because his practical emphasis is so consistently on the right. The most truthful utterance he ever made was when he said, over the air, "I want no conflict with Congress." He went on to indicate then that he might, he would have conflict with Congress, but it has never developed. What did develop was the calling in of one Republican after another. It was as if Truman, fearful that he would be viewed as a sectional President, hastened to assure Republicans he was for the North too.

Railroad Strike Defender

The removal of both major parties from the common interest was best exemplified in the railroad strike when Truman called for total suppression of labor, which would mean Christ-knows-what for the Negro. That was the pay-off. The Republicans including Dewey, Taft and Stassen distinguished themselves in that crisis by an incomparable display of opportunism. They would destroy the workingman who went on strike but wouldn't put him in the Army as punishment. That was going too far In these not very subtle distinctions between the major parties lies the stalemate at the moment for Negroes, white labor, liberals, farmers and small business. It remains a choice between one party which would have transformed the United States Army, an instrument of national defense, into a concentration camp for striking workers, and another party which would use the Army for its traditional purposes and find other means of strait-jacketing labor. Chicago, Ill.

Is it any wonder that the Negro is eagerly watching what labor, independents and the left will do and what hopes remain for rebuilding the shattered labor-democratic coalition mostly centered in the Northern wing of the Democratic Party?

45d 1946

General

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Huey Long And 35 to 1

Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 10-18-46

When the late Huey Long quit his job as a tea salesman he told the sales manager of the McCormick Company:

"I'm gonna be President of the United States. For every man who makes a decent living in this country, there are 35 who just scrape along. I'll help those 35 and they'll help me."

So, Huey Long set out cynically shouting "share the wealth" and "every man a king."

It worked so well that a cold fear crept over the nation and a great sigh of relief went up when Huey Long passed on to that bourne from which no traveler returns.

But, apparently, what he said caused no one to think save the sales manager, Charles P. McCormick, who went back to take the negative side of Huey's statement and revolutionize the tea business. He found that at least some of the 35 had never had a real chance and had not failed because of laziness or incompetency.

One great, dismal, obvious fault which the reactionary persons in our country stupidly fail to see is that in the political field the great majority of those trying to do something about the 35 who "just scrape along" almost always are the Huey Longs.

An exception was Roosevelt, who tried on a national scale. And if you don't think anything was accomplished, take a look at the national income figures. They will demonstrate how many persons have been pulled out of the "below $1,000-per-year" income class in the past 10 years. And the war didn't do all of it by any means.

Maybe I am wrong to toss his name in this at all, but it needs saying. Because we are now in the middle of a national miasma which seems to be saying that all of a sudden this nation has got to make up its mind whether it is going to go to the extreme left or right.

Nothing could be worse for the country than such thinking.

What we need to do is to go ahead on the American highway. If this country ever is persuaded by the smart manipulators that our only choice is between the extremes, then indeed will I move over and sit in the pew with those who think that all is lost.

Liberalism It so happens I always have despised Communism and its methods. I have never thought other than if the people of this country knew about the workings of this ideology and knew its leaders, they would be damaged by them. We are in trouble with them now because they, like the Huey Longs, knew about the 35 who just scrape along and went to work on them. They have taken over several unions, including the crews that run the shipping. It means that a very few persons have great power.

But, again, it must be said the only reason they were able to do so was because of the unintelligent attitude of the rest of us.

The great drive now is on to make the decent, wholesome quality of liberalism seem to be Communistic, or at best, merely a sort of silly, Pollyanna sort of business having no place in a practical world. Or, that all persons with any liberal thought are whooping after Henry Wallace and demanding milk for Hottentot tots.

Party The campaigners seek to say that the Democratic Party has been captured by the Communists and the PAC. Nothing could be more false. The PAC's investigation by a congressional committee reveals the PAC to have been kicked around more times than it won. When it did win it had the good sense to join others in support of a candidate who was good at getting votes. Jim Folsom, of Alabama, is an example. We will get nowhere breaking up the Democratic Party, which always has been one of diverse groups—a Joseph's coat party.

Bosses of the big city machines, Republican and Democratic scrambled for the labor and Negro vote. I have taken a second look and I find that the same bosses are in control. They will ride any vote that comes along, Negro, PAC or radical.

It can't do this country any good to swing back far to the right and resume the Republican concept of the time of Hoover and before of paying attention only to the one person in 36 who is making a decent living. If we do someone is going to take the other 35 and go to work on them. Some will turn to Communism and some will go over to the Hitler line or some other line such as Huey Long was espousing. Before long the country will really be fouled up and we will be in deep trouble.

This country was founded on liberalism. Liberalism believes in the freedom of the indurdued—not a collectivist state.

Pride We used to take a great pride in the fact. We founded it for opportunity of the individual, for the dignity of the individual life, for religious freedom and speech and living.

It will be a very great failure if we let the smart and shrewd propagandists make us confuse a liberal attitude with Communism or the confusion of Henry Wallace's position.

Certainly there isn't an ounce of liberalism to a ton of Communism. But, by the same token, there isn't any in any form of totalitarianism.

McCormick took Huey Long's idea and moved a tea business out of the red into the largest and most successful tea business in the world.

I think we can take the same idea and build the strongest force for democracy and the rights of man ever conceived by the greatest advocates of those rights. It would be a country against which every wave of Communism or totalitarianism in any form would break and fail.

But we won't do it if we allow the campaign of today push us into a hurried, frantic, unnecessary choice of extremes.

We have seen in Russia, Spain and Hitler's Germany what the choice of an extreme eventually means.

Stick to your liberal guns.

Earl Conrad

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

Lincoln and the Negro

CLARENCE W. SCOTT, of 3538 Ellis ave., Chicago, wrote to me recently, as a reader of the Defender since its founding, to ask why it was that no writer of today would mention Abraham Lincoln without praising him. Mr. Scott cited several of Lincoln's early statements to indicate that he was not overly-friendly to the Negro, and that he was in favor of colonizing the Negro to Africa. Scott reports that on Aug. 21, 1858, Lincoln said: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly to interfere with . . . slavery . . . where it exists . . . and I have no inclination to do so." My correspondent adds that Lincoln repeated this statement on March 4, 1861.

Sat. 6-22-46

What Scott says about Lincoln's unclarity about the Negro-white situation before he became President and for some time after he was in the White House is quite true. I think that as late as 1862 Lincoln was in favor of colonizing the Negro to Africa. And any examination of the early speeches of Lincoln will reveal many such compromise statements.

Even so, I, like most students of the Civil War, am a Lincoln man, and I will tell you why . . .

How Abe Grew

HOW FAST LINCOLN moved is a point that I was discussing recently with Dr. Carter G. Woodson, that expert on Lincoln and the Civil War. Dr. Woodson put it to me this way: "By 1864 Lincoln reached the same position as that held by John Brown in 1859."

And that is quite true. In October of 1859 John Brown invaded Virginia and sought, by military means, to start the movement which would liberate the Negro. By the Spring of 1864 Abraham Lincoln commissioned Martin Delaney as a major, making him the first Negro major in the country, and consented to Delany's plan to have Negro troops carry the war into the South. In fact Lincoln urged the formation of a Negro regiment and did all he could to help Negroes free themselves militarily in the South itself. In the early part of his administration he had been reticent to use Negro troops, but he reached that position too.

Now when a man grows you have to give him credit for it.

It is all right to remember a man's origins and weaknesses but his impact on society has to be measured by what he believes and does when he is the stage of influencing society. On this basis Lincoln should be acceptable to progressives.

You know and I know that Lincoln did not see this thing in the simple, honest and forthright way that John Brown and other Abolitionists saw it, yet under Lincoln, chattel slavery was knocked out, the nation was preserved and the Confederates took a blow from which they never fully recovered even in the period of the Restoration of white rule.

Willkie and the Race Question

THE STORY was told to me only recently that the late Wendell Willkie was very weak on the Negro question as recently as five or six years ago, but he too grew. Just before he died he had more clarity on the issue for our period possibly than Lincoln did for his period. We have to measure Willkie too by what he was saying toward the end and the effect he was having then rather than by his simple vote-getting approach of a few years earlier.

But I am afraid that after Willkie died so did the Republican Party as far as the Negro is concerned. There is nothing left in that outfit as far as I can see for the Negro group or the so-called "common man" but the recollection of Lincoln himself and we can't get rid of Jim Crow with a pleasant memory. At the moment there is also great crisis in the Democratic Party, one half of which is rotten, corrupt and oppressive, and the other half, the progressive- labor-PAC section of which is in a quandary how to make its influence felt inside that machine. It is interesting though that the Democrats do have "wings" as we see in the Georgia vote fight. I hope any friends I have in Georgia will help defeat the fascist-Klan wing represented by Eugene Talmadge.

South Carolinians Seek to Bar All-White Groups

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 10-19-46

CHARLESTON, S.C.—(ANP)—Success of a nation-wide movement to block seating all-white delegates at national conventions of both major parties was reported recently by John H. McCray, chairman of the South Carolina Progressive Democratic party.

Steps have been taken by National Democratic party officials to disbar from the 1948 national convention delegates from States that decline to include non-white citizens in their State parties, as is the case in South Carolina.

The report stated in part:

"I have been informed that necessary steps will be taken at the next national convention to disbar from membership delegations which derty membership in the party on a basis of race and color.

Source Kept Secret

"While it is not expedient now to make public the authority of this information, it can be said that the advice is reported to me after extensive efforts on a nationwide basis which leave little doubt as to its possible occurrence."

Mr. McCray's report said further, it may well affect pending actions in several other Southern States.

South Carolina. However, it may well affect pending actions in several other Southern States.

Source Kept Secret

"While it is not expedient now to make public the authority of this information, it can be said that the advice is reported to me after extensive efforts on a nationwide basis which leave little doubt

cance of this move will be covered in a full report to all executives in a full report to all executive and unit officers we hope to submit within the next 10 days."

At the moment, it technically

Wallace for Mixed Schools

The News and Courier

Hear this, you South Carolinians, senators, representatives and others, from speech delivered in behalf of the New party, "Democratic" party, candidates, in Los Angeles: *Charleston, S.C. 10-29-46*

"Contending that racism was an unforgivable sin, Mr. Wallace said that in the interests of world peace, as well as domestically, 'there should be no discrimination because of race, color or religion in labor unions, educational and other institutions.'"

There you have a former vice president, a member of the late Mr. F. D. Roosevelt's cabinet, who served a year in Mr. Truman's cabinet before he was displaced, speaking for mixed negro and white colleges and schools. There can be no separate racial schools in the South or elsewhere unless shall be discrimination on account of race.

In the same speech, this Mr. Wallace, referring to opposition in congress of Republicans "as well as Southern Democrats to the FEPC", said that he "was ashamed of the Democratic party in the senate and house of representatives" and was "also ashamed of some Republicans".

The News and Courier is not a member of the party for which Henry A. Wallace is an exponent. Are you?

Inflated Vote Prices

The News and Courier

The variety of explanations of the defeat of the "Democrats", November 5, is countless, there is no cessation of the outpourings of them, and still that one that should be plainest even to the simple-minded statesmen and gazettes is not mentioned.

The Republicans beat the Democrats because the prices of influence and votes, like the prices of steaks and liquors, are inflated. Although money is cheap nothing else is; hence money won't buy elections.

In 1932 money was high-priced and jobs were few. (No one went on strike.). Millions of people were losing the little money they had, in banks that were closing. Money was real, for, if it was paper, gold could be had for it. Everything was cheap except money, and it was very dear.

Mr. F. D. Roosevelt was ushered into office and, after a few weeks became a New Dealer. His government began to spend and spend and continued to borrow and borrow. "Prosperity" arrived. Prices of all things began to rise, and the manufacture of money, which no longer was of gold or exchangeable for it, flourished mightily.

In those days, 1933 and following years, money began to drip and drop for Washington into communities that were poor in commodities except politicians and voters. When $350,000 or $3,500,000 came to a town in which nearly all the houses needed new coats of paint and kitchen sinks, a sufficient number of its people worshipped the New Deal. (It was not a Golden calf.). The prices of steaks and liquors rose, but Washington rained down money. Majorities cared not a continental (look up the meaning of "continental") whence came the money as long as it would buy goods and hire politicians. The number of hired men in government service doubled, trebled, quadrupled, and the hiring halls were, or so it appeared, managed by congressmen.

In a period of depression always is a number of voters on the market sufficient to be the balance of power and decide an election. *Charleston, S.C.*

The community to which comes a bag of swag from Washington with which to build a postoffice or an airport seldom worries that it will be paid for by their children and grandchildren as well as by themselves. *Thurs. 10-14-46*

The hour has arrived when money is plentiful and little or nothing else is. The people crave automobiles, the workers in the factories crave good dinners and good clothes which they can't get. "Labor" goes on strike. Thus the scarcity of automobiles persists. There is also scarcity of houses and good beds. Money, or capital is on strike, here and there.

In a depression, anybody or any government that can borrow can buy votes and offices. A person with no charm whatsoever can buy votes, if the people have little money and he has the key to the treasury. *Thurs. 11-14-46*

Now the price of votes and of communities has become inflated and, cheap as money is, it will no more buy them than it will buy porterhouse steaks and new bungalows with modern conveniences. Hence the New Deal party is writhing in its ruins.

'The Truth, the Real Truth'

The News and Courier

A few days ago The News and Courier commented upon the remarks of a newspaper of the great county of white people, Greenville, descriptive of a wicked and dangerous indifference in its constituency to the recent conquest by the horrible, seven times horrible, Republicans. *Charleston, S.C.*

The Greenville News, with its accustomed delicacy and cute qualifications, described the reception of the Republican victories by the people of the Piedmont as one of a nonchalance easily transmutable into satisfaction and joy. It said in effect that many people in the Piedmont had arrived at the conclusion that not all Republicans should be hanged as post-war war criminals.

We remarked that in this change of public opinion in that part of South Carolina lurks danger to the party in South Carolina still going by the name "Democratic".

Now comes The Easley Progress, ablest of the Upcountry journals, published in the county in which white people are in greater proportion to negroes than in any other county of the 46, saying, "The truth is, we mean the real truth, that thousands of Carolinians are highly pleased with the outcome of Tuesday's election."

These things being correct, or half true, as diagnosis of opinion in the 13 or 14 counties of the state in which half the white people vote (less than one-third of the state's territory), The News and Courier declares again that there is likelihood, "danger" if the word be preferred, of a political revolution in South Carolina in 1948.

What will happen if handouts shall depend upon the generosity of the Republicans? It will be admitted that the South Carolinians are not disloyal to handouts. Many of them are downright ticklesome.

If the revolution, the house-cleaning, the complete turn-over, shall come to pass—and it would not necessarily be coalition with or absorption by the Republican party—the explanation of it will be that not in many a year has the Democracy of South Carolina had expounders and leaders faithful to the sterling and lasting principles of the grandfathers of the living generation, the Democrats who rescued the state from misgovernment. *Wed. 11-13-46*

It may be said in extenuation of the remissness of the leaders that they have not learned those principles and do not understand their meaning.

The understanding has been limited to the Handout principle. No leader should be blamed for what he does not know and cannot learn.

To The Courier-Journal Editor:

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

In a recent article in The Courier-Journal, Frank R Kent, states that the Negro vote was alienated from support of the Republican tickets by the strategy of Mr. Farley, as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, the action of Mrs. Roosevelt in giving the Negro the glad-hand socially and President Roosevelt's appointment of members of that race to office, and extending to them the benefit of relief measures during the depression, and, now that Mr. Farley, Mrs. Roosevelt, and President Roosevelt have passed out of the picture and industrial conditions have taken away the necessity for relief, the occasion is ripe for return of the Negro to the Republican Party and the Republican board of strategy is now formulating plans to recapture the Negro vote and return it en masse to that party. Mr. Kent is in error as to wher and why the Negro vote became alienated from the Republican Party and it is the opinion of this writer that those who formulate campaign strategy for the Republican ticket are mistaken in believing that the Negro will ever be induced to return en masse to that party. *Sun. 10-13-46*

During the period 1918-1924 the writer served on the bench in Washington, D. C., under appointment of President Wilson, and became acquainted with Negro lawyers, teachers and other leaders of that race. The exodus of the Negro out of the Republican Party started long before Mr. Roosevelt was nominated or Mr. Farley and Mrs. Roosevelt ever came on the scene. The writer knows this is so because he assisted in organizing the movement. The movement got its impulse in the Wilson Administration. The intelligent Negro saw that the policies of that administration were to the best interest of his race as they were to all men and women who eat their bread in the sweat of their faces; and when they learned through official contact with Democratic officials, including those from the South, that those officials, exponents of the will and purpose of that party, were not hostile to their race, but administered the law and their offices with justice and fairness to the Negro, the exodus away from the Republican Party started.

When Republican strategy is based upon the assumption that since Farley, Mrs. Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt are gone and the occasion for Government relief has passed, the Negro can be led en masse back into the Republican Party like a herd of stray cattle, that assumption discredits alike the motive that induced him to leave that party and also his awareness of the interest of his race.

ROBERT BIBB HARDISON.

Louisville.

A Challenge To The Republicans

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 11-16-46

(An Editorial)

The Negro left the Republican Party because of its failure to press for the elimination of the obstacles preventing his legitimate human claims for complete recognition as American citizens.

In the past 14 years, the Republicans have consistently under the leadership of reactionary forces within the party forged an alliance with Southern reactionaries who have stymied the Negro's progress.

The late Franklin D. Roosevelt raised our status in housing, health, jobs, civil liberties and in politics.

1. Negroes obtained the right to vote in the South.
2. Negroes were given an opportunity to break the occupational "caste" system through which they were practically restricted to jobs as porters, maids and other menial tasks. President Roosevelt through the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee established the principle that the maintenance of fair employment practice is the responsibility of the Federal Government.
3. Negroes were given a fair opportunity in Federal employment.
4. The first Federal indictments and convictions in lynchings and abuse of civil rights were obtained.
5. For the first time in our history a Negro was elevated to a governorship and another to the Federal bench.

Will the Republicans who now control the Congress continue their sponsorship of the reactionary alliance with Bilbo, Rankin and Talmadge, or will they help to extend the gains thus far obtained?

The Negro's goals are still the same. From the heat of war for the "four freedoms" we have forged the objectives we advocate.

These objectives are:

1. The establishment of a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee which will give to the Negro an industrial bill of rights and assure him security and equality of opportunity in our economic system. The same protection should be given all Americans regardless of creed, national origin or race.
2. The passage of an anti-lynching law. Such legislation will guarantee to every American citizen the freedom from fear of violence because of his racial identity. There is nothing sensational nor Communistic about the desire of citizens to feel safe in their homes. *Defender Chicago, Ill.*
3. The passage of a law destroying the poll tax as an instrument in our elections. Our democracy is predicated upon the freedom of elections. *Sat. 11-16-46*
4. The unseating of Senator Bilbo. Now that the Republicans have a working majority in both houses of Congress, it is fitting that they not scrap the Bilbo investigations being so ably led by Senator Kilgore, Democrat, of West Virginia.

These are the challenges of the hour. The Republicans now have within their power an opportunity to accomplish these objectives.

Already Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York State who learned a lesson from the 1944 election has taken a stand on some of these vital issues. His stature looms as a star on the horizon for 1948.

It remains to be seen if the Republican Party will carry forward the dreams of Abraham Lincoln and Wendell Willkie.

The Chicago Defender will keep a constant vigilance on these issues that so vitally affect the Negro's status in the American society.

The South and the One-Party System

Washington Post, D.C.

In less than a week from two highly regarded sources have come urgings that the south abandon its traditional one-party system. Times Herald 2-28-46

"The only way to get real representation in the south is to have a two-party system," Tom Stokes, Pulitzer-prize winning Atlantan told members of the Georgia Press Institute in Athens Saturday.

Atlanta Constitution

"I hope that in time a two-party system can be established in the south," Richmond Times-Dispatch Editor Virginius Dabney told eight hundred southern educators here on Monday. "It seems to me that our one-party system is conducive to apathy, decay and bossism and that it stifles the free play of ideas."

What Stokes and Dabney are saying is, of course, nothing new.

Since the days of Grady, practical southerners have realized that this section can expect little from either Democrats or Republicans so long as its support is undeviating and assured.

But we are convinced that the answer lies, not altogether in traditional prejudice, but more in the caliber organization which the Republican party has had in the south and in the type of candidates which it has seen fit to offer for local offices. It will take time and effort, but we are convinced that, properly approached, the south can and will get away from the one-party system which has worked for so long to its detriment.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

Atlanta Ga. Constitution

TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

(Quitman Free Press)

Sound commentators like Tom Stokes, former Georgian and now a Washington columnist, and Editor Virginius Dabney, of Richmond, have recently brought up the matter of a two-party system for the South. It has been discussed from time to time for a number of years. Mr. Dabney says "our one-party system is conducive to apathy, decay and bossism." The Atlanta Constitution, commenting on this, says traditional prejudice is not altogether responsible, that the type of candidates the Republican party presents for local offices has much to do with keeping the one-party system going. 3-9-46

The whole country needs great leaders in government, men who are not so responsive to pressure groups and pork barrel politics. There is something revolting in the spectacle of a great democracy pulling and hauling and scrambling for party and sectional benefits. Party leaders, unions, business interests and at long last that forgotten man, the Southern farmer, regard Washington as a grab bag. We are still starry-eyed enough to believe that the people long for leadership and would rise to it. It would not greatly matter to them whether such leaders were called Republican or Democrat. Ga. 3-7-46

Eldest Son Of Late President Directs Group

Memphis World, Tenn.

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—Jittery politicians have another worry—they've got to watch Harold Ickes, whom American Negroes remember with warm feelings because of his attitude in the famous DAR-Marian Anderson controversy.

Deserting the Democratic party as such, Mr. Ickes is heading up a group of white and colored artists, scientists and professional people known as the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

The national political director of the organization is Jas. Roosevelt, eldest son of the late President. Only last week, Mr. Roosevelt was host at a cocktail party for newsmen in this city.

DESERTS PARTY

Tue. 3-19-46

Ickes does not threaten forming a third party, but he is known for bolting the Republicans in 1912 to follow Theodore Roosevelt and now, after serving 13 years in the cabinet here under Roosevelt and Truman, he announces he never had been a Democrat.

James Roosevelt has been a Democrat, but he told a Philadelphia audience recently that neither the Republican party nor the Democratic party today means anything.

A convincing speaker, with a natural ability, Roosevelt is being groomed to fill somebody's political shoes.

This 1946 Roosevelt-Ickes combination is off to a non-partisan and although it is a liberal group it is not communistic as was charged on the floor of the house last week by that hater of Communists John Rankin, who sees a communist behind every telephone pole in America and has communistic nightmares in his sleep.

ORGANIZE TEN MILLION

The plan is to organize 10 million independent voters of all groups and race to fight the two parties. Ickes has a following and probably no man in Washington during Roosevelt's administration, other than Roosevelt himself, was more influential among some groups of voters than Ickes.

It is significant that some notable Negro artist and authors are on the committee's national board of directors. Tue. 3-19-46

They include Duke Ellington, Hazel Scott, Langston Hughes and Paul Robeson. Other nationally known entertainers of the other group include Eddie Cantor, Frank Sinatra, Walter Houston, Bill Mauldin, and Orson Welles. The national chairman is the famous Jo Davidson, sculptor.

APRIL CONFERENCE

A conference is being called in Washington April 5-6-7 sponsored by 25 members of congress and more than 200 other prominent Americans, according to Representative Adolph Sabath, Democrat, who announced the conference last week. Like Ickes' committee, the April conference includes many prominent Negroes. It includes many liberal Democrats and avowed Communists such as New York City Councilman Benjamin Davis, Jr., Tue. 3-19-46

Will Ickes be the new leader to guide the Negro vote into effective channels where it can elect men to congress who are not controlled by outside influences and who recognize the nature of the serious problems facing Negroes in this country? The committee has its eye on the 1946 congressional elections and will function much in the manner of the PAC in endorsing and working for principles and not parties. If it is successful in this first all-out effort, it may be a strong factor in the 1948 elections. Tue. 3-19-46

At any rate, Mr. Ickes has warned President Truman that a fight is ahead.

Headed by Randolph

Third Party Group Formed

Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

CHICAGO—Headed by A. Philip Randolph, a group of liberal leaders laid the foundation for a third political party to participate in the 1948 national elections, in a meeting of "progressives" representing farm and union organizations from sixteen States held here last week.

The seventy-five delegates attending set up a national committee with Mr. Randolph, president of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as temporary chairman. Sat. 4-13-46

PLAN MAY MEETING

A second meeting has been scheduled for May 4 at which time their future plans and policies will be discussed.

Among the notables in civic and labor circles who attended and took part in the discussions were John Dewey, professor emeritus of Columbia University; James Patton, president of the National Farmers Union; Simeon Martin, president of the Michigan Farmers Union; H. L. Mitchell, president of the National Farm Labor Union and Samuel Wolchak, president of the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes (CIO).

Randolph In 3d Party Move

N.Y. Herald Tribune, New York, N.Y.

Mon. 4-8-46

Representatives of 75 progressive farm and union groups from 16 states met secretly at Chicago over the weekend to discuss formation of a third political party.

A statement issued last night advised that the conference established a provisional National committee temporarily headed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL.

The conference was initiated by John Dewey, Professor Emeritus of Columbia University; James Patton, President of the National Farmers Union; Simeon Martin, President of the Michigan Farmers Union; H. L. Mitchell, President of the National Farm Labor Union, and Samuel Wolchak, President of the United

1942. Foley said it would be a stimulant to the building of houses in rural areas, small towns and urban and suburban centers where neighborhood houses are in the $3000 to $3500 price range.

Meanwhile, there were indications that the Senate would be more kindly disposed to the Administration housing program when it comes before it this week. Administration leaders hope to put back in the bill the provision for housing subsidies which the House voted down.

The program, however, was still under fire from the real estate industry. The National Real Estate Foundation, meeting here today has planned a program devoted

End of 2-Party System Called Possibility

Louisville Courier-Journal

Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal.

New York, May 29.—President Truman's antistrike program may "open the eyes of labor, farm and co-operative leaders to the impossibility of continuing the wornout tradition of a two-party system in which neither party serves the interests of the people." 5-30-46 Louisville, Ky.

That opinion was expressed today by A. Philip Randolph, president of the A.F.L.-Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and chairman of the recently formed National Education Committee for a New Party.

PRACTICAL POLITICS

While we respect the intelligence of Paul Robeson and other members of the National Negro Congress who denounced the major political parties here last week, we seriously question any program that suggests that Negroes should withdraw from major party politics and rest their case on clipping a reactionary here and there in sporadic fashion.

For one thing nothing would please some of the major party bosses any more than for Negroes to isolate themselves along with a minority group in labor and get out of the mainstream of major party politics. We believe that Negroes should intensify their efforts in the major party machines and make it impossible for either the Republicans

or Democrats to advance reactionary candidates and measures. Saturday 6-15-46

Further we agree with Henry Wallace that the laborites and progressives who wish to desert the Democratic Party to form a third party will merely pave the way for a reactionary victory in 1948. Then again, the house of labor in the United States is split down the middle and a third party could not even count on the full support of organized labor.

The most hopeful political development in recent history is taking place in the South today where Negroes, voting in the Democratic primaries for the first time, are joining hands with liberal whites to oust reactionaries. Negro Democrats in the North and South in cooperation with white liberals can make their influence felt in 1948 as never before. Detroit, Michigan

The Negro vote will be sought by both parties to a greater extent in the future. This does not seem to be the time for the Negro to start chasing political rainbows and getting hysterical about some third party which promises everything but can deliver nothing. Staying on the outside of the major parties and making threats which cannot be backed up at the polls strikes us as a waste of time and energy at this juncture in American politics. Sat 6-15-46

Acknowledge Servility

The News and Courier Charleston, S. C.

The negroes who strive to get into the "white folks" party are, in the long run willing to be servile to the white folks. Negroes admit incapacity to maintain a negro party. Tues. 8-13-46

No Support For Negro Candidates

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

At a special call meeting of The Citizens Democratic Club Friday evening, leaders reaffirmed the position taken by the club last July in not approving or endorsing the candidacy of any Negro filing for public office at this time. Sat. 10-12-46

For Negro Independence

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

It is time for Negroes, not only in Virginia, but throughout the nation, to come out of the Democratic and Republican parties and formulate an independent organization of voters. The reasons for this decision are:

(1) The voting power of our group is weakened by division.

(2) Neither party wants us in its ranks. Richmond Va.

(3) The few appointive positions, whether national, international or local, do not advance the masses of our group. Neither do they help economically, which is a vital necessity for the substantial growth and independence of any people. Fri. 9-13-46

S. M. THOMPSON.

Richmond.

Third Parties

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Your editorial of Oct. 22 was evidently intended to get a rise out of your reading customers. You say, "Third Party Suggestions Are Sophomoric." You do not deplore the repressive election laws in about 40 of the States which exercise birth control on third parties. You tell us "fuzzy" political minds that we gain nothing by running away to third parties.

Was it not the Populist, Prohibition and Insurgent Liberal Republican Parties which developed public opinion for direct election of Senators, Woman Suffrage, and brought about the monetary reforms and the Federal Reserve Bank System? In fact, except for the great unforgettable and unforgivable double cross by William Jennings Bryan of the Populist Party,—it might usefully exist today. And, Tom Watson would be remembered for his younger rather than his latter days.

It is interesting to remember that the Prohibition Party, now practically extinguished by repressive election laws after 75 years of existence, did in 1884 throw New York State from Blaine to Cleveland and set the stage for Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive Party, and Woodrow Wilson. Atlanta, Ga.

If the Prohibition Party is persistently repressed, we will have another abortive "Anti-Saloon League" just as conscionable as the Ku Klux Klan type of pressure group. As a matter of fact, if the Republican Party takes over after the coming elections, there will be no more real change in management than would happen if Montgomery Ward and Company stockholders bought control of Sears-Roebuck. As far as our economic welfare is concerned, in such event, we would simply stamp the new name over the old catalogue. The people are tired of two-headed, one-bodied political parties. As soon as propagandized fear of Russia proves groundless and unity is no longer felt compulsory,—we should have a coalition government of several parties of varying degrees of liberalism. Wed. J. L. R. BOYD.

Atlanta. Nov. 11-6-46

Wallace Demands Equality Of Races

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

'Ashamed' Of Both Parties, He Admits In Speech

Sat. 10-26-46

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 25.—(AP)—Henry A. Wallace told a Negro audience today that he is "ashamed" of both the Democratic and Republican parties for their record regarding racial equality and fair employment practices.

The former cabinet member, at a luncheon winding up a two-day Los Angeles visit, said "we can put the finger of scorn on both parties for not having carried out platform promises."

Referring to opposition by Republicans as well as Southern Democrats to the FEPC, Wallace asserted that "actually, a large percentage of Republicans are for FEPC," and he added he was "ashamed of the Democratic party in the House and Senate and I am also ashamed of some Republicans."

He declared that opposition to FEPC by "big manufacturers" was "strictly from dollar motives, the most ignoble motive of all."

Contending that racism is "an unforgiveable sin," Wallace said that in the interests of world peace, as well as domestically, "there should be no discrimination because of race, color or religion in labor unions, educational and other institutions."

He said he was convinced the progressive delegation in Congress from California "will vote right" on the subject and added that "if California is to continue to be known as a progressive state you must come through on Nov. 5 for proposition 11."

Proposition 11 is an initiative measure on the Nov. 5 ballot proposing establishment of a state fair employment practices law.

FAILURE OF OUR PARTIES

Birmingham, Ala.

To the Editor of The Age-Herald:

A political party, in order to fulfill its intended function, must have certain principles, a program and must have party responsibility. Neither of our two parties meets these tests. The voter can have no idea what the candidate or officer holder believes in regard to pertinent issues as far as party label goes.

Despite the efforts of Stassen and La Follette there is little likelihood that the Republican party will accept a liberal program. The Democratic party is now in the hands of conservatives (in Congress), who out-Taft Taft in conservatism. Where are the liberals to turn?

The best solution would be to submerge both present parties and let them come up conservative and liberal, and let us forget present party allignments. At least then the voter could tell a man by his stripes. Age-Herald

Second best, the Democratic party, traditionally liberal, might accept liberalism openly and with some degree of unity. What then would become of most of the Southern delegation in Washington? Why not let them become Republican in name, since they carry the Republican program consistently. They are in principle and practice Republican anyway. We need a good strong Republican party in the South and they are the men to form it.

Either of the above solutions would enable us to get the real vote of the people on important issues. Imagine those of us who live in the South repeatedly voting for Roosevelt and at the same time casting our votes for others who opposed everything Roosevelt believed in—only because both were Democrats. Sat. 4-6-46

It may be that the people of the South are conservative. Perhaps we never have an expression from the people of the South; maybe the corporate interests and landed gentry (both groups naturally and honestly the most conservative interests to be found anywhere) designedly and cleverly bar many of the masses from the polls and control the others. The poll tax, racial "boogeyman" and machine politics

Dangerous for Upcountry

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

Commenting in a tone of sorrow upon the defeat of Carmichael, the nice candidate for governor in Georgia, who received a popular plurality of less than 9,000 in the primary, 100,000 colored "Democrats" having voted as a bloc for him, The Greenville News observes that in South Carolina's state senate each of the 46 counties has equal representation whether the voters be numerous or few, that this is a "county unit system", that it is an "undemocratic system". So it is. The Greenville News would have it changed, but almost tearfully, admits that "the hope of bringing about a more equitable (note that word "equitable") representation in the senate is not bright." (Inequitable means unjust.). Fri. 7-26-46

This newspaper of the Upcountry is democratic. In South Carolina the democrats are of all complexions. The Greenville News, being democratic, would have all sorts and conditions of men and women admitted to participation in the democratic party. A democratic "white man's party" is a ridiculous contradiction in terms.

Our republic was not founded as a democracy; it would not long live were it a democracy, and the democrats would have it revolutionized. The Greenville News, which would have representation in the state senate based on numbers of voters, would also have representation in the United States and the Electoral College so proportioned, and by that system New York would have 14 times, Pennsylvania would have nine times, as many United States senators and presidential electors as South Carolina has. This we say because of the unassailable reputation of The News for logic and consistency. Were its wishes as expressed gratified, South Carolina and all the states of small population would be delivered into the hand of the states ruled by Big Burg machines, by Hagues, Curleys, Kellys, Guffeys, Flynns and Reverend Clayton Powells. 7-16-46

In South Carolina democracy would be of especial profit to scalawags (the raw material of scalawag is abundant in South Carolina) of the Lowcountry counties wherein about three fourths of the colored people live. In 13 or 14 northern and Piedmont counties one half of the white people live and can vote, if they will. They could control the state if they knew how to stick together. That, they seem unable to learn—and never will they learn it under the teaching of their present-day gazettes and "leaders". The need of Greenville is an Alfred Williams and a James L. Orr. The little politicians of little voting counties of the Lowcountry even now have them by the throat, and The Greenville News would have a democratic system whereby the horde of Lowcountry negroes would be properties of Lowcountry scalawags. Friday

The Greenville News is out strong for democracy and, with all its mighty logical powers, it cannot and will not attempt to prove that any man or woman can be excluded from voting in a democratic party on account of race, color or creed. In Georgia, Mr. Carmichael's popular vote would have been a minority of 90,000 had not 100,000 colored democrats voted for him. The county unit system by which the colored democrats were deprived of victory in Georgia is abhorrent to The Greenville News.

Down with democracy! (small "d", you note), say we.

Harvard's John Dewey is honorary head of committee

Tribune Los Angeles, Calif.
Sat 9-7-46

NEW YORK — A. Philip Randolph has been chosen temporary chairman of the National Educational Committee for a New Party, which began a campaign for public support this week. National headquarters have been set up at 112 E. 19th st. here, but will be moved to Chicago shortly, Randolph said.

Although Randolph is the active leader of the new movement, which has Negro and white adherents, John Dewey, renowned philosopher of Harvard university, is honorary chairman. Other names given on the committee's letterhead are: Pearl Willen, temporary treasurer; C. J. McLanahan, temporary secretary; and Mary Martinson, administrative secretary.

In a statement sent persons likely to be prospective organizers of local committees about the country, Randolph rapped the domestic and foreign policies of both the Republican and Democratic parties.

"The people who believe in democracy," he said, "have tried through their own economic organizations to get legislation passed through state and national legislatures for full employment, fair employment practices, equitable tax laws, extension of social security, adequate health protection, etc. We find the two old parties, controlled by vested interests, forming a coalition to defeat these measures."

On the foreign front, Randolph said, the two parties have been equally as inept.

"We live in an age and a world which require the strict limitation of the sovereignty of individual nations in world affairs and the substitution of the principles of cooperation for those of exploitation within and without the national economy if we are to avert another war—a war that might mean the destruction of our civilization. The need for such limitation of sovereignty and thorough-going cooperative action on an international scale has been vigorously emphasized in the outstanding report on atomic energy. And yet in the present crisis, there has been, in general, a tragic failure of world leadership in the fight for a world organization limiting national sovereignty and adequate to the crucial tasks ahead."

"The great social evils of our day have existed for years in city, state and nation under the control of the Republican and Democratic parties," Randolph went on. "These parties have had the power to grapple with these evils and the grave responsibility to do so. They have completely failed, however, to meet the challenge." Tribune

Declaring that the "fundamental issues of our times" can only be "successfully met" by the mobilization of "all progressive and democratic forces", Randolph called for a "new party alignment" of the "progressive forces in all useful groups—labor, farmer, professional, salaried-employee, small business and consumer groups."

These, the statement said, must be "democratically controlled from the grass roots . . . dedicated to thorough-going democracy in industry, government . . . human relations . . . committed to clean, honest . . . efficient government . . . must promote human dignity and freedom and be opposed to totalitarianism in any form . . . must work toward the development of a world organization of free people" Los Angeles, Calif.

The New Deal "was not enough", Randolph said, pointing out that "millions of men and women continued to remain idle (under the New Deal administration) until the coming of World War II.

Frankly stating the Socialist slant of the new party, Randolph, himself a Socialist, went on, "The new party . . . must go beyond the old 'New Deal'. It must see to it that the citadels of power—the giant monopolies and other key industries—are controlled not by the few for the benefit of absentee owners, but by the many for the benefits of the entire community".

Basis for the new party is now being laid, Randolph said. The educational committee, which he heads, was formed last Spring in Chicago. Not political yet, the committee functions as an educational body, advancing the principles of the new party and educating the public to the need for it. Sat. 9-7-46

A national conference was announced to be held in December.

Colored Man's Party

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

The colored man, Philip Randolph, president of the Pullman car porters' union, is decidedly clever, with limitations, he is educated too, and he has "come out for a new modern political party . He accuses both the Republican and Democratic parties of "failure to meet the challenge". The News and Courier will be disappointed if this colored man shall not succeed in forming his new national party. Tri. 8-2-46

School To Teach New Techniques In Political Organizing Planned

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A unique educational institution that aims to unveil the intricacies of professional political campaigning to the average voter will be held at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C., for four days beginning June 26, it was announced last night by the National Citizens Political Action Committee, sponsors of the school.

Called the School of Political action Techniques, it will bring together more than 80 specialists in politics, political analysis and public relations to teach 39 courses ranging from "Building Ward and Precinct Organizations" and "Organizing Women for Political Action" to the use of radio, leaflets and posters in political campaigns. It is believed to be the first school of its kind ever conducted in America.

Included in the roster of faculty and discussion leaders are Dr. Elmo Roper, public opinion analyst; Pare Lorenz, motion picture director; Dr. Frank Kingdom, Chairman of National Citizens PAC; Allan Lomax, former librarian of the Archives of American Folk Songs, Library of Congress; Elmer Benson, former Governor of Minnesota; Thomas J. Brandon, President of the Public Affairs Films Production Co.; Sam O'Neal, public relations director of the Democratic National Committee; Verda Barnes, director of the women's division of CIO-PAC; Dr. Hadley Cantril, Professor of Psychology, Princeton University; Robert Heller, Columbia Broadcasting System director; and Dr. Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and former Defense Housing Administrator.

Although the school will be open to anyone, attendance will be limited to 500 students.

In making the announcement, the school's director, C. B. Baldwin, former Farm Security Administrator and executive vice-chairman of National Citizens PAC, declared:

"This school is a natural outgrowth of a growing political consciousness on the part of the voters of America. We believe that it represents an impourtant forward step in American political life. Politics has been too nearly monopolized by political machines. It is time that it becomes the business of every citizen.

"Equally important, it is time that politics be raised from the amateur to the professional level. Politics is a highly technical business, though it is seldom, if ever, treated as such. Modern methods of economical administration, research and public relations have rarely been applied to politics.

"We hope that this first session of the School will enable us to collect a body of knowledge on the problems of organizing, research, management, finance and public relations which will result in improved operation for independent political organizations throughout the country. Only through effective political action based on issues by the great masses of American people can we hope to achieve the fulfillment of our hopes for peace, opportunity for the individual and security for all."

Courses of the school are organized into five major departments.

Featured in the Department of Political Strategy is a course on Techniques of Dealing with Congress, a discussion that covers methods of effectively informing them on the needs and opinions of their constituents through the use of delegations, personal contact, effective mail and wire campaigns and the holding of unofficial hearings. Among the faculty members for this course are Irving Richter, legislative representative of the United Automobile Workers; Harold Buckles, secretary to Representative Adolph Sabath (D.-Ill.); and Mrs. Katherine Shryver, executive secretary of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

Nine courses in the Department of Political Organization and Administration range from methods of organizing a citizens' committee to financing a campaign, training canvassers, registration campaigns and the art of ringing doorbells. Among the faculty members are Sidney Davis, secretary of the American Labor Party; Barney Conal, director of Voters Research, Inc., of New York; Henry Hoke, author of "Blackmail" and "It's a Secret"; Dr. John H. Miller, Director of the Citizens Research Bureau of Chicago; and Orville Olson, director of the Independent Voters of Minnesota.

The Department of Political Groups covers the specialized appeals to rural groups, clergy, youthful first-voters and veterans. Included among the faculty members are James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union; Dr. Dwight Bradley, director of the Religious Associates of National Citizens PAC; Leo Krzycki, president of the American Slav Congress; Charles Olson, former director of the Foreign Language Information Service; and Rev. Richard Kuch of American Unitarian Youth.

Discussions and demonstrations of the techniques of polling a district with volunteer workers, the significance of statistics in political work and the use of public opinion polls are among the topics covered by the Department of Political Research. Instructors in this section include Dr. L. M. Birkhead, director of the Friends of Democracy; Dr. Samuel A. Stouffer, former chief researcher for the Army's Information and Education section; and Dr. F. Palmer Weber, director of research for National Citizens PAC.

The Department of Public Relations has a faculty of 34 and includes among its 17 courses sessions on the use of radio, printed matter, mass meetings, sound trucks, films and music for political action. Singers and actors from People's Songs, Inc., and Stage for Action, Inc., will demonstrate how music and the "living newspaper" techniques can be used in a campaign. John T. McManus, movie critic of the newspaper PM, Thomas J. Brandon and Pare Lorenz will teach a course on the use of films in political work.

Students attending the school will not have to wait long to put into practice the principles and skills they will learn. It is believed that the majority of the student body will play an active role in the November Congressional elections.

Jack Kroll Heads PAC Under New Directorate

Jack Kroll, vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and winner of the 1944 CIO national award for combating racial discrimination, was named administrative head of the CIO-PAC last week.

Kroll, who is assistant director of the CIO's southern organizing drive and was Sidney Hillman's assistant in the PAC, will execute policies of a newly expanded executive board consisting of secretary-treasurers of four CIO unions.

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Kroll, carrying out the Hillman policies, is expected to work closely with such Negro leaders as Henry L. Moon, director of the Negro division of the CIO-PAC.

Under Hillman, the Political Action Committee has become a powerful force in American political scene today. Tribute to its effectiveness in supporting progressive politicians is the hate and vituperation poured on it by men like Rankin and Bilbo.

PAC Action

Although called "Communist" by its opponents, the CIO-PAC actually represents only the realization of union members and leaders that their economic gains had to be protected from reactionary attacks on the political front.

PAC support already has helped renominate progressive Congressman Hugh DeLacy, of Washington. It was a factor in the nomination of Jim Folsom in the North Carolina gubernatorial race. It helped account for the huge popular vote accumulated by James V. Carmichael in the Georgia race, although he lost in the antiquated unit voting system.

Philip Murray, CIO president who refused to take over the office as was expected, is reputed to be the chief figure in the PAC now although he holds no office.

The PAC committee, also newly enlarged, now is composed of the same men as the CIO executive committee. It is through this link that Murray is expected to wield much control.

The PAC Fails

By George E. Sokolsky

PAC and its adjunct organizations were organized to force the Democratic party and possibly some elements of the Republican party to accept its socialistic program or be defeated at the polls by a mass vote. Its task was to organize Americans into a mass vote, and in that it succeeded only in the city of New York. It made the Case Bill a measure of propriety. Those who voted in favor of the Case Bill were to be defeated; those who voted as PAC dictated on this measure were to be supported by huge campaign funds and a vast propaganda machine. It organized a bloc in congress consisting principally of Democrats but including at least two Communist members of the house of representatives.

PAC has been repudiated at the polls. Some analysts believe that Stalin's endorsement of the PAC was the straw that broke the back of this alien-conceived and alien-minded movement. Actually, it was the un-American character of PAC that made its failure inevitable. And by un-American I do not mean, in any sense, that the individuals in it were, not by birth and right Americans, but rather that the concept of an opportunistic third party that blackmailed candidates into an acceptance of its program and shuttled all over the political map ran counter to the traditions of this country. Such minor parties have played great roles in such countries as France; here they do not fit. Americans vote as individuals, not as a mass.

The principal representative of this group in the administration was Henry Wallace. He has become a ridiculous figure in American politics as a result of this election. Its principal representatives in the senate were Pepper of Florida and Kilgore of West Virginia. Kilgore was reelected by a slim majority and his vote is likely to be recounted; Pepper, who did not run, is reduced in stature as the result of the Republican control in the senate. Its principal representatives in the house were Hugh DeLacy, who was defeated, and Marcantonio, who was elected under

Kilgore could not have come so close to defeat if organized labor, Pennsylvania in West Virginia had followed PAC, Ohio, New York, Dewey could not have piled up his CIO and Massa- enormous vote in New York City, California and PAC if PAC controlled the voters there, gave the Re- In aword, PAC, in a major test, dead. It is. Most sizable votes, failed. It can point to a few such a PAC hench-cesses, such as Marcantonio and have been de- Helen Gahagan Douglas—but these if steel workers exceptions do not disprove the rule. d voted for him. PAC has nothing to offer the

American people but confusion, chaos, disunity, alienism. It does not stand for co-operation with European nations, but for a subordination of American concepts to European ideologies. It should be

Mon. 11-11-46

fact is that PAC is right or wrong. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Dewey, California, New York, Jersey, Virginia, Massachusetts, where CIO-PAC failed, gave the Republicans their most significant victory. Only in his district did old Ickes appear in the New York election. PAC's real power streamed from head and the sculptor, Jo Davidson, had no labor vote. Roosevelt policy and for the reten- are New York tumult-makers. In the Roosevelt and Hill-Wallace and Pepper, who, lacking faith, could only Joe Guffey had been a PAC hench- The deaths of Roosevelt group. despair, PAC turned to the team of should have mattered, gangsterism and his vote is likely to man left PAC leaderless. Phil Murray could not lead it because his entire career, for several years, has been a negation of his ideals and could not be won on whether Rus- and coal miners had voted for him.

Charleston S.C.

11-46

of this group and he is, in effect, out of anarchy is wrong. Such persons as Leon M. Birkhead, director of the Friends of Democracy, Dr. Samuel A. Stouffer, former chief researcher for the Army's Information and Education section, and Dr. F. Palmer Weber, director of research for National Citizens PAC. Nashville

The Department of Public Relations has a faculty of 34 and includes among its 17 courses sessions on the use of radio, printed matter, mass meetings, sound trucks, films and music for political action. Singers and actors from People's Songs, Inc., and Stage for Action, Inc., will demonstrate how music and the "living newspaper" techniques can be used in a campaign. John T. McManus, movie critic of the newspaper PM, Thomas J. Brandon and Pare Lorenz will teach a course on the use of films in political work. Tennessee

Students attending the school will not have to wait long to put into practice the principles and skills they will learn. It is believed that the majority of the student body will play an active role in the November Congressional elections.

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CIO-PAC Candidates Win In Two State Primaries

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 7-27-46

Making direct hits in two states, the well-aimed broadsides of the CIO Political Action Committee were heavily felt last week in Minnesota and Washington.

The hopes for passage of pro-labor and pro-Negro national legislation were raised when five progressive Washington Democrats—all supported by CIO-PAC—won nominations.

Of particular concern to progressive Negroes was the renomination of Representatives DeLacy and Coffee. Both of these candidates gave vigorous support to legislation improving the conditions of American minority groups.

In the hottest contest of them all, Hugh DeLacy defeated Howard Costigan by a vote of 23,271 to 20,464. Costigan based his campaign mainly on "red-scare" tactics. Incumbent Congressmen Savage and Jackson and Senator Mitchell won along with DeLacy and Coffee.

With the support of CIO-PAC, Governor Edward J. Thye defeated isolationist Sen. Shipstead, who cast one of two senate votes against the United Nations, in the Republican primary.

Supporting no single political party, CIO-PAC will back Harold Barker, Minnesota Democratic Farm Labor candidate, in the forthcoming gubernatorial race with Stassen-supported Luther W. Youngdahl.

Minority groups throughout the nation received much encouragement when hearing that in seven Minnesota districts, CIO-PAC supported men were nominated for the Congressional finals.

To Coordinate and What Else

Miami Wire, Florida.

A press dispatch from Washington says that "The Republican National Committee today (March 17th) announced the appointment of Valores Washington, 43, of Illinois as a member of its headquarters staff to coordinate political activities, especially among Negroes." persistently to the effect that the Republican party would profit by past mistakes in dealing with Negro voters of the country. The above news item may be one of the signs that something may be attempted in that direction. Just how much is intended is a question. Upon the answer to the question will depend very largely the extent to which the general run of Negro voters of the country will be interested in the Republican party as such. It may be that Negroes will never be wedded to the Republican party in the sense that they were prior to the awakening which brought them to see that they were being very largely exploited because of their blind and almost reckless loyalty to a party that had strayed away from the principles and practices of great Republican leaders in the past and had come to the habit of using the Negro votes and then neglected them after the election. Sat. 4-6-46

But the Republican party will have to do more than add another member to the staff to cooradinate. The party wil have to do just about the same thing and in the same way to win and hold Negro voters that it does to win and hold voters of other race groups. And coordination is not enough. Voters have to be educated. The Republican party in its national setup understands that and it keeps an organized staff year in and year out to keep the voters educated with regard to all political questions affecting the people, principles and policies which determine the conduct of those in power and those who seek to get into power. And thousands of dollars annually are spent for this purpose. Only not very much is done in that respect among Negro voters. It is understood that voters of the White race and other minority groups in this country are to be educated. But about all that is necessary for Negro voters is to wait until almost election time and then coordinate —at least that has been the practice. And if that is all that is intended now, the leaders of the Republican party may just as well prepare for some disappointments. In the organization, both national, state and county, the leaders of the Republican party may as well understand that the same processes used to win and keep voters n other groups will have to be used to interest and hold Negro voters. In addition to the process of education there must be translation. Many thousands of voters among our group have been planted with the New Deal program in the Democratic party because they have been led to believe that it meant a great deal more to them in their economic and political struggles than what they found under the old program of the Republican party—of being used and then set aside until next election time. Something will have to be done to translate these thousands of voters and transplant them in the Republican party if they are to be used there. Many of them are young voters who started out voting under the New Deal program and practice. And glittering generalities in which the Republican orators delight to indulge may not interest the young voters unless they genuineness. After coordination, education, give concrete evidence of their sincerity and translation, then there must be real integration of Negroes into the Republican party not only as voters but as participatns in the government. They must be led to see that they are no only expected to vote—that they are to be voted for; that they are not only to be seen and heard before election day but be seen and heard after the election is over. No longer can they be won and held by oratory that exhausts itself in mere promises and which leaves no strength for the fulfillment of those promises after election day has pased. Negroes expect not only to be lined up for a program in the Republican party, —they expect to be integrated into the program-making committees and policy-determining groups. In other words if Negroes are to be won back and held by the Republican party, in a real sense they must be made to feel that they are an integral part of the party.. This latest addition then to the National Staff for the purpose of coordination is good as far as it goes. It may be that the leaders are convinced by this time that coordination is just a part of what needs to be done, and that the program must include as with others education, translation, participation, integration and all the rest. Anything less than this is likely to produce misleading and disappointing results. Negro voters of this country will no longer be content to act as fools and be used as tools by the Republican party or any other party. They are ready to play ball but they mean to be mare than mere "pigtails" in the game—The Plaindealer.

NEWBOLD MORRIS

Champion Of The Third Party

Chicago Defender

By EARL CONRAD
(Defender New York Bureau)

NEW YORK—Newbold Morris, the last of the Abraham Lincoln Republicans, this week laments the decay of his one-time great party of liberalism. Sat 2-2-46

Morris, who is about two inches taller than the late Abe Lincoln, has the same honest streak within him that marked the Great Emancipator. He ran for Mayor of New York last fall on a New Deal Ticket. He lost out, but the large vote he got presaged the spirits now developing in both major parties.

Today, Morris is a little like a man without a country. Perhaps he is in worse shape, for he is a political leader and he is actually without a party. Although he remains a member of the Republican Party, he is taboo in these ranks, for he stands very much for the so-called common man, and that man is unpopular with Senators Taft and Vandenberg.

Morale Low

When I called to see him in his offices in the City Planning Commission on the top floor of the Municipal Building, Morris opened up by admitting he wasn't feeling very gay. For a minute I thought he meant he was ailing physically, especially as he said he and his wife had been away on a vacation for a few weeks, but he clarified me: it was a matter of morale. Politically he was feeling low.

The truth is that Morris wants a new, big third party. If one were to develop, he'd get into it up to his neck. But the hesitation among the Democrats about breaking up has infected liberals in both major parties and if Morris or any other single liberal issued a call for a third party, they fear, it might be premature, or it might isolate them. Morris, who symbolizes the dilemma of the liberal, at the moment, as well as anyone, is therefore without political roots and unhappy. Chicago, Ill.

His experience in the last election disillusioned him considerably about professional party leaders and political bosses. I don't know just who he had in mind when he said this, but he told me to make sure to get it in:

"A party boss would rather retain control over his machine than get elected to office," he said.

"Be sure to mention that," he added. Sat 2-2-46

Hits Machine Rule

Morris looked terribly lanky as he sat behind his desk dressed in a gray suit and a striped shirt. He's a very unaffected person in his manner and dress. He discussed the political bankruptcy that is general at this moment in the major parties:

"Because the rank and file voter is not really interested in politics except in times of the direst emergency, professional politicians take advantage of this apathy to gain control of the party machinery. The professional politician is more interested in maintaining control than in providing leadership.

"He takes advantage of the apathy of the independent voter and yields to the potent forces of special interest that close in on him. They back up their special pleading with impressive funds. A war chest, plus a lack of popular interest is all a smart politician needs to keep himself and his friends in power.

Party Politics Ripped

"So the local political leader's state of mind is the foundation of our political system, and it is that state of mind which emerges at the top. The upshot of all this is that you have shabby-minded people determining party policies. They have money to hire expert public relations men who pass on fine words to the public—words that are very rarely followed by deeds.

"Once every generation or so, due to an emergency, people become aroused, find their way to the polls, and express themselves, and so you get a leadership which goes over the heads of the bosses and we get an era of noble thinking and tremendous social progress. Go back as far as Abraham Lincoln; then you wait quite a while until Teddy Roosevelt comes along; you wait another decade, and then Wilson. Then, again, because the world was in a crisis, an FDR. From 1860 until 1944 you have four real outspoken personalities."

Morris dawdled with a pencil as he got into the present political situation:

"I used to think it was a healthy sign when a progressive movement cut across both parties. Now I don't know. In the last few months so much has changed. Right now I would welcome an open alliance of the Republicans and the Southern Democrats. It would provide an outrightly conservative vehicle—and it would give independents and progressives everywhere an opportunity to get together and get over their divisions."

Disgusted With GOP

He expressed his disillusion with the possibility that the Republican Party, as now constituted, can become progressive:

"The Republican Party has had a chance, ever since the death of Roosevelt, to assert itself as a vehicle for progress. A showdown on this possibility will come when the National Committee meets on April 1 to elect a new chairman. It will be interesting to note whether the National Committee selects a chairman whose philosophy represents the point of view of some of the progressives in the party such as Sen. Wayne Morse or former Governor Stassen. I note with apprehension a flying squadron of Bricker men floating into Washington, presumably for advance guard action.

"It is really going to take more than just a minor readjustment to change the traditional Republican tactics from opposition to creative, imaginative, daring leadership. This isn't just because we've been out of power so long. We went out of power because we suppressed progress for so long. All the excesses and abuses of free enterprise were protected by party policies. In fact we almost destroyed the freedom in the free enterprise system in the 1920s. None of the party's policies or energies went for social security, old age pensions, hazards against disease, nor for productive effort generally. Not alone was the mass man unprotected, but the investing class also wasn't protected."

Many Prospects

Back to what all this might mean in the near future, Morris said there were many independent forces at work in society at the moment, if they could crystallize. He mentioned individuals like Harold Ickes and James Roosevelt of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts and Sciences, the Political Action Committee, and people like Henry Wallace, who, potentially, might go with a big, new people's movement.

"It will take a crisis, apparently, to bring these individuals and forces into motion," Morris indicated.

On the Negro's relationship to the current political picture, Mr. Morris declared: "The Negro's problem is everybody's problem. It's America's problem. A great majority of the people feel that it is going to be solved by evolution, by gradual means, but if I were a Negro I couldn't wait for evolution. It would have to be accelerated for me.

"In a way I believe that a man like Bilbo does a great service to the movement in behalf of the Negro because he helps to dramatize it. And this question needs dramatization."

"Song And Dance" View

Morris feels that the kind of attitude among white Americans that does great injury to Negro advance is what he calls "the song and dance view" of the Negro.

"People who think benevolently of the Negro, who like to think of the Negro as having special qualities do a great deal of injury and most of the injury that is being done. These are the same individuals and groups in society who will support a policy of segregation. They will do it silently, but acquiesce in it."

He told the story of an address he made before a group of Negro school children some time ago. What happened taught him a lot. He had pointed out to the Negro group that despite centuries of oppression, despite the long period without equal opportunity, the Negro was still able to laugh, sing and develop artistic talent. Then a young girl arose and clarified Morris:

Some Tone Deaf

"Mr. Morris," she said, "I think you misunderstand the situation. The people you see, like Bill Robinson and Marian Anderson, they can sing and dance. But there are lots of Negroes who are tone deaf. There are some Negroes who never laugh at all."

That girl, Morris continued, went on to explain to him that he didn't really know the Negro.

"That's the pattern we all fall into. These are the notions that make us overlook the other possibilities and potentialities of the Negro, and finally keep him from getting the right jobs."

I had been with Morris about an hour and then he said he had to get a snack to eat, a glass of milk and a sandwich. This I wanted to see: a milk-drinking Republican leader. I asked if it would be alright if I joined him and we went into the street.

Morris wound up drinking coffee and asking me questions about the restrictive covenant in the New York area.

I left the last of the Abraham Lincoln Republicans feeling that somehow he symbolized the crisis within his party and wondering if he really was a Republican at all.

Negro GOPs Rip Taft; Laud Party's FEP Stand

Chicago Defender

PHILADELPHIA—(ANP) — An editorial in the February issue of the Negro Statesman, a monthly publication sponsored by the National Council of Negro Republicans blasted Sen. Robert Taft (R-O) on his recent remarks against the FEPC bill before the Senate but lauded the action of the 25 Republican Senators who voted for cloture to end the FEPC filibuster.

The editorial, entitled "Mr. Taft Against The Record," termed the Senate's action on the FEPC bill as "sorry a spectacle as democracy has been besmirched with in a long time," questioned Taft's right to speak for the whole Republican party, and stressed the fact that he had a big hand in drafting the 1944 Republican platform that supported fair employment practice legislation.

"We are not prepared, however, to accept the implication that the Republican party, in national convention assembled, deliberately lied to the American voters," the editorial said. "We will not accept the libel against the Republican leadership that it deliberately set out to hoodwink all of those defenseless groups which feel that they would like to have written into living law their right to make a contribution to their nation without discrimination because of their race, or religion.

Rip Taft Double-Talk

"Because of ethical dictates we must tolerantly say that we think Mr. Taft was and is 'mistaken.' That language, however, does not express what Negro Republicans throughout the nation really feel about Mr. Taft.

"From the whole spectacle, however, there looms a mighty truth for the Republican party. That truth, as obvious as the heavens, is that the Republican party, itself, must be fully emancipated from trite and damaging statements in its name. That truth shows clearly that it is dangerous to allow any one man to feel that he owns and may speak for the whole Republican party.

"We defend, boldly, the right of both Mr. Taft and Mr. White (Sen. Wallace H. White of Maine) to oppose any legislation they choose. It is inherent in their American citizenship and the offices they hold; but we label as libelous and deliberate falsification of fact, their assumed right to speak for the entire Republican party; for there are millions of men and women, white and black, in that party who do not talk out of both sides of their mouths at the same time.

Cite GOP Record

"Republicans in both the House Rules Committee and the U.S. Senate supported the principle of governmental cognizance of employment practices. Every Republican on the House Rules Committee voted to bring the measure there to the floor. Twenty-five of 33 Republicans frowned on filibuster in the Senate. That is a matter of brilliant record.

"Of which 'Republican party' Mr. Taft speaks we do not know . . . but it is a matter upon which both 1944 Republican candidates should ask an explanation; for their personal integrity, as well as the party which uses that label, has been attacked."

The editorial was signed by Joseph V. Baker, editor. Allan W. Powell is managing editor of Negro Statesman.

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (ANP) — At the Second Congressional District and Richland County conventions held here last week, I. S. Leevy, Negro, acting chairman in the place of (Tireless) Joe Tolbert, white, of Greenwood, was nominated as the Republican candidate for Congress.

The Tolbert-Leevy faction also designated a full legislative ticket of Republican candidates for the House and Senate in Richland County.

Leevy, formerly an active member of the National Negro Business League, in recent years has trained with the Tolbert faction of the Republican party popularly known as the "Black and Tans." As Tolbert has grown old, Leevy has advanced. He was also a candidate for the House in Richland County two years ago.

If the Progressive Democratic Party should decide to support Leevy as a Negro, even though he is a Republican, there might be a chance to elect a Negro Congressman, observers believe.

Chicagoan Appointed to National GOP Headquarters

The Iowa Bystander, also Morning Iowa

VALORES WASHINGTON

Washington, D. C.—Valores Washington of Chicago has been appointed as a member of the headquarters staff of the Republican National Committee to coordinate political activities, particularly among Negroes. His appointment was announced Monday morning, March 18, by Herbert Brownell, Jr. chairman of the national committee.

Mr. Washington was made executive assistant to the campaign director of the national committee. Major Thomas E. Stephens of New York, is the campaign director.

Forty-three years old, Mr. Washington brings to his new position an extensive background in business and journalism, as well as politics. Born at Columbus, Ind., in 1903 he attended local schools and was graduated from the University of Indiana, where he majored in journalism and business administration, and also studied law.

After three years as business manager of the Gary Sun, at Gary, Ind., Mr. Washington assumed the secretaryship of the Atlantic Casualty Insurance company and became occupied with other interests directed by J. J. McCaffrey, Indiana industrialist.

Named business manager of a Chicago newspaper in 1935, he became general manager five years later.

Governor Dwight H. Green, of Illinois, selected Mr. Washington in 1941 for membership on the Illinois Commerce commission, a post in which he still serves. He is the only Negro in the United States holding an official position of ths nature.

Dixie GOPs Pick Negro

The Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Orange County district attorney and a former state committeeman, George of Tuxedo Park, for the GOP nomination for Congress against Rep. Augustus W. Bennet of Newburgh.

Motion Considered 'A Joke'

Bennet defeated Fish two years ago with the combined support of the Democrats, American Labor, Liberal parties and a group of Republicans.

The GOP committee flatly rejected a statement which attacked political candidates who accept the support of groups which have preached racial or religious discrimination. The statement was made as an amendment to Fish's resolution by Henry Hirschberg of Newburgh. A leader in the pro-Bennet group, Hirschberg is former

Republican Group Refuses To Vote KKK Repudiation

Herald

GOSHEN, N. Y. — The Orange County Republican Committee last week refused to go on record condemning candidates who have accepted support from the Ku Klux Klan, Christian Front, Bundists, or any groups practicing discrimination.

At the same time, the committee adopted a resolution sponsored by former Rep. Hamilton Fish Jr., opposing office-seekers who accept support from any "Communist-controlled" group.

The action came at the end of a tense meeting at which the committee voted to back its county chairman, Mrs. George B. St.

REPUBLICANS' BILLBOARD CAMPAIGN

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

The Republicans are now conducting a belated billboard campaign with the slogan, "Bilbo, Rankin and Talmadge are voting Democratic, are you?" Sat.

The Republicans obviously are underestimating the political intelligence of the Negro people. We know, and the record speaks for itself, that both Bilbo and Rankin spoke not for the Democratic party but for the Republicans in Congress who have voted with them on issues in which these two mountebanks have consorted to flim-flam the people. 10-26-46

In their recent state convention, the Illinois Democrats in particular have denounced the conspiracy of reactionary Republicans and dissident Democrats, and every senator and congressman who is a party to it, whether he parades as a Republican or Democrat. "We denounce them as enemies of the highest aspirations of this country, and accuse them of undermining the structure of orderly and speedy social and economic reconversion." The Republicans, however, held their state convention about the same time but said nothing about the doings of the Bilbos and Rankins and the Tafts and the Tabers in Congress. If they are so opposed to that brand of un-Americanism, why have they not introduced such a plank in their platform?

Negro people are not fools. They know their friends by their deeds and will cast their votes this fall for the party that has sought to implement the meaning of their citizenship—the party to which Roosevelt and Truman have given able, humane leadership.

TAFT PLEDGES GOP NOT TO HURT SOUTH

The Times New York, N.Y.

Republicans Have Nothing but Sympathy for Southern Needs, He Tells Atlantans

Jrnl. 12-17-46

ATLANTA, Dec. 16 (AP)—Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio, told the South today that it had nothing to fear from the Republican program.

Speaking to the Atlanta Rotary Club and before guests of other civic groups, Mr. Taft pledged that there would be nothing but sympathy for the South among Republicans in Washington.

"The Republicans like the people of the South," he said. "I think you can count on the good-will of the Republican party."

Mr. Taft declared the recent election was waged on the issue of "totalitarianism versus freedom from Government controls." And, he said, the people had given the Republican party a mandate for elimination of wartime controls.

Appeals for End of Controls

The Senator was applauded when he urged elimination of Federal boards and bureaus with wide discretionary powers, and again when he declared: "Basically, by the end of this next session, I believe we should be rid of nearly every war control that still exists."

Federal expenditures, he continued, amid applause, must be cut to $30,000,000,000 annually, "if not this year, then at least by next year."

He pledged the Republican party to comprehensive legislation on labor relations which he said would restore the balance between business and organized labor. Enterprise, he said, must be free.

"It can no more be directed by the power of big business, by the power of labor, than by the Government," he stated.

"The South, through its own initiative, can build up its own wealth," Mr. Taft went on. "What you must have is protection—the complete removal of checks and interference imposed by a totalitarian State; protection from big business, from labor, from railroads or any other source."

Looks to Health, School Aid

The Senator declared Republicans believed the country could "put a floor under the essential services of life" by giving Federal aid in public health and education, but insisted it must be free of bureaucratic control.

"It must not be dependent on the arbitrary decision of some Federal bureaucrat," he stated. "It must be completely under control of State and local government."

In conclusion, Mr. Taft observed wryly that "it is unfortunate that Southerners are not represented in the councils of the Republican party." But, he added, "until you do so on your own initiative, I assure you the South has only the good-will of all the people of the United States." Jrnl. 12-17-46

At a news conference before the civic luncheon, Senator Taft was asked whether he considered himself an active candidate at this time for President of the United States.

Said Mr. Taft: "No."

Perry Howard Gives GOP Memo

Afro American Baltimore, Md.

Tells Taft Minority Expects Square Deal

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—Perry W. Howard, Republican national committee man for Mississippi, last week presented to Sen. Robert A. Taft (Rep., Ohio), who may become the Senate Majority Leader in the 80th Congress, a five-point legislative program which he believes a majority of colored people want enacted. Sat. 11-23-46

"First and foremost," Mr. Howard advocated, "a change in the Senate rules to eliminate the comedy of unlimited debate, and guarantee that a bill when introduced shall reasonably be voted upon."

The other legislative proposals included enactment of a fair employment practice, anti-poll tax, and anti-lynching laws.

Fair Deal Expected

He also urged provisions for Federal aid to education, "with guarantees of a fair and equitable distribution of funds in States which maintain separate schools for the races, thus assuring definite improvements in school facilities for colored people in the South."

Mr. Howard told Senator Taft that he need not remind him that "the responsibility for such legislation has shifted to the Republican party and that colored Republican voters went with us this time on the assurance of a square deal."

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

LESTER YOUNG TO DETROIT

DETROIT — Lester Young, former sax ace of the Count Basie band but now heading his own combo, opens a four-week engagement at the Zombie Club here beginning November 29. Sat. 11-23-46

GOP TREASURER

Defender

Chicago, Ill. Sat.

DR. A. R. MILBURN

For 20 years 6th Ward Republican chairman in Wilmington, Del., recently elected treasurer of the Republican city committee, becoming first Negro to hold such a position in Wilmington politics. Brother-in-law of singer Marian Anderson, Dr. Milburn, a pharmacist, was graduated from Howard University. 12-28-46

A Challenge To The Republicans

Defender Chicago, Ill. (An Editorial) Sat. 11-16-46

The Negro left the Republican Party because of its failure to press for the elimination of the obstacles preventing his legitimate human claims for complete recognition as American citizens.

In the past 14 years, the Republicans have consistently under the leadership of reactionary forces within the party forged an alliance with Southern reactionaries who have stymied the Negro's progress.

The late Franklin D. Roosevelt raised our status in housing, health, jobs, civil liberties and in politics.

1. Negroes obtained the right to vote in the South.
2. Negroes were given an opportunity to break the occupational "caste" system through which they were practically restricted to jobs as porters, maids and other menial tasks. President Roosevelt through the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee established the principle that the maintenance of fair employment practice is the responsibility of the Federal Government.
3. Negroes were given a fair opportunity in Federal employment.
4. The first Federal indictments and convictions in lynchings and abuse of civil rights were obtained.
5. For the first time in our history a Negro was elevated to a governorship and another to the Federal bench.

Will the Republicans who now control the Congress continue their sponsorship of the reactionary alliance with Bilbo, Rankin and Talmadge, or will they help to extend the gains thus far obtained?

The Negro's goals are still the same. From the heat of war for the "four freedoms" we have forged the objectives we advocate.

These objectives are:

1. The establishment of a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee which will give to the Negro an industrial bill of rights and assure him security and equality of opportunity in our economic system. The same protection should be given all Americans regardless of creed, national origin or race.

2. The passage of an anti-lynching law. Such legislation will guarantee to every American citizen the freedom from fear of violence because of his racial identity. There is nothing sensational nor Communistic about the desire of citizens to feel safe in their homes. Defender

3. The passage of a law destroying the poll tax as an instrument in our elections. Our democracy is predicated upon the freedom of elections. Chicago, Ill.

4. The unseating of Senator Bilbo. Now that the Republicans have a working majority in both houses of Congress, it is fitting that they not scrap the Bilbo investigations being so ably led by Senator Kilgore, Democrat, of West Virginia.

These are the challenges of the hour. The Republicans now have within their power an opportunity to accomplish these objectives.

Already Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York State who learned a lesson from the 1944 election has taken a stand on some of these vital issues. His stature looms as a star on the horizon for 1948.

It remains to be seen if the Republican Party will carry forward the dreams of Abraham Lincoln and Wendell Willkie.

The Chicago Defender will keep a constant vigilance on these issues that so vitally affect the Negro's status in the American society. Sat. 11-16-46

We Say "No" Too, Senator

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Senator Robert A. Taft (Rep., Ohio) said last week that he is "not now" a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1948.

We hope that the Ohio Senator does not change his mind. Were he to gain the GOP nomination, he would most certainly lose the colored vote. Sat. 12-28-46

When we think of Senator Taft, who more often than not has been found on the wrong side of issues directly affecting us—FEPC, poll tax, et cetera—we can't help but recall out to be such a reactionary that Teddy member his father, William Howard Taft, 27th U.S. President, who had supported him for election in 1908, turned against him in 1912, and by organizing the Bull Moose

Party, so split the GOP that Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic candidate, was an easy winner.

We don't believe that the pendulum has swung back far enough to permit another Taft in the White House. Whether Senator Taft decides to run or not, our thumbs are down from the start.

45d 1946

Republican

They Define the GOP

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

TWO Republican leaders in widely separated parts of the country made speeches the other day which should help to define the character of that party.

National Chairman B. Carroll Reece, speaking to a South Carolina GOP convention, was highly critical of the Democratic Party.

Sat 8-24-46

Did he, perchance, attack the Democrats of South Carolina because they encouraged lynching? Or because they retained the polltax? Or because they fought the FEPC and price controls in Congress?

He did not! Strangely, he did not attack the Demo-cats of South Carolina at all, even though he was speak-g to Republicans of that state.

He attacked the Democratic Party because there were "radicals" in it, because it was "allied" with the CIO.

In other words, the National GOP Chairman was telling the Southern GOP to fight the Democrats because some elements within it are for FEPC, against the polltax, against lynching, for price controls.

In up-state New York, Gov. Dewey, unburdening himself to a group of farmers, thundered for the end of government "regimentation." He demanded the government "relax" wartime controls.

Sat 8-24-46

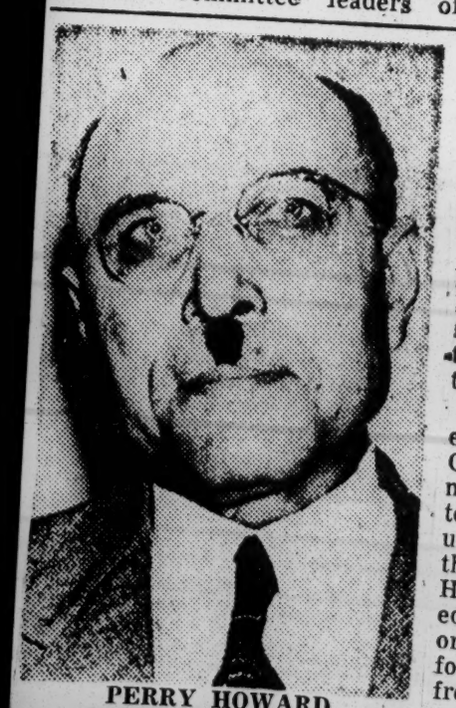
What controls, Mr. Dewey? Do you mean price control? Or channeling of building materials to veterans' housing? We challenge you to tell the people of New York just what controls you want relaxed. Or will you let your party's record in Congress speak for you on the subject?

Move Under Way to Oust Miss. GOP Committeemen

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 7-27-46

JACKSON, Miss. (ANP) — A movement, launched to force retirement of Perry W. Howard and Mrs. Mary Booze as Republican National Committee leaders of Mississippi, was revealed here last week.



PERRY HOWARD

Reported headed by a young and militant politician, the group spearheading the attack on Howard and Mrs. Booze, argues that Howard has not been a Mississippi citizen for 25 years and that Mrs. Booze has lost her political usefulness.

Howard, who practices law in Washington, is a property owner here and maintains legal residence in Jackson.

Mrs. Booze, daughter of I. T. Montgomery, founder of Mound Bayou, has served as Republican national committeewoman since the office was created by the party organization here.

In some circles belief has been expressed that H. H. Humes, Greenville editor who has been named in connection with the ouster movement, may have erred by urging his group to participate in the Democratic primary on July 2. Howard and Mrs. Booze are reported to be obtaining lists of the colored persons voting in the primary for the purpose of barring them from any link with the Republican party.

Persons who participated in the recent primaries and who plan to vote in the Democratic State-wide primaries next year, legally can be barred from any form of participation in future affairs of the Republican party.

Republican Bid For Vote Called 'Brazen Insult'

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 10-26-46

Coalition Charged With Murdering Progressive Laws

By VENICE T. SPRAGGS
(Defender Washington Correspondent)

WASHINGTON — The Republican bid for Negro support in the coming Nov. 5 congressional elections is a brazen insult to the intelligence of Negro voters when viewed in the light of the party's legislative record in the Seventy-ninth Congress.

Tub-thumping campaigners who seek to sell the Republican party to the Negro electorate either presume them ignorant of the party's reactionary voting record on measures vitally affecting the welfare of the Negro group—credit them with extremely short memories—or, consider them just plain gullible.

Riding in the heat of the do-or-die race for control of the Eightieth Congress, these party political spouters feverishly labor to turn the searchlight of honest evaluation away from their own sordid records by continuously pointing unsteady fingers in the direction of the Democrats.

A close examination of the Republican voting records on such important legislation as housing, health, civil rights, price control and employment, among others, reveal that Republicans have consistently taken the lead in defeating or scuttling bills of decided benefit to Negroes. On other occasions they have followed such "renegade Democrats" as Bilbo and Rankin of Mississippi, long repudiated by the majority of their party, to defeat vital measures.

GOP Obstructs

Because the Democrats were given a Senate majority of only 17 and a House majority of only 43 in the 1944 elections, the Republicans have been able to obstruct many good measures on which there was even a slight Democratic defection.

The shameful record of the Republicans in the field of housing faithfully reflect their concern for the interest of the big-business bosses for whom they have been the "Charlie McCarthys" in the Seventy-ninth Congress. It is a clear example of how Republicans put the financial interests of the National Association of Real Estate Boards before the welfare of veterans.

Defender

The critical housing emergency of 1946 found among the hardest hit some 3,000,000 married veterans. While the situation was serious for all veterans, it was infinitely worse for Negro veterans. Negroes, generally, have been notoriously poorly housed in the United States.

Chicago, Ill.

To meet the crucial plight of veterans, a Veterans' Emergency Housing Act was introduced in Congress. The measure had as its goal the building of some 3,000,000 moderately priced homes and apartments by Dec. 31, 1947. It further sought to protect veterans from outrageous speculation and excessive profits in housing.

Major Defeat

Sat. 10-26-46

The administration suffered a major defeat for the emergency-housing program when Senator Revercomb's (R., W. Va.) amendment to strike out ceiling prices on existing homes carried 41 to 33. An identical amendment offered in the House by Congressman Jesse P. Wolcott (R., Mich.) was adopted by a vote of 246 to 134.

Since Negroes, by and large, have traditionally been handed down abandoned white dwellings, they were disproportionately hurt by the Revercomb-Wolcott amendment.

The Wagner-Ellender-Taft long range housing bill which aimed at replacing substandard homes by assisting in the construction of 1,250,000 homes a year for 10 years was similarly defeated.

Although the bill was passed by a voice vote in the Senate, it was bogged down in the Banking and Currency Committee of the House through Republican plotting.

Republican Congressman Wolcott, Frederick C. Smith of Ohio, John C. Kunkel of Pennsylvania, and Frank L. Sundstrom of New Jersey dragged out the hearings on the bill until the Congress adjourned, and thus prohibited it from coming to the House floor where even Republicans themselves admitted it would have passed.

Body Blow

Negro housing was dealt a body blow in this deal. The Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill provided for the building of 125,000 low-rent public housing units a year for four years.

The greatest gains made in Negro housing have been through the public housing program. Even under the impetus of war, private builders had to be threatened with the withholding of priorities on essential building materials before they could be forced to construct dwellings for occupancy by Negro war workers.

The Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill also contained provisions which assisted potential Negro home owners. It offered government insured mortgages up to 95 per cent of the purchase price of the house, bearing a low rate of interest.

These and other housing gains were lost to Negroes at the hands of the Republicans.

As presently constituted, NHA operates under the war powers of the President, and will cease when the war is brought officially to an end. This will spell the end to public housing. Other housing gains to Negroes will likewise be lost.

It might be pointed out that Senator Taft is the acknowledged Republican leader in the Senate.

On the Democratic side, National Housing Administrator-Expediter Wilson W. Wyatt, immediately following the passage of the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act moved to insure the equitable participation of Negro veterans. He forthwith announced there would be no discrimination in the provisions of the act because of race, creed, color or national origin.

ELECTION POLITICS — H T K —

Race Relations Staff

Wyatt named a Racial Relations staff to advise and assist in the formation and execution of basic policies of the NHA and its constituent agencies — the Federal Housing Administration, the Federal Public Housing Authority and the Federal Home Loan Bank.

Recently Wyatt revised his channeling order covering essential building materials and ordered private builders to construct homes for Negro veterans proportionate to **their ratio in the population or have their priorities for materials withheld.**

In the employment field, the Republicans have similarly chalked up a record of reaction to the cause of the Negro and other workers.

In the face of rising discrimination in the employment of Negroes and other minority workers whom the Republicans now hope to win to their side, GOP congressmen steadfastly refused to take the initiative in pressing for the passage of permanent Fair Employment Practice legislation.

Defeat Cloture

In the Senate they consorted with Southern Democrats to defeat the move for cloture which would have limited debate on the bill and brought it up for a vote.

In the House, four Republican members on the House Rules Committee played "footsy-under-the-table" with four rabid anti-Negro Southern Democrats to prohibit the FEPC bill from being brought to the House floor. Sticking to a loose "gentleman's agreement," they refused to take a vote on a rule for the bill until every member of the committee was present. They delayed action until Rep. Slaughter, (D., Mo.) could be on hand. The Republican members of the Committee were well apprised that Slaughter opposed the bill, and would vote against it.

President Truman, long an outspoken champion of permanent Fair Employment legislation took the House Rules Committee to task for its double-dealing in bottling up the FEPC bill.

In his message to the nation last January, the President placed the chief support of the Republican overwhelming mass" of American Negro voter. The bill passed the House and Senate during those years enjoyed a comfortable Republican majority, the bill never passed.

Although the Department of Justice has moved to apprehend the guilty parties in recent lynchings, the inadequacy of the present Civil Rights law, the inadequacy of the present Civil Rights statute has given the Federal government little authority.

Atty. Gen. Tom Clark is at present

Republicans double crossed the House Rules Committee.

Minority Leader Joseph Martin that Republicans would invoke cloture.

President Truman again asked Congress for a permanent FEPC bill. When the Seventy-ninth Congress died, the FEPC bill died in the House Rules Committee. The Republicans never delivered on this promise.

Over a period of 12 years, beginning with Republican President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Republicans have taken the lead in defeating Herbert Hoover, Republican Pres. Warren G. Harding down to President Truman.

On price control as in the areas of health and education, Republicans have been the chief support of the Negro voter.

During this 12-year Republican November elections, hopes for the passage of a stronger Civil Rights bill times the number recorded in the law will be in vain.

Although the bill was passed in the House on June 12, 1945 by an overwhelming vote. However, it died in the Senate when the Republican filibuster-ship condoned the filibuster.

In mid-September, 1943, President Roosevelt, in his message to the nation last January, the President placed the chief support of the Republican overwhelming mass" of American Negro voter. The bill passed the House and Senate during those years enjoyed a comfortable Republican majority, the bill never passed in the Eightieth Congress. It is feared that if the Republicans win the

Senator Taft fought the Wagner-Murray-Dingell National Health bill which would provide for the essential health needs of American families at a nominal fee. Taft introduced a bill of his own which was immediately branded inadequate, and smacking of "state rightishness." He likewise introduced a totally inadequate Federal aid to education bill.

It was Taft's amendment to the Price control bill which prompted President Truman to veto it, and give Taft a sound verbal thrashing.

Sore over the President's refusal to approve the Taft-amended bill the Republicans tacked to a new price control bill a large number of bobby-trap amendments beginning with Sen. Kenneth Wherry's (R., Neb.) amendment to decontrol meat, poultry and eggs.

A Republican Senate in the Eightieth Congress is considered only a remote possibility. However, in the event the best predictions go hay-wire, and the Republicans should win the Senate, it might be pointed out that Senator Taft would obtain leadership of the Senate which some observers claim would end the gains made by Negroes under Roosevelt and Truman.

The Republican Effort To Win Back Negroes In Pivotal States

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Sat 9-28-46

By FRANK R. KENT

IT WAS in 1936 that the great Negro vote in the pivotal Northern States, which had been the basic Republican asset since the Civil War, was transferred almost solidly to the Democratic Party through the Machiavellian machinations and low guile of James A. Farley.

For ten years, covering three Presidential and three off-year Congressional elections, the Negroes have remained in the Democratic camp, registering Democratic and voting Democratic, all the way from 75 to 98 per cent. In this year's campaign—the first since the Roosevelt death—the Republicans have real hope of regaining this great group of voters whose defection counted so heavily against them. The Republican sufferings on this score can be easily understood particularly when it is considered that each Negro vote lost counted twice. It not only had to be subtracted from the Republican total but added to the Democratic.

A Diligent and Hopeful Drive

And now the Republicans, after more than a decade of futility, are making their first hopeful attempt to recover this practically indespensable party asset which from 1861 to 1936 helped elect their Presidential candidates and since then has been potent in defeating them. Neither time, money or work will be spared this fall. The effort will be intensive and extremely earnest. All of which makes it pertinent to list, first, the means by which these votes were taken over by the Democrats, and second, the reason the Republicans believe they can get them back now.

It was Mr. Farley, with Mr. Roosevelt's enthusiastic co-operation, who engineered this transfer in 1936. In the order of their importance he would list the means as follows: (1) The W.P.A., then under Harry Hopkins and upon the relief rolls of which an amazing percentage of Negroes were placed. (2) Mrs. Roosevelt, whose fraternization was exceedingly effective. A million copies of her picture taken with a group of male and female Negro students were distributed among Negroes in ten selected States by the Democratic National Committee. (3) Federal patronage, a larger proportion of which went to Negroes in the early Roosevelt days than had been given by any other President. (4) Employment by the Democratic committee of an unprecedented number of Negro teachers, preachers, and speakers who, well paid both as to salary and expenses, travelled the selected States speaking the Roosevelt gospel. (5) The Negro press which, in one way or another, had become strongly pro-Roosevelt.

Hannegan Is No Farley

By these means was accomplished what Mr. Farley, with reason, regards as the most effective coup in the history of national politics. Now, the Republican grounds for feeling this is the time to "right the great wrong" as some have referred to it, are these: (1) Mr. Roosevelt is dead. (2) The W.P.A. no longer exists. (3) The Democratic Party failed to repeal the poll tax or to pass a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act, whereas one was passed by a Republican Governor in New York. (4) The Federal patronage has mostly been distributed. (5) The Negro press, like a number of Negro leaders, has become disaffected and is now largely Republican again. (6) The present Democratic chairman, Mr. Hannegan, is many grades below Mr. Farley in skill, judgment, knowledge and tact.

He appears too busy proclaiming himself a "true liberal" and carrying on his personal feuds within the Cabinet to give the necessary time and attention to blocking this Republican effort or to appreciate what its success will mean to the Democratic ticket in about 10 important and debatable States. Checking the first list against the second, it does seem that the Republicans have about a 60-to-40 chance of achieving their objective in this struggle for the Negro vote this time. It is one of the basic reasons for their general confidence.

NNPA Scribe Reports: Negro Vote is Drifting Toward GOP

The Tribune
Washington, D.C.
Sat 11-2-46

By LOUIS LAUTIER

For the NNPA News Service

The trend of the colored vote in the current Congressional campaign is definitely toward the Republican party, according to polls taken by political analysts in various cities of the east and middle west.

On the other hand, Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who is beating the tom-toms for a new political alignment, sees "little enthusiasm" among colored voters for the Republican party.

Republican campaign workers here have received reports indicating that colored voters in Pennsylvania will vote overwhelmingly for Republican candidates in the State and Congressional elections. There are similar reports from political scouts sent into New York, Michigan and other northern states.

F.D.R.'s Gone

The reason for the falling away of colored voters from the Democratic party which they supported in increasing numbers from the 1932 presidential election through the 1944 presidential election, is not clearly indicated by these polls. But an underlying cause is believed to be the death of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who proved that the colored vote could be weaned away from the Republican party without causing a split in the Solid South.

Another major contributing cause is believed to be "Bilboism." Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, has been the most blatant demagogue in preaching "white supremacy" and disfranchisement of colored voters. His rantings against colored people have been particularly vitriolic during filibusters in the Senate against fair employment practice and anti-poll tax legislation. Besides colored people, he has insulted other minority groups.

But Mr. White, writing in The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, said that the overwhelming majority of colored people "prefer an out-and-out Bilbo or Talmadge to other politicians who make florid promises with no notion of keeping these pledges."

Negro Vote Potent

If substantial numbers of colored voters return to the Republican fold this year, there will be no doubt about Republican Congressional gains, resulting in Republican control of the House in the next Congress and probable control of the Senate.

In the last Congress there were fifty-six Democratic Senators, thirty-eight Republican Senators, one Progressive, and one vacancy. In the House there were 237 Democrats, 192 Republicans, one Progressive, one American Labor, and four vacancies.

A net gain of eleven seats give the Republicans forty-nine Senators and majority control of the Senate. A net gain of twenty-six seats would give the Republicans 218 Representatives and majority control of the House.

Perry Howard Gives GOP Memo

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Tells Taft Minority Expects Square Deal

Sat. 11-23-46

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—Perry W. Howard, Republican national committee man for Mississippi last week presented to Sen. Robert A. Taft (Rep., Ohio), who may become the Senate Majority Leader in the 80th Congress, a five-point legislative program which he believes a majority of colored people want enacted.

"First and foremost," Mr. Howard advocated, "a change in the Senate rules to eliminate the comedy of unlimited debate, and guarantee that a bill when introduced shall reasonably be voted upon."

The other legislative proposals included enactment of a fair employment practice, anti-poll tax, and anti-lynching laws.

Fair Deal Expected

He also urged provisions for Federal aid to education, "with guarantees of a fair and equitable distribution of funds in States which maintain separate schools for the races, thus assuring definite improvements in school facilities for colored people in the South."

45d 1946

Mystifying Politics

Pittsburgh Courier

GOP, Having Played Losing Politics for 14 Years, Continue To Puzzle Colored Voters

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

Sat. 4-13-46

THINGS happening in the Republican party bewilder and befuddle the colored voters of this Republic. Voters and workers who have carried the GOP banners during the lean and weary years, tell us that they are mystified by the actions and apathy of the party leaders. When Herbert Brownell Jr., former National Republican Committeeman, made his final statement to the committee last week, he urged the Republicans to increase their efforts among the colored voters. He said, "They have a powerful influence on the results in thirteen States." He listed these as Pennsylvania, Illinois, New York, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, California, Michigan, New Jersey, Missouri, Tennessee, Indiana and West Virginia.

Mr. Bibb

But when the National Republican Committee set about to elect a new chairman to succeed Brownell, he having resigned to practice law, they chose the Hon. Carroll Reese of Tennessee. Because Reese hails from a Southern State, does not of itself brand him as being unfit to activate the colored vote. But there is no denying that he is viewed with suspicion and trepidation. Not only is Reese a Southerner, admitting that his district is located in a rock-ribbed Republican stronghold but he is also reported to be of the conservative, Hoover-Taft brand of politician. Colored Republicans are not only not attracted to such leadership, but also in the past repelled it.

* * *

PARTY leaders like Willkie, like Lafollete of Indiana, maybe on the Stassen side, are sadly needed to lure the colored voters into the Republican ranks. It is mystifying to this commentator to comprehend why the wise men of the party are not aware of this. It confounds us to witness the stupidity of the Grand Old Party in not recognizing the powerful effect of the colored electorate. Old age pensions, unemployment insurance, ceilings on rents, fair employment practices, minimum wages, emergency relief, resulted in good will for the Democratic party. That good-will has not been shattered even by such renegades in the party as Bilbo, Eastland, Ellender, Cox, Rankin and the notorious members of the Southern bloc. Not even the discriminations in the Armed Forces and the filibusters against the poll tax, FEPC, the anti-lynching bills, and the opposition to most liberal measures has alienated the colored vote from the party of Roosevelt, Sidney Hillman and Henry A. Wallace. And President Truman is not held so cheap, either. Notwithstanding Mr. Brownell's declaration that he was "the weakest President this Nation has had since Franklin Pierce." The President's appointment of Judge Mollison, of Judge Hastie as Governor of the Virgin Islands and his skillful, but unconvincing stand for the FEPC and the minimum wage bill have done him no harm. The Republicans need strong and liberal leaders to overcome this good-will. Willkie demonstrated that it could be done with a fearless, intelligent and sympathetic approach.

* * *

REPUBLICANS like Taft of Ohio, whose father astounded the colored voters of this Nation by his disconcerting stand against appointing colored people to office, have no appeal to the colored voters. When President Taft stated shortly after his election, "I will appoint no colored people to office in the South to offend the Southerners," he weakened the GOP's stranglehold upon our vote. His son, now Senator from Ohio, has done no better by fighting the FEPC and fostering the new chairman, Carroll Reese of Tennessee. The Taft leadership, like the leadership of Governor Green of Illinois, is more than negative, it is repulsive. Sat. 4-13-46

If the Republicans are serious about recapturing the colored vote, they should start out, at once, and approximate the attitudes and opinions of this electorate. They should begin by taking a poll of opinion now. A superficial investigation will show that the colored Republican leaders, who are now, for the most part, without patronage, are considered fossilized and atrophied. The writer shares in this opinion. The party needs progressive thinkers, dynamic workers, skillful publicists, forceful speakers and to cast aside the scheming, obsequious gentry, both colored and white, who have participated in bringing the Grand Old Party to its low estate. Work must be done in '46. More work in '48.

THE CHICAGO WORLD editorial cartoon by Charles Haywood showed a Negro drowning in a whirl pool of ignorance, unemployment, crime, corruption, segregation, congested housing, vice, prejudice, lynch, and distribution of bad foods.

Daily Worker

new York, N. Y.

He is trying to grasp a huge outstretched hand with Republican party on the cuff. 8-16-46

True. The Negro people being drowned in the filth of the American capitalist system, but to show the Republican Party as their Good Samaritan is carrying political partisanship too far. A look at the voting record of the past Congress will show just how Republicans have time and time again allied themselves with Rankin and Bilbo? Would friends of the Negro people even stoop to say hello to these Ku Kluxers?

Negroes Given Lesser Positions

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—(SNS)—Negroes who make up better than 80 per cent of the Republican Party membership in Jacksonville and Duval County were named to the lesser party positions at the annual election of officers of the GOP County Executive Committee, held here last week in the county Courthouse. Tue. 7-9-46

The major positions went to the minority whites and the lesser positions were handed the race. F. Henry Williams, realtor, was named second vice chairman; D. M. Dwight, insurance executive was elected a member of the executive committee, along with Mrs. Hattie I. James, prominent fraternal and welfare worker, to the same body. Tue. 7-9-46

MRS. LUCE SCORES POWELL

Tells Harlem Audience That the Democrats Betray Negro

The Times

New York, N. Y.

Representative Clare Boothe Luce last night charged "consistent betrayal of the Negro by the Democratic party" at a Harlem Republican rally. She backed Grant Reynolds for Congress from the Twenty-second District against Representative Adam Clayton Powell.

"Tonight Mr. Powell is busy as a beaver getting votes in Harlem to keep in power" the anti-Negro Southern Democrats and Communists, Mrs. Luce told her audience at the Greater Bethel A. M. E. Church, 132d Street near Seventh Avenue. Sat. 10-26-46

The Communist party, she said, "is exploiting the discontent, impatience and despair of our 13,000,000 Negroes," while Mr. Powell is a Democratic party bedfellow of "the rancorous race-baiters like Bilbo."

Two-Party System

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: As a Republican I think the public and the voters of the State should be informed that many colored voters throughout the State did not participate in the Democratic primary on July 17, 1946, for the reason that we are pledged our support and loyalty to the principles of the Republican Party, and for us to vote in a Democratic primary, would say that we are morally bound to support the candidates and the principles of the Democratic Party. Tue. 7-23-46

We believe that the people of Georgia deserve a two-party system, and we realize the fact that the Republican Party is the minority party in the State, but we welcome the citizens to our party. Two militant parties in the State will release the political bondage of its citizenry.

DR. L. M. HILL.
224 Boulevard, N. E.

DePriest Ouster Called Stupid

The Defender

Chicago, Ill.

Republican Leader Scores Gov. Green

Sat. 8-24-46

CHICAGO — Reading Ex-Congressman Oscar DePriest out of the Republican party in Illinois was labelled as "very stupid" this week by R. R. (Bob) Church, chairman of the Republican American committee, in a statement issued here on the recent action.

DePriest was allegedly ex-communicated by the party high command for making the statement that Mayor Edward J. Kelly had done more for colored people than any Chicago mayor since William Hale Thompson. Interviewed at the East-West baseball classic here Sunday, Church, national Republican leader, took a sideswipe at Illinois Gov. Dwight Green, when he called the action a "gigantic political blunder," saying:

"All that I know about the matter is what I have read in the press. I have not seen Oscar DePriest, nor had any contact with him directly or indirectly in more than two years.

"Speaking only for myself, I think the action taken by the Illinois Republican organization was very stupid, for the reason that if the Republican organization is sincere, and really wants to win in Illinois, the organization cannot afford to put any Republican out of the party, particularly a man like Oscar DePriest, whom colored people, Democrats as well as Republicans, look upon as a Republican, and as a fearless champion of their cause.

"Dwight Green as governor, is the head of the Republican organization, and I do not know who his advisor is on colored affairs, but whoever he is, or whoever advised him to permit the organization to take this action certainly pulled a gigantic political blunder.

"What the Republican organization in Illinois needs to do is to force Governor Green to do something that will get colored Republicans back into the Republican party, and not take it upon themselves to put anybody out of the Republican party."

Ohio Man Named To Young GOP Executive Post

Defender

BELPRE, Ohio — Evermont Robinson was elected national vice chairman of the Young Republicans Federation at a convention last week in Charleston, W. Va.

The new national officer of the Young Republicans has been interested in politics for 12 years. Since leaving high school he has held a number of public jobs, beginning with bridge inspector for the state highway department. Until two years ago he was a member of the public relations staff of former Governor John W. Bricker.

He is now employed in the office of the Secretary of State at Columbus. 6-1-46 Sat

Active for many years in the organization of Young Republican clubs, Robinson this year was elected vice chairman of the Ohio League of Young Republicans, in addition to the national post. He has been a member of the Washington County Republican Executive Committee for eight years.

Chicago Ill.

Born here in 1912, Robinson is a graduate of Belpre High School. He is a trustee and steward of the AME church here, and in 1944, was elected national vice chairman of the Layman's Association at a Philadelphia Convention.

The vice chairman lives at the home of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Richard R. Robinson. He is married and has two sons.

Negroes Planning To Force Howard, Booze To Retire

A group of young and politically-minded negroes in this state has launched a movement to force the retirement of Perry W. Howard as Republican national committeeman for Mississippi and also Mary Booze as Republican national committeewoman.

Also, it is rather amusing to note, many of the negroes who have joined in the fight on Perry Howard and Mary Booze have been very loudly vocal in demanding the right to participate in Democratic primaries and quite a number of them actually did vote in the primary on July 2nd.

From an authentic source it is learned that Perry Howard and Mary Booze are now obtaining lists of the negroes who voted on July 2nd, obviously for the purpose of seeing to it that they are barred from further participation in the affairs of the Republican party in this state.

The chief argument advanced in the fight on Perry Howard is that he is no longer a citizen of Mississippi, and has not been for 25 years. He is practicing law in Washington but maintains a legal residence in Jackson and is a property owner here.

Mary C. Booze, Republican committeewoman, is a negroes led by H. H. Humes, for- ville negro editor, want to grab control of the black-and-tan organization and pick their own delegation to the next Republican national convention.

Perry Howard, veteran politician that he is, is not likely to be caught napping. Those negroes who participated in the recent Senatorial and Congressional primaries, and who are planning to vote in the state-wide primaries Democratic next year can be legally barred.

However, the story behind the story is that some ambitious young

KANSAS YOUNG GOP BLAST JIM CROW AT "LILY WHITE" DANCE HALL IN TOPEKA

The Plainder
Kansas City, Kansas
Fri. 10-11-46

NEGRO STUDENTS DANCE AT LILY-WHITE MEADOW ACRES BALLROOM AFTER MANAGEMENT SOUGHT TO DENY THE ADMITTANCE. ENTIRE CONVENTION ENDORSES ACTION OF PRESIDENT IN RACIAL INCIDENT DURING DAY SESSION.

Topeka, Kans.—The Collegiate Division o fthe Kansas Young Republican Clubs let it be known publically here during their 2-day convention held October 4 and 5 that as a collegiate organization at any dance or business they were not going to discriminate because of race, creed or color.

As a part of the convention program the organization planned and held a banquet on the exclusive roof garden of the Kansan Hotel and followed it with a dance at the famous Meadow Acres Ballroom just south of Topeka on highway 75. At the banquet Negro members and their guests mingled freely with their fellow Young Republicans and took an active part in the festivities without the slightest discrimination or segregation. The principal speaker was John Robinson of Lexington, Ky., who made a scathing attack on the New Deal and the Democratic party, and called upon them to adopt programs of a specific benefit to Kansas. Other speakers on the program denounced the Democratic nominee for Governor in Kansas for his wild promises and dishonest campaigning and lauded Frank Carlson the Republican nominee for his sincereity and honesty and endorsed the Republican platform.

Following the banquet about 600 young Republicans and their guests went to Meadow Acres to attend the dance. Although the dance was open to the public, it was sponsored by the organization, they having guaranteed the cost. Negro students who arrived early were denied admission to the dance by the wife of the owner of the ballroom although it had been understood that there would be no discrimination to cause such an embarrassing situation. The refusal of admission was based upon what Mrs. Vern Sperry, wife of the owner termed "policy." Upon learning of the incident Robert Groom, Chairman of the organization and a student at the University of Kansas and Jack Byrd a Washburn student of Yates Center and Young Republican National committeeman tobether with Glen Cogswell, Bob Gatewood acted immediately and forcefully informing the management that such action had not been expected and would not be tolerated and that either all attended the dance and the orchestra would be stopped and the dance terminated then and there. Carrying their fight further, Groom took the micraphone interrupted the orchestra and informed the crowd of what had taken place and received the unanimous support of the crowd to gain admittance for all. Words flew thick and fast with the Young Republicans standing their ground and Negro members and their guests were admitted. Persons were then sent to bring back those who had been embarrassed by being denied admission, and left. The dance then continued with Negroes in attendance and all enjoying themselves. Those who came following the incident had no trouble and were treated just as anyone else. Negro Young Republicans were high in their praise of the positive stand taken by their collegues in the matter. This is believed to be the first time that Negroes have entered this dance hall which is known to be lily-white and permitting no Negroes to enter for amusement purposes.

At the Saturday morning business session of the convention, Groom related the incident in detail to the convention proper and after informing them of his actions asked for an endorsement. The convention voted unamiously in not only endorsing the action of Groom and his collegues but voted to serve notice publically and openly that the organization would not tolerate any discrimination at its dances, business sessions or any other activities. This was done by news release to the Associated Press and local daily papers.

Ambrose P. Woodard Jr., son of Attorney Ambrose P. Woodard of Wichita and a Washburn student was active in convention affairs and in charge of ticket sales to the dance and banquet. Woodard, together with Jim Woodson, another Washburn student and vice-chairman of the Young Republicans played no small part in the activities of the convention and clearing up the incident.

Fri. 10-11-46

The convention composed mainly of college students backed the stand taken by the Republican party on prohibition after a hot debate and favored resubmission. After commending the Republican party on its stand in exhibiting its belief in the fundamental principle of democracy that the people themselves have the right to vote on controversial issues, they charged Woodring the Democrat nominee with conducting a malicious and dishonest campaign and with having repeatedly made promise after promise which everyone knows or should know that he cannot fulfill. It was pointed out that only Frank Carlson had presented a program to the state which was capable of getting the prohibitory amendment repealed.

Negroes here hailed the action of the Young Republicans on their stand and action in their behalf. It demonstrated clearly and dealt with them in positive and convincing manner in order that the rights of all will be protected. Such action on their part makes mandatory our support of Frank Carlson and the entire Republican ticket to insure a continuation of fair play.

Good Jobs Make Republicans Of Louisville Negroes

The Louisiana Weekly
New Orleans, La.
Sat. 11-3-46

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Louisville, Ky., Oct. 30.—Louisville and Jefferson County Republican leaders have found the magic key to lead Negro voters through the Republican doors—good jobs. "The Republicans have brought us up out of the basement," declare Louisville Negro leaders. No longer are they confined to the basements of county and city government buildings. Today, for the first time in history, Negroes hold several high offices such as deputy state fire marshal, and membership on the state alcohol beverage control board. In addition, there are highway maintenance workers, guards and attendants for state institutions.

Traditional supporters of the Republican Party, Negroes left the fold and turned to the Democrats during the active days of the WPA. Outside of relief, the only political jobs open to Negroes were as janitors, charwomen and elevator operators. This was the situation up until a couple of years ago when Jouett Ross Todd, national committeeman from Kentucky and chairman of Louisville's Republican City-County Committee, decided that something must be done. If relief jobs took the Negro vote away, then substantial and lasting jobs should bring them back again.

Four years ago, Todd called the faithful Negro supporters together and outlined a plan to give them a proportionate share in the management of the government of Louisville and Kentucky. A separate Republican City-County Committee was organized with Negro officers and word then spread among the colored residents what the Republicans planned to do. The wisdom of this move became apparent in 1943 when the Republicans were successful in electing Simeon S. Willis Governor.

Willis made his promises good to appoint Negroes to prominent posts, and in 1945, with most of the county and city offices at stake in the municipal election, Todd callled a meeting of the Republican candidates in the presence of the Negro leaders, and told the candidates that he expected them, if elected, to appoint Negroes to key positions in his department and give them their share of political patronage. Every candidate agreed, and in the election, Republicans carried every Negro precinct in the city.

As a result of this Negro support, the Republicans won most of the Jefferson County offices, control of the board of aldermen, and fell only 221 votes short of electing their candidate for mayor. Among the successful candidates was the first Negro alderman in the history of Louisville, Eugene Clayton.

Negro leaders here see in this experience a pattern for other sections of the country to follow.

Charge $50,000 Purge By GOP

The Defender
Chicago, Ill.

Plan To Defeat Dawson, Two Others

Sat. 10-19-46

WASHINGTON — Charging that Republicans have put $50,000 into a purge fund for the political scalp of Rep. William L. Dawson (D., Ill.), and two other Chicago Congressmen, Rep. Adolph Sabath (D., Ill.), dean of the House disclosed last week that he will ask the House Campaign Expenditures' Committee to make a full investigation.

The veteran Illinois liberal said he learned from indirect, but reliable sources that Republican leaders have picked 100 districts in which they intend to spend $5,000,000 this year, including three in Chicago. They are the predominantly Negro first, now held by Representative Dawson; the third, and the ninth, held by Reps. E. A. Kelly and A. J. Resa.

Charges "Election Buying"

He also charged that three southern Illinois districts, where Republican control is shaking, have been set aside for special treatment. Sabath, who recently made a ringing indictment of the reactionary record of the 79th Congress, labeled the alleged plan as "in perfect line with the Republican policy of buying elections wherever possible."

The House dean indicted Republican financiers for deliberately manipulating the recent plunge of the New York Stock Market. The move was a deliberate attempt to enrich GOP campaign chests and embarrass the administration, he added. "The big boys are saying we might as well give them a little whirl and make some money. . . . At the same time they are trying to make people jittery and undermine the administration," Representative Sabath continued.

Hannegan Blasts "Sit-Down"

Elsewhere on the political front, Democratic National Committee head, Robert Hannegan accused the Republican party of staging a 13-year legislative sit-down strike against progressive laws. He named Sen. Robert Taft (R., Ohio) as the guiding spirit behind the strike.

The Postmaster General said Republicans appropriated the label of liberalism, but have taken no constructive legislative stand. Failure of the GOP to fight for renomination of such men as Senator LaFollette (Wis.), Representative Baldwin (N.Y.), and Representative LaFollette (Ind.) indicates a planned purge to eliminate all trace of forward thinking from the party, Hannegan charged. Concluding his indictment, Hannegan defied House Republican Leader Marin (Mass.) to "point to one single constructive action his party proposes for the government of this country."

Republicans and the South

The Thurs and Courier
Charleston, S.C.
Tues. 11-5-46

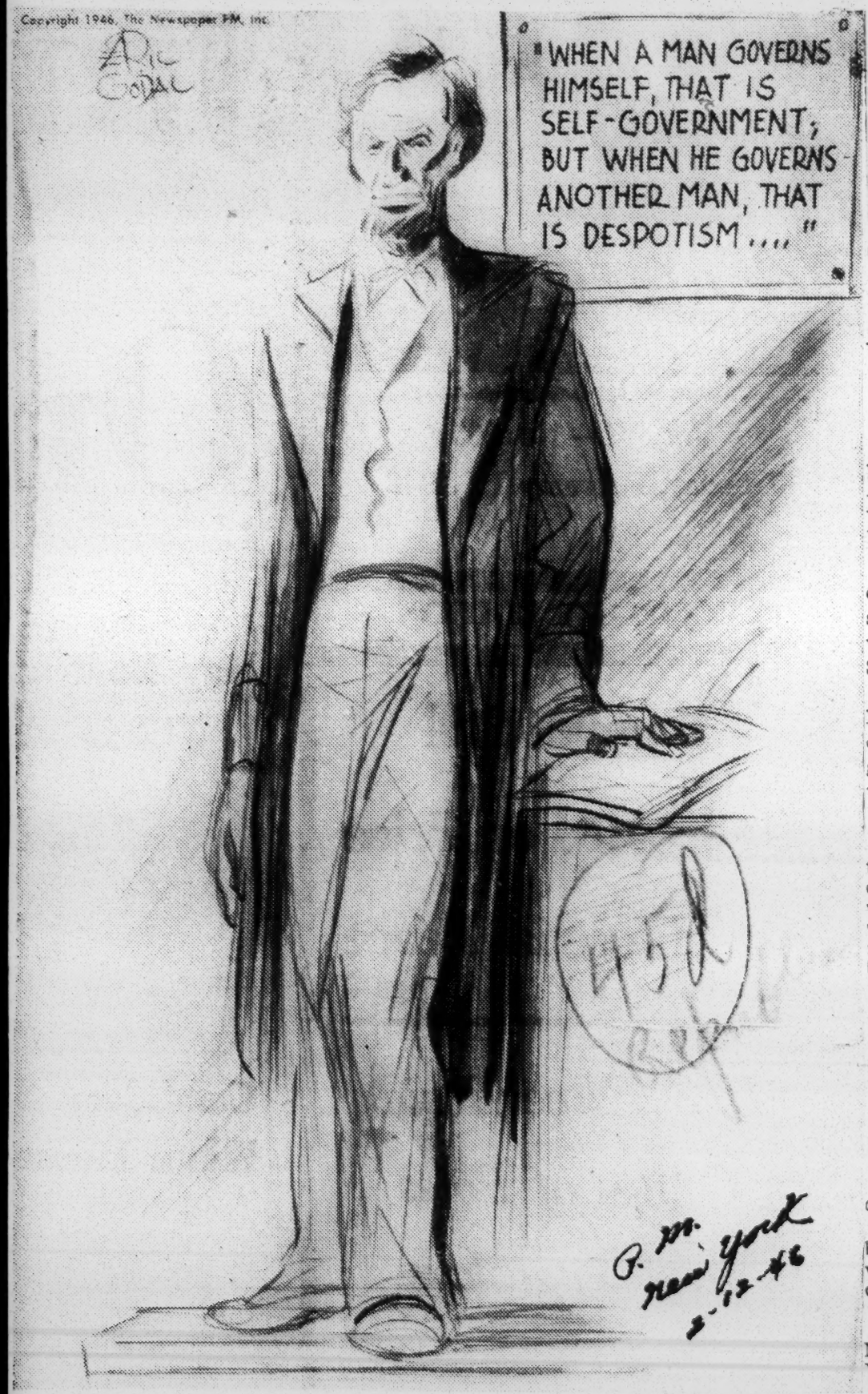
Today is election day in the United States, and excitement is high in states where are close party contests. It is said that when and if the Republicans win control of congress they will begin the end of the New Deal. The outcome of the election will have profound historic effect on all the inhabitants of the United States; yet on this day the South Carolinians, like most Southerners, are passive spectators.

The decision already has been made in Democratic primaries and today the Southerners have no part in determining the line their government will follow. By their abstinence, the states that are "in the bag" have taken a stand. They have elected to refrain from participating in the two-party system which in some quarters is regarded as a foundation of American democracy.

Actually, the South is not as far off the two-party track as might be surmised on the surface. Some of the South Carolina representatives, though bearing the label of the Democratic party, are a long way from present day Democratic principles of controlled economy and FEPC. On the negro issue, most of the Southerners already are in revolt. On the OPA, L. Mendel Rivers, the first district congressman voted with OPA, as the president said, Rivers and the Republicans, whom Harry Truman villified, to abolish the OPA. Senators Johnston and Maybank voted in favor of some of the Democratic column. Even if the Republicans do not win Senator Taft's amendments to price control legislation. If Taft is guilty of wrecking the merical control of congress in today's elec-

tions, they will find conservative Democrats to vote with them in restoring basic principles of American government. Only by intelligent decontrol all along the line they can allay the suspicions and fears of pre-Roosevelt Republicans, and possibly deliberate, stupid and reprehensible demagoguery will they be able to alienate the Southern conservatives, and that will be in appeals for negro and radical support in the large Northern cities.

The Republicans thus could force wavering Democrats back into the New Deal fold.



Lincoln's Party on Lincoln's Birthday

Republican Senate Leader White

Opposed Cloture

Opposed the FEPC

Senior Republican Senator Taft

Voted for Cloture, but Opposed the FEPC

Eight Republican Senators

Voted Against Cloture

Cloture Lost by Eight Votes

G.O.P. Effort to Win Negro Support Failing

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

By GEORGE GALLUP

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

Princeton, N. J., Feb. 15.—Recent Republican efforts on behalf of F.E.P.C. legislation in the Senate once again highlight the longstanding Republican Party problem of winning the Negro vote back into the G.O.P. fold.

These efforts naturally are concentrated upon Negro voters outside the Southern states, since the vast majority of Negroes in the South do not cast ballots.

There is no evidence today that Republican efforts are winning over any great proportion of Negro voters in the states outside the South. 1-16-46

Negroes Favor Democrats.

In fact, a poll just completed throughout the nation, which included a cross-section of Negro voters, finds the Negro voters favoring the Democratic Party today over the Republican Party by a vote of 3 to 2.

The fact that Negro voters continue to prefer the Democratic to the Republican Party can be explained in large part by economic factors.

Here are the figures of Negro voters and white voters in comparable occupation groups.

Choice of Parties Asked.

The figures are based on the question:

"If a presidential election were being held today, which party would you vote for—the Democratic or Republican?"

	Democratic	Republican
Negro voters	60%	40%
White voters in same occupations	58	42

1-16-46

The figures above are of those with opinions on the subject. Three out of every 10 colored voters, about two out of 10 white voters in the comparable group, had no opinion.

As was mentioned earlier, the above figure of 58 per cent Democratic for white voters in the same occupation groups as the Negro voters, represents the opinion of white voters in the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled occupation category.

Little Headway Evident.

The Republican Party is preferred by a majority of white voters in business and professional and farm groups, outside of South, and the two parties are about equally strong among the white-collar workers.

This is not to say that race will not at times be more important as a determining factor than economic status, but the evidence does indicate that until the present economic cleavages give way, or until the Republican Party can convince voters in the middle and lower economic income groups that it represents their best interests, little headway in winning the colored vote is likely to be made. 1-16-46

At the present time, surveys find, only about one out of every ten in the lower economic groups think that the Republican Party represents his best interests.

Notes of a Contemporary

P.M. New York

THEY DON'T MEAN IT. The ironic thing about Lincoln's birthday this year is that it falls only four days after the FEPC was again done to death in the Senate of the United States. That is a good reason for writing off beforehand the inevitable speeches that will be delivered at the Lincoln Day dinners and the inevitable hogwash that will flow plentifully. The fact is the gentlemen don't mean it enough to back it up with either their passion or their action.

The Democrats are the only liberal party we have, but they have to drag along with them the carcass of Southern reaction. The Republicans lay legal claim to Lincoln as their own, but in spirit they are as far from Lincoln as the slaveholders of his own day. The "peculiar institution" the Southern tories cling to is white supremacy. The "peculiar institution" the Republican tories cling to is the supremacy of corporate Big Money. Both of them throttle freedom. Lincoln belongs only to those Americans who are willing to make a fight against the "peculiar institutions" of our own day. 2-12-46

REFLECTIONS ON RANKIN. The pre-Lincoln Day oratory in the House yesterday brought up this gem from Rep. Rankin. Walter Winchell, said Rankin, "a sly mongrel kike," and "if Lincoln were alive today Winchell couldn't get in his back door." This is not the first time that fascist fascism has openly been spoken in the House, by Rankin and a small minority of others. It was in the cards all along that after a decade of fascist brutality all over the world, some Americans should have become infected, and that trickles from the fascist gutter should run even in the halls of Congress. What hurts is not so much what Rankin says as the fact that the decent fellows in Congress don't dare stand up to him choosing—and not of your enemy's.

Negro Group Joins Republicans

New York Times

The first Negro organization to join the Association of New York State Young Republican Clubs is the Knickerbocker Young Republican Club, Inc., with headquarters at 15 Hamilton Place, Joel Mencher, president of the association, announced yesterday. Richard Baltimore of 289 Convent Avenue, is president of the Knickerbocker Club. 1-7-46

REPUBLICANS DROP OSCAR DEPRIEST

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. 3-28-46

CHICAGO—(By ANP)—Oscar DePriest, Alderman and Third Ward Committeeman here, last week was notified that he had been dropped from all County Republican subcommittees because he allegedly said: "Mayor Kelly is the best mayor Chicago never had." The Democratic mayor is under fire in connection with Chicago school scandals.

NEW NEW TESTAMENT. Will King James, after reigning three and a half centuries, now be dethroned? That is the question that has been raised by the "revised standard version" of the New Testament, which comes to take the place of the classic King James version.

Will it? One's first impulse is to push the brash invader aside, and defend what we have come to know and love. In the King James version, for example, the famous passage in Corinthians reads: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." The new version changes *charity* to *love*, and ends: "I am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal." Shorter? Yes. Clear? I doubt it. Better? Well, I feel a little as I do when Shakespeare is translated into Esperanto or Plato into Basic English.

This isn't a matter of clinging to the archaic. The King James translation has become one of the great achievements of our literature—great works of literature need no modernizing. The Bible committee puts up a stiff defense by saying that the Bible is "God's word to men" and that word must "stand forth in language that is direct and clear and meaningful." No doubt they are right, and given their lights as professional religionists they had to do what they have done. But let me doubt strongly whether men fail to act in the Christian spirit today because the language of the Bible has haunting rhythms and sounds slightly old-fashioned. As for myself I shall remain an unreconstructed follower of King James. If I forget thee, o sounding brass and tinkling cymbal, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.

° ° °

JESTER INTO STATESMAN. The Capitol dopesters seem to think that George Allen's nomination for the Reconstruction Finance Corp. will get through the Senate because Allen's jokes had the Senators laughing. One could be an indignant moralist, and shout that political cynicism had reached a pretty low low. Or one could take a cold anthropological look at ourselves, and note that it probably had to be this way. Three outstanding things about our American civilization are the promoter, the fixer, and the wisecrack. Allen combines all three. He's therefore a natural for any high office we have. Evidently the trouble with the Harding Administration was that the Ohio Gang didn't include a master of the wisecrack.

° ° °

STALIN'S SPEECH. Stalin's speech to the electors at the Bolshoi Theater has raised the temperatures of the professional Russia-baiters. They see in his remarks about the relation of capitalist crisis to world war a deliberate slap at America. But that is the sheerest nonsense. It is the stock in trade of capitalist leaders to glorify the capitalist free market economy, and it is the stock in trade of socialist leaders to glorify the planned socialist economy. What Stalin is saying is not a "new line," as some political Nostradamuses seem to think. It is the old Stalinist line, on which Russia has been so successful: the line of "building socialism in one country."

° ° °

LOGIC AND WAR. Is there a relation between Stalin's speech and what is going on in the UNO debates and in the clashes of power all over the world? I think there is. As I understand Stalin, he is saying that if a war happens again, it will not be due to "Russian aggression," but to the deep forces of crisis and planlessness inside of capitalism. On the record, that is hard to deny. He is also saying that, if necessary, Russia can develop the economic strength and the scientific advances to get along on its own. That, too, on the record is hard to deny.

There is nothing wrong with Stalin's logic. There is only this to add. Whatever may have been the root causes of the last war, it engulfed socialist Russia as well as the capitalist countries. And granted Russia can stand on its own, what use is it to push science and industry if they will all be destroyed in the next war? Russia's stakes are also ours: to build a world authority so strong that a planned capitalism and a planned socialism can carry on their rivalry within it.

—MAX LERNER

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Gets Republican Campaign Post

The Cincinnati Enquirer 3-23-46

Valores Washington of Illinois has been named executive assistant to the campaign director of the Republican national committee. The 45-year-old native of Columbus, Ind., years as business manager of is a graduate from the Uni- a Chicago newspaper, he was versity of Indiana, where he named to the Illinois Com- majored in journalism and merce Commission in 1941, business administration, and which position he still holds. also studied law. After five

Washington Calling

Washington Post
Washington, D.C.

By Marquis Childs

Clare Booth Luce's Speech

LONG RESIDENCE in Washington is likely to induce a corrosive cynicism concerning human motives. It may be that this is merely an occupational disease of politicians and those who associate with politicians, accentuated in the Capital, where politics is the chief occupation.

CHILDS

In announcing that she had been received into the Catholic Church, Clare Boothe Luce apparently felt it necessary to add that she was retiring from political life lest her action be interpreted in some way as a bid for votes.

Like so many others before her, Mrs. Luce has discovered that it is difficult in politics to get one's serious utterances taken seriously. Her final decision to retire may have had some connection with a drama of disillusionment that took place 10 days before the announcement of her religious conversion. Times 2-21-46

The Congresswoman from Connecticut put a great deal of time and stress on a speech to be delivered at the annual Lincoln Day banquet of the Republican members of the House and the Women's Republican Club of the District of Columbia. The speech dealt with the Negro in America.

MRS LUCE HIT hard at injustice and discrimination. It was a long way from the traditional Lincoln's Day speech paying lip service to Republican dogma on the Negro.

Running through the speech was the theme of the brotherhood of man; the profound belief that underlies the Christian faith, more often honored in the breach than in the observance.

"As Christians," said Mrs. Luce, "we know that there are no such things as 'Negro rights' or 'white rights.' There are only human rights which Negro and white and brown and yellow all claim equally as members of the human family and children of God. In every way the Christian approach to the problem is the soundest, the truest and the safest."

Mrs. Luce's well-dressed, well-fed audience was startled. They had expected, from her, wit and sarcasm as the expense of the Democrats.

As she warmed to her theme, she went even further. She attacked Senator Bilbo of Mississippi directly by name, a violation of "congressional courtesy."

"It has been said," Mrs. Luce declared, "'If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar.' Against this supreme charge, Senator Bilbo must find himself defenseless, now and eternally. Let us try as best we can to stay out of this dreadful docket with him, for unhappily all of us have, to some extent, failed our brothers."

Times 2-21-46

THIS WAS CALLING a United States Senator a liar, even though it was done by way of the Bible. When Mrs. Luce finished her speech, there was only a faint pitter-patter of perfunctory applause. Several choleric Republicans are said to have left the dining room in the middle of the address.

Representative Charles LaFollette of Indiana, a liberal Republican, and one of the few at the dinner who heartily applauded Mrs. Luce's courage, offered to have the speech put in the Congressional Record. It was discovered, however, that this could not be done without deleting the references to Bilbo, in deference to congressional courtesy, and Mrs. Luce refused to permit her remarks to be edited.

The press carried almost no reference to the speech. Altogether, her most earnest effort since she has been in Washington was ignored, leaving her to the unhappy conclusion that, whereas a wisecrack will make page one, virtue must be its own reward.

Disillusion was compounded for Mrs. Luce when she learned that those who had been annoyed with her speech were explaining it away by saying that she was merely bidding for the Negro and the labor vote in her district. This was the unkindest cut of all.

There has been so much double talk about the "Negro problem." That may be one reason for the reception given Mrs. Luce's hard-hitting speech.

But this cynical Capital is always looking for hidden motives. The game of political poker, as it is played in Washington, takes nothing for granted.

Chicagoans Okey GOP Chairman

afro American
Baltimore, Md.

Declare New Leader Has Unbiased Record

Sat 4-13-46

CHICAGO.—William E. King, second ward Republican committeeman, and Dr. J. B. Martin, president of the Negro American Baseball League, endorsed B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee as national chairman of the Republican Party last week.

Both recalled his backing of the FEPC bill, anti-poll tax bill, anti-lynching bill and other progressive measures. They also said their personal knowledge of him was favorable.

No Comment From Leaders

Although it is rumored they are in favor of the new GOP chairman, Val Washington, Oscar DePriest and Robert R. Church, leading Republicans have not been reached for comment. Sat 4-13-46

Mr. King and Dr. Martin agreed that colored people will not relish the idea of naming a native of Tennessee to lead the party, but added "that is because they don't want Reece."

St. Louis Has 1st Negro On School Board

New York, N.Y.
Amsterdam News
Sat 4-27-46

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill. (ANP)—Unprecedented numbers of Negro voters at the polls here last week elected Marion Stallings the first Negro member of the board of education and repudiated machine-controlled politics by defeating the ticket of Dan McGlynn, white, self-styled political boss.

The Republican Challenger organization, an all-Negro political group, worked against McGlynn's machine to elect 11 out of 18 committeemen on their slate. Much of the success in the primary campaign has been attributed to Thomas Lewis, local business man, who matched dollar for dollar with white politicians. Lewis is chairman of the board of directors of the Challenger organization of 6,500 members.

Ohioan gets Republican office

BELPRE, Ohio—Evermonth Robinson, 34, of Belpre, was elected national vice-chairman of the Young Republicans Federation at a convention held recently at Charles, W. Va. Until two years ago, Robinson was a member of ex-Gov. John W. Bricker's public relations staff. He is now employed in the office of the secretary of state at Columbus. L.A. Lab. 6-8-46

Washington Calling

The Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.
Sat 10-26-46

Solid South Will Have A Lot To Say In 1948

By MARQUIS CHILDS

NEW ORLEANS — Coming East by the Southern route, you pass through the solid South. It is solid enough for this election, at any rate. But what will happen in 1948, and after, is causing some speculation even in the deep South where the Republican Party is a tame ghost mortgaged to Robert A. Taft.

You get a question here that is the same question Democrats in the North are asking. They want to know whether President Truman will be the candidate of his party for re-election in 1948.

Certainly, the President will be challenged within his own party. That is not hard to foresee. Moreover, the challenger is likely to be Henry A. Wallace, with the political power of the PAC, whatever that may be two years hence, behind him. This is the prospect which makes old-line Democrats in the South a little uneasy as they contemplate the future. It is why they can discuss seriously whether or not the South will continue to vote Democratic as regularly as election time rolls around.

The question, it seems to me, more or less answers itself. The Democrats of the South exercise a great deal of control over the party machinery. By virtue of the seniority system they run the House and Senate. They are going to have a lot to say about the Democratic nominee in 1948.

Both loyalty and tradition dictate renomination for President Truman. Conceivably, he might find a way to step out. But no matter what the reason it would be taken as a confession of failure. Then, too, by stepping out he would precipitate the feud within the party which is only held in abeyance because he represents a compromise between the two wings of the party.

Potency Of A Name

With one shattering exception, the Democratic Party in Louisiana has been in the conservative, traditional pattern. Huey Long took this State on the wildest spree that had ever been seen, either in Louisiana or anywhere else. In the decade since Long's assassination, Democratic leaders have been trying to recover from the hangover. Both in the State administration and in New Orleans, reform governments have fought the crookedness that was the base on which the Kingfish built his success. It has not been easy.

You can close down the obvious vice and the gambling. You can fire the crooks out of office. But the habit of corruption induced by dictatorship goes very deep. That is the deadly thing about a dictatorship, whether on the Louisiana scale or the German scale. It strikes at the fiber of political decency.

What made the Long experience so full of meaning for the South was the background against which it occurred Louisiana had lived in contented indifference to the kind of changes that had transformed North Carolina. For example, in schools, roads, hospitals and so on, the State was near the bottom of the list. The Kingfish built the schools and the roads and the hospitals. They cost ten times as much as they should have cost and the difference went to enrich the members of the Long gang. But the buildings were there for the people to see and that is what they remember today.

The visitor is told that back in the canebrakes, in the rural counties, the name of Huey Long still invokes veneration. That is why some people think that Long's son, Russell, a young man with a good war record, may one day be a political power in the State. The potency of the name might be enough to put him on top here.

Progress Only Solution

The State, however, is recovering from the Long debauch. Native pride has done a lot to kindle the recovery program. The people of this City, for instance, are proud that this is a port of entry for trade by air and sea with Latin America. They are doing everything they can to attract Latin-American visitors. A handsome new clubhouse, recently completed, offers facilities for businessmen from south of the border.

It is the kind of courtesy other cities could well afford to copy, but for the South the lesson of Louisiana is the golden opportunity that lay ready and waiting for a man of Huey Long's ruthless ambition and brilliance. The cure lies in progress. That is the only effective vaccination against the disease of dictatorship.

The Kingfish's rise and fall has meaning not for the South alone, but for the whole country. We seem now to be entering a period of reaction. If the pendulum is pushed back too far and all change is stifled, then the way will be open for a violent counter-reaction. We will have created a golden opportunity for a Huey Long not on a State, but a National scale.

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Liberalism: Alabama Style

Birmingham Ala News

An Editorial in The Gadsden Times

Will I. Martin, the dean of The Gadsden Times staff, whose journalistic memory goes back some five decades or more, wrote recently in his "Fifty Years Ago in Gadsden" column of the attempts of the Etowah County Republicans to fuse with the Populists to swap votes for McKinley.

It was just about 50 years ago that the Populists bought the old Gadsden Tribune from a Democratic editor and whooped it up for radical reforms at which The Gadsden Times, then a "Goldbug Democrat," turned a critical eye and an abusive editorial voice.

Those were rough-and-tumble political and journalistic days in this part of Alabama—and indeed throughout the South and the West. For what a young Kansas editor called "the ragtag and bobtail," the small farmers and small merchants and such industrial labor as existed, were banded together in swelling protest against the "status quo" leadership in both the Democratic and Republican parties. . . .

* * *

Fifty years ago in Alabama the Democratic party was the conservative party. It was controlled, for most part, by the rich landowners, and it was in the backwash of the War Between the States that the planters of the Black Belt in Alabama began their shenanigans to dictate the party's politics, even to controlling the conventions and, later, the primaries.

Today, long after the threats which were dangerous in the reconstruction era, the Alabama Black Belt, with a small part of the state's population, actually controls the Legislature, while the people of North Alabama sit about in mild wonder at how it's done.

There is no doubt that the great mass of Alabama white people are really rebels against status quo systems they feel are holding back progressive democratic programs. And, indeed, as shown by the rise of Populism, the seed always has been here—especially in this part of Alabama. . . .

* * *

Today the Democratic party is undergoing great change in Alabama, as it is throughout the country. Hundreds of Alabamians are tied to the party through tradition—and because there is no place else to go—who do not want to stomach the things for which it stands. Fri. 4-5-46

Because the Southern Democratic party for so many years has been identified as a Bourbon party, described as conservative or reactionary, depending on which side of the fence one stands, many Southerners, and even students in far-away places like Maine and Vermont, are stumped. They cannot figure it out. They see what many call "radical reforms" being supported by Southern Democrats, while the very name, Southern Democrat, conjures up a picture of a Sen. Claghorn, a Yankee-baiting, Republican-hating old gentleman who hates progress as much as a Southern gentleman is supposed to love mint juleps.

But the truth always has been that the South is made up of a lot of people, only a small portion of them representative of the landed aristocracy and what-not. And most of the Southern people have been small farmers or workers or little business men who forever in their hearts have yearned for economic change which might better their lot. They have merely been too timid at times to seek that economic change through politics. . . .

So when William G. Carleton writes in the Spring issue of The Virginia Quarterly an article like "The Conservative South—a Political Myth," and Dr. Clarence Nixon, of Vanderbilt University, tells a political science group in Philadelphia that the South actually is liberal, observers must be moved to wonder why the South clings to its illusion of "conservatism."

* * *

Immediately after the War Between the States the Southern Republican party was the poor man's party—and with him for a time were the newly freed slaves.

Then came Populism. It was a ferment of the times. It was rebellion by the "have nots" and a scattering of poor landed gentry and a few intellectuals, with the sympathetic support of small business men.

The old congressional district embracing Gadsden sent a Populist to Congress for two terms. At one time the Populists held nearly every elective office in Etowah County. The same thing held true in many Southern "hill counties." Fri. 4-5-46

Oddly enough—or not odd at all—many of the "radical" changes expounded by the Populists were nearly 40 years coming. They came with Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal. And though a large segment of Southerners had professed such political programs four or five decades ago, when the New Deal reforms came they came with the brand of Yankeeism.

The Republican party is no longer the poor man's party in the South. Most Southern Republicans are men of means, and they have as spiritual brothers old-line Democrats who just cannot bring themselves to break with tradition. They vote Democratic in local issues and either fume and fret and hold their noses in national elections, or go fishing. Some of them actually vote for the Republican presidential candidates, but with a sense of guilt. The old ties are hard to break.

* * *

Most Alabama white people do not vote. The poll tax and the old suffrage laws, made originally to keep Negroes from voting, work against them. Alabama's voting regulations are the most complicated in the country.

The conservative political thinkers in Alabama are the smartest. And they work harder at the game of politics than do the more liberal elements. They even work with more zealous feeling. Fri. 4-5-46

For years after the War Between the States the South was looked upon as—and indeed was—a destroyed feudal land, a conquered nation whose wealth disappeared with the old order. It was in that period that Southerners emotionally learned to cling fast to the glories of the past and to try to make up in dream stuff what they lacked in material comforts and tangible security.

There still remains in most of us Southerners some of those old dreams, clouded by change and by time, dreams that confuse us when we attempt to look at political movements we deem strange and new, but which really are not so strange and not so new, but only made to appear so because we have learned to live with illusions that have become a very part of feeling and thinking.

Many well-to-do Southerners are genuinely conservative. But most Southerners are neither well-to-do nor conservative. They are merely frustrated in their political thinking, because they sometimes find economic yearning and emotional-traditional thinking at odds with each other. So they vote the straight Democratic ticket, often cuss the administration for radicalism, but pull for tangible reforms that meet the eye and understanding.

The conservative South is like the South of Aunt Jemimah, the South of Col. Blackstock, the South of Sen. Claghorn—it exists only in healthy and colorful imagination.

The only trouble is that bright human minds have not yet been able to coin the exact words to describe Southern liberalism, just as New England housewives and Iowa farm wives have never learned to fry chicken Southern style. Fri. 4-5-46

The word "liberal," as defined by Webster, is no more illustrative of Southern liberalism than sweetened cornbread is like Alabama hoecake.

Tom Stokes, at Athens, Tells South What It Needs Is 2-Party System

Atlanta Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Sun 2-24-46

By CLARK HOWELL JR.

Constitution Staff Writer.

ATHENS, Feb. 23.—Tom Stokes, native Georgian and Washington columnist whose column appears daily in The Atlanta Constitution, fired a broadside at the "do or die" Democratic southern conservatism, speaking today in the white columned antebellum university chapel here.

"The only way to get real representation in the south is to have a two-party system," Stokes told Georgia editors and their guests at the 18th annual Georgia Press Institute.

"Herbert Hoover carried four southern states in 1928—North Carolina, Florida, Texas and Virginia. I realize that this breaking of the Solid South was hinged perhaps largely on other than economic issues—religion and prohibition were powerful influences," Stokes continued.

"But I do believe that many people in the south in that year voted on the basis partly of economic issues and were glad of the opportunity.

"It's too bad Hoover was unable to carry through his ideas of reform to establish a really effective Republican party in the south, but there is no reason why it shouldn't be tried again."

The chapel was filled to capacity with Athenians and students of the University of Georgia who had come to hear the liberal Tom Stokes curse the discrimination and prejudice left over from War Between the States days.

"Conservative interests of the south should have an opportunity to leave the Democratic party, and progressive people should have an opportunity to elect men or women who would carry out progressive ideas," Stokes said. "The issues should be fought out on the basis of their merits, not on the basis of an outworn tradition.

"Of course it will never be possible to fight the issues out on their merits until and unless every citizen in the south has an opportunity to participate in elections. So that all the people have a voice in choosing those who represent them in congress. This is restricted now in the south by disfranchisement of Negroes, and in some, but to a lesser degree, by poll taxes. Those things are very familiar to you, and I need not elaborate." Sun 2-24-46

Hereupon, one of the staunch Daughters of the Confederacy rose in disgust and, seizing the hand of her child, lest it might be contaminated, stalked conspicuously from the historic chapel.

A low murmur arose as many of the Athenians drew on their dwindling reserves of composure and prepared to listen somewhat unwillingly to the remainder of the address.

The students, seated in the balcony, glowed with obvious delight, appreciating thoroughly, as they did, the unspoken and conflicting views boiling in the minds of their elders below.

Stokes continued, "This lack of true representation of all elements of the population in congress, coupled with the one-party system in the south, and the seniority rule in congress, works out in the minority control of the Democratic party that exists today.

HOW IT OPERATES

"It comes about this way: Some southern members do not truly represent their constituencies. They, in fact, represent a minority that does not go along with the philosophy of the Democratic party as it is today. They maintain their seats in congress through this minority control in their home constituencies and through the one-party system.

"Through the seniority rule in congress, they move up to the key places, so that, in the end, you find control of the Democratic party in congress lodged in southern members who are not in accord with the program of the party."

A gasp of indignation surged up and down the aisles.

"Isn't it true that all this trouble about the FEPC bill was stirred up by some damn Yankees who don't know anything about what they are saying?" blustered one white-haired rebel waving his cane in indignation.

STOKES UNFLURRIED

Stokes, calm and composed, continued: Sun 2-24-46

"One of the most needed of all changes is to modify or abolish the seniority system because it works out practically to vest control in a minority, whichever party is in power. When Democrats are in power, the south controls. When Republicans are in power, the midwest controls, for the midwest is the year-in-year-out backbone of the Republican party and the seniority rule operates to entrench its men in the places of power.

"This disproportionate midwest influence was a factor in the isolationism of the Republican party in the critical years before our entry into the war, for example," Stokes explained.

"I hope I am not too pessimistic about the Democratic party situation in congress today," Stokes continued. "There are some bright and encouraging signs in the south, particularly here in our own state. Gov. Arnall has given this state a fine, progressive administration that has attracted attention all over the country and very much so in Washington where people are very conscious of rising new political figures.

ALL ASK ABOUT ARNALL

"Everywhere I go I am asked about Gov. Arnall. He has done much to enhance the prestige of our state elsewhere. Outside the borders of the state, he has aroused most interest perhaps on two matters, one touching on political freedom, the other on economic freedom. The first is his leadership in repeal of the poll tax as a voting requirement. The other is his fight for fair freight rates for the South.

"I believe the south is inherently progressive and all it needs

is the chance to express its progressivism. It needs to shake off a few more of the encrustations of tradition and the Civil War complex," he said.

OPPORTUNITY IS HERE

"Until the south does free herself, until her whole people, white and black, can share in government and share in the fruits of her industry and agriculture, I don't believe she can realize the great destiny that certainly is hers. The opportunity is here, but she cannot accomplish her full development as long as any part of the population is suppressed and held down, denied equal opportunity.

"The per capita wealth must be raised, and that will only occur when all her people can share the advantages of education; when they have an equal chance in the economic system; when they can enjoy the full privileges of citizenship.

"There is nothing radical about any of this. It is something that is taken for granted in other parts of the country and in other forward-looking nations."

Stokes was introduced by H. H. Trotti, vice president of The Atlanta Constitution.

Earlier, Rear Adm. Harold Blaine Miller, Navy director of public information, told the editors and publishers that next spring's atomic bomb tests in the Pacific may be broadcast throughout the world in a "play-by-play" account.

Adm. Miller also told newsmen that "if we can get" the planes, both still and newsreel cameramen will photograph the actual explosion and fly their pictures back to Kwajalein after the tests so pictures could be transmitted immediately to San Francisco by radiophoto.

The admiral said approximately 200 press representatives would be permitted to witness the tests --the first to be held in May and the second in June.

The armed forces, he added, have received 3,500 requests from newsmen to accompany the expedition.

Most of the press, he said, would witness the tests from a ship anchored about 10 miles from the scene of the blasts. Ninety-seven ships will be used as bomb targets, with approximately 150 more ringing the scene as observers.

'Solid South' Poll Favors Two Parties

'Taken For Granted,' Voters Complain

By George Gallup

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., June 25—Would the South be better off if, instead of having one dominant political party, it had two strong parties?

Many Southern intellectuals have claimed that their section would benefit by more party competition, and the average Southern voter is inclined to agree with that, especially if he lives in one of the less solidly Democratic States of the South.

In a special poll of Southern opinion in 13 Southern States, interviewers for the institute questioned a cross-section of the voting population as follows:

"Do you think the South would be better off, in general, if there were two political parties of about equal strength instead of one strong party as there is at present?"

Opinion Expressed

The same question was asked in three previous polls dating back to 1939. The trend of sentiment among those expressing an opinion follows:

	Yes, two parties	No, one party
1939	57%	43%
1943	59%	41%
1944	64%	36%
Today	62%	38%

In the last two surveys one person in every five (20 per cent) expressed no opinion.

Many Southern leaders feel that the South would get more attention from Washington and have greater say in Democratic party councils, if it were less solidly Democratic on election day. Too many Democratic administrations, they argue, have "taken the South for granted."

While the South shows no evidence of leaving the Democratic fold on election day, it is noteworthy that in the less solidly Democratic parts of the South, sentiment in favor of a two-party line-up is considerably stronger than elsewhere in the South. In short, the more taste a Southern State has of an effective two-party system, the more it likes that system.

In the less solidly Democratic Southern States taken as a group—North Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Tennessee—the vote favoring a strong two-party system is 69 per cent. In the other States, South Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas the aggregate vote is 51 per cent in favor.

Analysis of replies shows, however, that majority of Democrats with opinions in the survey favor the idea of a strong second party. This is shown in the table below giving the vote on the question among Democratic and Republican voters:

	Dem. voters	Rep. voters
For two parties	53%	86%
Against two parties	47%	14%

The main reasons given by voters who favor a stronger two-party system are that competition, in politics as well as in business or private enterprise, is essential to a sound democracy.

"Competition helps build ideas, and the South could sure use some new ideas," says one typical Southern voter polled.

How Solid Is the South?

The following table showing the percentage of Democratic vote of the Democratic-Republican total in each of the 13 Southern States for the last four presidential elections gives a picture of the extent to which the South is a one-party section.

	1932	1936	1940	1944
Alabama	86%	87%	86%	82%
Arkansas	87%	82%	79%	70%
Florida	75%	76%	74%	70%
Georgia	92%	87%	85%	82%
Kentucky	60%	59%	58%	55%
Louisiana	93%	89%	86%	81%
Mississippi	96%	97%	96%	93%
N. Carolina	71%	73%	74%	67%
Oklahoma	73%	67%	58%	56%
S. Carolina	98%	99%	96%	95%
Tennessee	67%	69%	68%	61%
Texas	89%	88%	81%	81%
Virginia	70%	71%	68%	63%
All South	76%	76%	73%	69%

GROUP URGES SOUTH TO FORM 3D PARTY

Arkansas Democratic Body Says It Could Hold Balance —Governor Opposed

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Aug. 21—A plan for the Solid South to gain the balance of national political power in the Presidential and Congressional elections of 1948 will be offered to the State Democratic Convention when it meets here Sept. 6. Its sponsor is the Democratic Committee of Phillips County, of which Helena is the seat.

In essence, the proposal would form the Democratic organizations of the twelve Southern States into a third party, to be called something like the Democratic party of the South."

In national affairs, it would throw its weight to either the Republican or Democratic party as it considered the interests of the South to indicate.

While the movement probably has as little chance of success as that of the Texar Regulars of 1944, is is symptomatic of the hard care of extreme conservatism which lies behind Democratic organizations throughout the South.

There appears to be little chance for some years that a new political generation will work into political leadership in this part of the country, where practical politics has always been the domain of the experienced expert, with carefully-built alliances.

Complains of National Party

The Helena committee, in the resolutioin which it will present to the State convention, complained that there was no national political party which sponsors policies agreeable to "a great majority of southern white people." The Democratic party, born in the South, was now treading the "sophisticated primrose political path," in the words of the resolution.

"It enjoys and participates," the resolution said, "in the society of, and associates with, the Communists, pink Socialists, and other fellow travelers who revel in their hatred of the South, and who have by every means in their power, through magazines, the public press, the radio and motion pictures, pursued a persistent and determined policy of undermining all the things the South holds sacred."

The sectional and racial implications o fthe resolution appeal to that large segment of Southern public opinion which fears and mistrusts Federal enactment of many proposals. Among these are the Fair Employment Practices Commission, anti-lynching laws, prohibition of poll taxes and Federal Court interference with segregation of Negroes and insistence on their voting rights.

'White Primary' Facing Change

Arkansas has just gone through its first "white primary" intended to conform to Federal Court rulings on constitutional prerogatives of Negroes in Southern elections.

As it turned out, the primaries for the State and local nominations, which were held separately, two weeks after the primaries for the Federal offices, were anything but "white."

In the heat of political competition, some of the candidates who had been most active in obtaining legislative enactment of the "white primary" law found themselves in ned of Negro votes and the whole idea went by default. It is expected the law will be repealed at the next session of the legislature.

The Arkansas plan embodied roughly what Eugene Talmadge and Senator Theodore G. Bilbo advocated for the voters of Georgia and Mississippi.

In all three states, however, negroes voted in the Democratic primaries in considerable numbers without noticeably affecting the results, and without provoking the violence which had been predicted by various campaign orators.

Economic Pickup in the State

A condition which may operate against preservation of the extreme conservatism of the Arkansas Democrats is the accelerating change in the State's economic life, featured largely by an influx of small industry and by the substitution of livestock for cotton as the State's leading agricultural crop. The CIO is attempting to organize the workers in the new industries, while the AFL has not become particularly active as yet.

The workers in the oil, glass and aluminum industries are fairly solidly enrolle- the appropriate CIO unions, while the AFL is still represented only in the skilled crafts, especially the building trades.

According to figures just released by H. E. Thompson, Collector of Internal Revenue, Federal income-tax collections in Arkansas are up about 4 per cent over the same period of last year, while the collections in the country as a whole are down 7 per cent. He made no effort to assign causes for this trend in Arkansas.

Local analysts are inclined to credit this to the establishment of more than enough new small industries in the State to offset the shutting down of its war plants.

White Supremacy Is A Fact, Not Political Theory, Says Dubose In Congress Drive

Atlanta Ga. Daily World 1-30-46

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. —(SNS) — Violently advocating "white supremacy" as a fact and not a political theory, Hugh Dubose, candidate to unseat liberal Congressman Luther Patrick, declared in Radio News last week and over WJLD, Bessemer Radio station last Sunday that the "march on the courthouse" by Negro veterans seeking to register to vote had inspired the organization of the Ku Klux Klans.

Robert Umback, assistant manager of WJLD, when interviewed by the World following the broadcast, apologized for the remarks made by Mr. Dubose, stating that they did not represent the broadcasting policy of WJLD. He said that he did not represent the broadcasting hearing several immediate protests against it, would assure the public against future occurence. He promised to censor Mr. Dubose and if need be, cut him off the air if he departs from submitted script.

Mr. Dubose said that "a known communist" was behind the march. He stated further that "good and humble Negro leaders" know to leave politics to white people.

A few years ago, Victor Bernstein, feature writer for the newspaper PM, New York City, wrote an expose on Mr. Dubose which were similar to the ideas expressed on the air Sunday and in Radio News Saturday by Mr. Dubose.

High Court Postpones Negro's Vote Appeal

The News Birmingham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 20—(AP)—Arguments on a Macon County Negro's appeal for registration as a voter were postponed by the State Supreme Court yesterday until Nov. 26.

The postponement was granted on request of Arthur Shores, Birmingham attorney, who informed the court he had a similar appeal from Jefferson County and wanted to argue the two cases simultaneously. Wed. 11-20-46

The Macon County Negro, Payton H. Williams, claims he was denied registration as a voter by the County Board of Registrars at Tuskegee, and appealed to Circuit Court under a state law which provides for such procedure.

The petition was directed against Mrs. George Wright and Virgil M. Guthrie, former members of the Macon County Board of Registrars, who also are defendants in a $5,000 damage suit filed by another Tuskegee Negro in Federal Court. Both Mrs. Wright and Guthrie resigned from the board after the litigation began.

In the proceedings in Federal

Judicial Status Is Favored By Sparks For Registrars

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sun. 10-6-46

Gov. Chauncey Sparks contends that County Boards of Registrars should be given judicial status and allowed to pass on "civil rights" just as other courts determine "property rights."

He expressed this opinion after revealing that he had received a request to appoint Negro registrars to succeed members of the Macon County Board of Registrars who resigned this Summer.

The registrars submitted their resignations to the State Board of appointment over a situation which G. A. Smith of Tuskegee, one of the last members to serve, described as a "hot potato."

"Boards of Registrars," the Governor said, "should be given judicial authority and protected from law suits such as one now pending against two former Macon County registrars."

He disclosed that he received a letter recently from an organization called the Tuskegee Civic Association asking him to consider the appointment of qualified registrars in Macon County.

"Never while I am governor will I consent to the appointment of a Negro to such a position," he added.

Now pending before the U. S. Supreme Court is a $5,000 damage suit filed by a Negro, William P. Mitchell, against two former Macon County registrars, Virgil M. Guthrie and Mrs. George O. Wright.

Asks Injunction

Mitchell seeks a permanent injunction against the former voting officials and a declaratory judgment against what he termed the "policy, custom or usage" of refusing to register members of his race because of their color.

The Montgomery Federal District Court dismissed his petition on grounds that it lacked jurisdiction and Mitchell had not exhausted his remedies in State courts.

From this decision the State appealed on a writ of certiorari to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Qualifying his stand today, Gov. Sparks explained that Macon County officials estimate there are about 1,800 qualified white voters and 200 Negro voters in the county. He said he understands that "around 2,000" Negroes recently crowded around the courthouse on registration days seeking to add their names to the voting list. Montgomery, Ala.

"This is the situation," he said, "which led up to the resignations by the registrars."

The Governor recalled that he has appointed 10 members to the Macon County board during his administration and all have either resigned, declined to qualify, or refused appointment. Sun. 10-6-46

"I don't much blame them under existing circumstances," he said.

Court Dismisses Vote Case in Ala.

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 7-13-46

BIRMINGHAM — (ANP) — Judge Whit Windham, July 3, dismissed the vote appeal case of Forrest A. Hawkins, one of 21 veterans appealing from registration denials in January. Action in the other cases was postponed. 7-13-46

Over vigorous objections by Arthur D. Shores, attorney, representing the petitioner, Judge Windham sustained the demurrer of Deputy Solicitor Willard McCall on grounds that the petition "is not sufficient" and "not in the proper form."

Mr. Shores contended that he had corrected in the petition the defects assigned in the Boswell case, which he presented before the State Supreme Court a few years ago. The Supreme Court ruled adversely in this case. 7-13-46

Registration Chief Quits, Says Board Is Kicked Around

The News Birmingham, Ala. Fri. 10-18-46

Dr. Vines Declares Negroes 'Used' For 'Selfish Reasons'

Dr. J. B. Vines, a figure prominent for many years in Jefferson County political circles, has submitted his resignation as chairman of the Board of Registrars here to Gov. Chauncey Sparks because the work of the board "has become a football for the organizations that seek to use the colored people for selfish reasons," it was learned today.

"Life is too short for me to contend with the situation as it now exists," Dr. Vines said in his letter, dated yesterday, to the governor. "I know of no solution that can be given under the present law. The only solution to my mind is to give the Board of Registrars the same standing as a court or judicial body."

The resignation of Dr. Vines came shortly after the entire Board of Registrars in Macon County submitted their resignations to the governor because of a court suit instituted against them by a Negro applicant.

* * *

THE LETTER OF DR. VINES pointed out that there is a suit pending in Federal District Court for $5,000 against each member of the board for refusing registration to a person whom the board did not think qualified and further stated that he had been informed a large number of other suits are threatened.

"The Board of Registrars are continually being harrassed in the press by letters that are in my opinion libelous," the letter stated. "Other libelous items have been placed in certain newspapers that have tended to inflame the minds of large groups of colored people against constituted authorities, and to mislead other citizens who do not know the real facts."

Dr. Vines, who lives at Vinesville in the Bessemer Cutoff, was appointed by Gov. Sparks for a four-year term as chairman of the Board of Registrars on Oct. 1, 1943. He served one term on the old County Board of Revenue and two terms after the County Commission was created.

Other members of the Board of Registrars are J. P. Creel and Mrs. Eva Whitfield.

* * *

DR. VINES' LETTER follows in full:

"I hereby tender my resignation as chairman of the Board of Registrars of Jefferson County to be effective as soon as your excellency accepts this and appoints my successor.

"I have endeavored to perform my duties according to the law as I understand it. The work of the Board of Registrars has become a football for the organizations that seek to use the colored people for selfish reasons. It has been the custom of these organizations to bring groups of colored applicants for registration to the office a few minutes before closing time and demand that each and every one be registered before the office is closed. On other occasions agitators have marched large groups of colored people to the courthouse, and created such disorder as to necessitate the calling on the sheriff to furnish deputies to maintain order.

* * *

"THERE IS A SUIT PENDING in the Federal District Court for $5,000 against each member of the Board of Registrars for refusing registration to a person whom the Board of Registrars did not think qualified. I have ben informed that a large number of other suits are threatened. The Board of Registrars are continually being harassed in the press by letters that are in my opinion libelous. Other libelous items have been placed in certain newspapers that have tended to inflame the minds of large groups of colored people against constituted authorities, and to mislead other citizens who do not know the real facts.

"Life is too short for me to contend with the situation as it now exists. I know of no solution that can be given under the present law. The only solution to my mind is to give the Board of Registrars the same standing as a court or judicial body.

"I wish to thank you for your cooperation during the time that I have been chairman and I wish to assure that I have at all times performed my duties sincerely and honestly."

PAC Takes Alabama In Vote Contest

The Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 6-15-46

5,000 Negroes Cast Ballots As Folsom Wins

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — More than 5,000 Negroes went to the polls here this week as James E. (Big Jim) Folsom, 37-year-old war veteran who advocated repeal of the poll tax, was swept into the governor's seat.

Backed by the CIO-Political Action Committee, Folsom defeated Lt. Gov. Handy Ellis with surprising ease in the run-off for Democratic nomination for governor, equivalent to election.

During the bitterly contested campaign, Ellis charged that CIO-PAC interference would "upset" racial segregation which he said was responsible for the "harmonious" relations between Negroes and whites and force the FEPC on the South.

It was revealed, however, that Ellis had sought CIO support upon announcing his candidacy for governor, but was rejected because his platform did not contain planks

as liberal by the labor organization. It was also disclosed that CIO-PAC had held down by discriminatory application of education tests for poll tax and had asserted a Folsom victory would mean the state would be run by Sidney Hillman, CIO-PAC chairman, and CIO

"race against race" and "religion against religion."

"Far-1942.

Polls Record Vote

Birmingham has between 800 and 900 colored voters out of a population of 130,000.

voters.

Folsom, a 6-foot 8-inch political novice, campaigned with a billy band and a mop which he would use to clean out

NAPOLEON RIVERS SR.

Mobile Negro Fights For Vote

By ENOC P. WATERS JR.

MOBILE, Ala.—It is becoming increasingly apparent to me, as I move from community to community observing the struggle Negroes are making to qualify as voters, that the southern Negro is developing a higher respect for the ballot than his northern brother who has been exercising his franchise for years.

Indeed, I feel there is no group within the boundaries of the United States, white or colored, with a greater appreciation for the right to vote than southern Negroes.

A retired longshoreman, with dirt ground indelibly into his calloused, work-deformed hands, enlightened me.

Out For The Vote

"Down here there's one sure way of knowing the value of something—the willingness of the white man to let the Negro have it. There ain't nothing I know of the white man would rather keep from the Negro than the right to vote. That's why I'm out to get it, hell or high water."

He is representative of one of the types of Negroes here making an all out fight to vote—a type one might suspect would not be willing to exert himself unduly in this direction.

Only the educated and enlightened ones a few years ago yearned for the right to vote freely. And that yearning was expressed more in words than in action.

Great Awakening

This great awakening was not brought about by federal edicts wiping out the lily white monopoly of local elections. Rather, it was the refusal of the white man to capitulate gracefully, and his resistance to the efforts of Negroes to qualify as voters that provoked the campaign.

Where else in the country will men and women stand in line for hours—as much as a half day in some instances—to fill out a registration blank?

Certainly not in New York City where hundreds who could qualify in five minutes fail to do so.

Where else will people submit to indignities, abuse and humiliation to get their names on the registration lists?

Not in Chicago where invitations to participate in elections are declined by scores.

Where else would people take a part of their low incomes and pay for the right to vote?

Certainly not in San Francisco where the free right to vote goes begging.

Here in Mobile, and in other poll tax states of the South, hundreds of Negroes have paid as high as $37.50 for the right to cast their first vote.

One of the highest prices paid here for helping others to qualify as voters was paid by wealthy, 72-year-old Napolean Rivers.

Martyr To Cause

Rivers, highly respected, retired hauling contractor, was severely beaten, his skull fractured and his jaw broken in the Mobile County courthouse while serving as voucher for Negroes seeking to register.

To date (June 23) he has spent 10 days in the hospital and five week abed in his home under the care of a physician and has yet to face charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest on July 10.

The viciousness of the attack upon the old man, whose son Dr. Napolean Rivers is professor of languages at Miner Teachers College in Washington, aroused the indignation of the entire Negro populace here and of many whites whose sense of humanity was outraged.

A local requirement for registration here is that the prospective voter be accompanied by a qualified voter who can vouch for him or her.

As a part of its registration and voting drive, here, the joint NAACP-Elks committee enlisted a group of qualified Negro voters who voluntarily take turns as vouchers at the courthouse for Negroes seeking to register.

The "slow-down" technique employed by the local board of registrars to discourage Negroes, has made the task of voucher very difficult. For long hours, they must stand around waiting to be summoned by a prospective voter.

Grows Tired

Mr. Rivers, weakened by old age, grew tired and asked permission of Policeman Edward Bartlett to go into one of the offices to rest. The request was brusquely denied.

Unable to stand any longer, the old man started from the building. In the corridor he stopped to talk to Rev. B. B. Williams, pastor of St. Louis Street Baptist Church. Bartlett urged him to move on, and when the old man didn't move fast enough the officer attacked him.

One of a number of affidavits submitted to the Department of Justice as a part of a formal complaint by the local NAACP asserts that Milton Snell, chairman of the County Board of Registrars who was present, cried, "Why don't you hit him in the head," as the policeman beat the old man with his stick.

The NAACP complaint charges Bartlett with violation of section 20 of the United States Criminal Code that deals with the mistreatment of persons in custody.

Every strategem that has been employed elsewhere in the South to discourage heavy Negro registrations has been employed effectively here by white registrars with a few local variations.

Only 700 Registered

As a consequence only 700 of the several thousand Negroes who have sought to qualify have been registered. In the county there are 15,000 potential Negro voters. The poll tax has prevented a large number of the older Negroes from attempting to qualify.

Veterans, exempt from payment of poll tax, have responded well to the drive. However ten complaints involving rejected veterans have been filed with the Department of Justice. These raise the total of known charges brought against registrars in the state to 57. Two are pending in federal courts; 45 in state courts and the remainder have been lodged in Washington.

Until January 12 of this year, the bar against Negro participation in the local Democratic primary was absolute. Unlike Jefferson County (Birmingham) where a few Negroes have always been permitted to vote, not a one could cast a ballot here.

FBI Investigation

It was through the complaints filed on behalf of these persons by the NAACP with the Department of Justice that an FBI investigation was launched here. This resulted in the final capitulation of the state Democratic party executive committee this year.

Success of the drive can't be measured by the number of persons registered. The real accomplishments are the vote consciousness of the masses and the actions taken against the county board of registrars that are expected to remove the barriers to large scale registration on the part of Negroes eager for the ballot.

Dr. Vines To Stay On Registrar Board

Birmingham, Ala.

Dr. J. B. Vines, of Birmingham, continued as chairman of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars today after withdrawing his resignation, which he submitted to Gov. Chauncey Sparks 10 days ago.

In his letter of withdrawal, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Montgomery, Dr. Vines warned that unless the Boswell amendment is adopted it might be "well sigh impossible" to get registrars in the future.

In submitting his resignation to the governor, Dr. Vines declared "the work of registering voters has become a political football for the organizations that seek to use the colored people for selfish reasons."

His action in withdrawing the resignation followed a request from Gov. Sparks that he reconsider his decision to resign. 10-29-46

Sparks Rules Out Negro Registrars

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 5. (AP) — Recommending that Alabama's next legislature set up county boards of registrars as judicial bodies, Gov. Chauncey Sparks disclosed he has been requested, but "never, while I am governor will" appoint Negro registrars.

"Boards of registrars," he added, "should be given judicial powers to protect their members from law suits as the one now pending against two former Macon County board members.

"There is no reason why registrars should not sit as courts to decide 'civil rights' just as other judicial bodies determine 'property rights'," he contended.

Receives Letter

The governor said he had received a letter from an organization called the Tuskegee Civic Association asking him to consider the appointment of qualified Negro registrars to replace members of the Macon County board who have all resigned.

"Never while I am governor will I consent to the appointment of a Negro to such a position."

Sparks explained that Macon County officials estimate there are about 1800 qualified white voters and 200 Negro voters in the county. He said he was informed that "around 2000 Negroes recently have congregated around the courthouse on registration days seeking to have their names added to the voters' list.

"This is the situation," he said, which led up to the resignations by the Macon County registrars."

The governor reminded that he has appointed ten members to the Macon County Board of Registrars since he has been in office and that all of them either resigned, failed to qualify or refused appointment.

Didn't Blame Them

He said he didn't much blame them under extisting circumstances."

A $5000 damage suit, filed by a Negro, William P. Mitchell, is pending before the U. S. Supreme Court against two former members of the board, Virgil M. Guthrie and Mrs. George C. Wright, both of Tuskegee.

Mitchell asked for a permanent injunction against the officials and a declaratory judgment against what he termed the "policy, custom and usage" of refusing to register members of his race because of their color.

His petition was dismissed by Federal District Judge C. B. Kennamer in Montgomery on grounds his court lacked jurisdiction and that the Negro had not exhausted his remedies in state courts.

The U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans overruled Kennamer's decision and ordered the case reopened. The state then appealed under a writ of certiorari to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Dallas Registrar Resigns Position

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Mrs. Julia S. Phillips, chairman of the Dallas County Board of Registrars, notified the governor's office yesterday that she was resigning because of ill health.

She was the second board chairman to quit in four days.

Dr. J. B. Vines, chairman of the Jefferson County Registrars, announced his resignation Friday because, he said, the work "has become a football for organizations seeking to use the colored people for selfish reasons."

Gov. Chauncey Sparks returned Dr. Vines' resignation to him along with a request that he continue to serve on the board.

Several months ago all members of the Macon County Board of Registrars resigned and one member said the situation was "a hot potato." Suits are now pending in Federal courts against registrars and former registrars in Jefferson and Macon counties on grounds that they refused to register persons because of "race, colored or creed." Wed. 10-23-46

Gov. Sparks explained several weeks ago that the "hot potato" in Macon County was an organized attempt at mass registration of Negro voters. He said he was informed that approximately 2,000 Negroes had been assembling around the county courthouse on registration days seeking to qualify as voters.

County officials indicated there are only about 1,800 qualified white voters in the county.

In Selma, H. F. Crandell, another member of the Dallas County board, said, "As far as I know no suit has been filed against the board or any of its members."

So True, So True

The Atlanta Daily World

Charles N. Feidelson, columnist for the Birmingham News, in his piece January 7, scored the "McCorvey Plan," which is the infamous "Boswell amendment" as a way of regulating voting in Alabama to comply with the Supreme Court ruling opening the Democratic primary to Negro electors.

Atlanta Ga 1-17-46

The Jefferson County Democratic Committee, with one member reserving, has voted to support the "plan" recommended by Gessener T. McCorvey, state chairman of the Alabama State Democratic Committee. In Jefferson county, Negroes have always voted in the Democratic primary. In Jefferson county, what the "Boswell amendment" proposes to do, has always been done illlegally to Negroes.

We on the Birmingham World suspect that the small-vote politicians realize that they dare not resort to such illegalities to prevent white veterans, white trade unionists and the plain white people from increasing their strength, so they want to make legal those practices which have worked well illegally to prevent qualified Negro citizens from registering to vote. 1-17-46

The McCorvey-Boswell "plan" would amend the Alabama constitution to require that vote applicants be able to "explain and understand" the constitution. Such is no valid test. The United States constitution was never intended to be used this way. Better would it be for the politicians to be educating themselves to live up to the United States Constitution, especially the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments.

Here are Columnist Feidelson's comments:

Jefferson County members of the State Democratic executive committee met Friday, approved the Gessener McCorvey plan, and declared their support of the Boswell amendment. What is the McCorvey plan? To preserve the primary system while giving the effect of heeding a U. S. Supreme Court decision carrying out the constitutional requirement as to race, color and previous condition of servitude? What is the Boswell amendment? To enlarge the authority of local boards of registrars to the point of making them monarchs of all they survey. In other words, very high-mindedly, you respect the law by inviting everybody who is qualified to vote, while, very realistically, you see to it that qualification comes harder than ever. In other words, you provide a new version for the old Biblical injunction: When thou doest politics, let not thy left hand know what thy right is doing. 1-17-46

This is traditional Black Belt doctrine, and McCorvey is its prophet. From representatives of a community like ours, one might have expected some hint of a more progressive philosophy. But that was not to be had. Everything else goes by the board when "white supremacy" is being sought. And the worst of it is that the dodge recommended by Mr. McCorvey will not stand up in the long run. Instead of facing up to the issue boldly and broadly, we keep on running from stump to stump, inviting the dislodgement which is inevitable in the course of time.

If these executive committeemen had said something about getting rid of, or even modifying, the poll tax, if they had shown some awareness of the extent to which our state and county affairs are determined by a minority of potential voters, they could have been forgiven for following Mr. McCorvey as bellwether. But one looks and listens in vain for independent or creative thinking. And that is the way things stand throughout the state. Instead of seeking valid qualifications to be honestly administered, Alabama politicians persist in taking the line of prejudice, barring more white citizens than colored from the electorate, and, by implication, challenging the federal government to clean up the mess we have made. 1-17-46

Alabama to Let Negroes Vote But Seeks New Law

Montgomery, Ala., Jan. 12 (UP)—The Alabama Democratic Executive Committee today removed a 75-year-old specification that only white persons can vote in the party's primaries.

But at the same time the committee indorsed and urged voters to ratify an amendment to the State Constitution in the general election next November that would limit voting privileges to those who met certain "qualifications." Among them is the ability to read, write and interpret the U. S. Constitution. This undoubtedly would exclude many Negro voters.

Keep the Record Straight.

Before the vote is taken on this amendment, however, the 1946 Democratic primary will be held on May 7, and under today's ruling, Negroes would be allowed to vote.

Behind the action was a Federal Court ruling that "white primaries" are unconstitutional.

Alabama party leaders hastened to put the record straight about their action. 1-13-46

"The federal law prevents our excluding Negroes from our primaries and we must abide by it," said Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, committee chairman. But he emphasized that "white folks will run the state like they always have—and always will." Only a few Negroes will vote in the coming elections, he said, "and they will be more intelligent Negroes."

Ala. Vote Appeal Up for Hearing April 12

Baltimore, Md. Afro American

NEW ORLEANS (ANP)—An appeal hearing on a suit against the Macon (Ala.) County board of registrars, charging members with barring qualified colored people from voting, is scheduled for the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals here April 12. William F. Mitchell, Montgomery, the complainant seeks a declaratory judgment, permanent injunction, and $5,000 damages. Sat 3-23-46

Alabama Primaries Opened To Race

Journal-Guide

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—For the first time in the history of Alabama politics the Democratic Party opened its primaries to Negro voters by a decision of the state executive committee here on last Saturday. The committee voted overwhelmingly to permit qualified Negro voters to participate in the party primaries.

Norfolk, Va.

The committee revised the regulations pertaining to the party primary and adopted a resolution specifying the qualifications for party candidates for various state offices omitting the historical "white primary" phrase. 1-19-46

According to Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile, who had announced he would urge adoption of the change, explained that the resolution was necessary because of the United States Supreme Court decision in the Texas case.

The Texas decision was that it was unconstitutional to bar Negroes from primaries conducted under state law solely on account of their race. 1-19-46

Other changes were voted through by the committee including the Boswell amendment designed to increase the requirements for registration. The amendment, which will be voted on in the November general election, would drop the constitutional provision that ownership of $300 worth of property qualifies a person to register.

The amendment substitutes the provision that a prospective voter will have to be able to "understand and explain" instead of merely to read parts of the Constitution.

THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

Birmingham News, Ala.

In many cases, it is not the law which is unjust, but the application of it.

The proposed Boswell amendment to the Alabama constitution, providing that a prospective voter must be able to read and understand any clause in the United States Constitution to qualify, offers a possibility of such a case. 1-24-46

Who is to judge whether the applicant understands the clause or not? The Supreme Court has been disagreeing for many years over the meaning of the constitution.

Interpretation itself, however, is beside the point. A general idea of what the clause deals with should be enough to qualify a voter.

The difficulty is that the official who qualifies or disqualifies under this requirement may do so at will, if he is corrupt. If he is a victim of racial prejudice, he may bar Negroes from the vote. If he knows and disapproves of the political views of the applicant, he may deny them expression through the ballot.

The only protection of the public against corruption in this case would be some means of keeping the identity and color of the applicant secret from the examiner; a screen, for instance, between the two, like the curtains which surround the ballot box at well-conducted polls.

With such a precaution provided, the Boswell amendment could do much to promote more enlightened voting in Alabama. Maybe the buyers of votes, when faced with the problem of explaining the entire constitution to the ignorant folk whom they corrupt every election year, would give up and try honest ways of winning.—Huntsville Times.

'Unusual Political Activity' Charged To Negro By Board

Atlanta Daily World

MOBILE, ALA., Feb. 1.—(AP)—The Mobile County Board of Registrars today followed up criticism of a Negro postal employe by filing a complaint with the Postmaster and United States Attorney accusing him of violating Federal Civil Service regulations in aiding Negro vote registrants. 2-1-46

The complaints, signed by Board Chairman J. Milton Schnell, said that J. L. LeFlore, who also is executive secretary of the Mobile branch of the citizens committee, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had engaged in "unusual political activity."

Schnell said yesterday LeFlore "has persistently insisted upon entering the Board of Registrars' office for the purpose of coaching other Negroes who were being examined by board members as to their fitness to become registered voters."

He reported that the Mobile branch of the NAACP had filed a complaint with the Department of Justice that the Board of Registrars was discriminating against Negro vote registrants. 2-1-46

The Board has reported a big pickup in the number of Negro vote registrants since the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee opened its primary elections to qualified Negro voters last month.

Ala. Bias and Ruin Policy Set in N.Y. By Steel Trust

Daily Worker

New York

2-13-46

By ROBERT MINOR

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Feb. 12.—The wage differential between North and South is a major policy enforced by the steel mills and their captive coal mines. And for 39 years these policies have been determined, not in Alabama, but in the offices of the Steel Trust in New York.

In 1907 practically the whole of the steel and coal industry of Alabama passed into the hands of U.S. Steel. It was during the "Bankers' Panic of 1907" in Theodore Roosevelt's second administration. J. P. Morgan, head of the United States Steel Corporation, was given permission by Theodore Roosevelt to "end the panic" by absorbing its last formidable rival—the Tennessee Coal & Iron Co. 2-13-46

PRESS ECHOES TRUSTS

By some strange coincidence, ever since then the press of Alabama has tended more and more to forget the old struggle against the trusts of the time when Alabama went wild for William J. Bryan, and to support every single policy wanted by the United States Steel Corporation.

The corruption of Alabama journalism is evidenced, in one kind, by an Alabama weekly in a recent editorial, entitled **Our Stand on Politics** (quoted in the Washington Post, Jan. 25). The Alabama weekly said:

"We are of the belief that when a candidate pays his announcement fees to this newspaper and advertises in its columns, he is our client and it would be an injustice to him to accept his money on one hand and then fight him on the other."

The Steel Trust is the main source of loose cash in Alabama politics. It rules, and the candidates that buy their way to office have a way of voting for what the Steel Trust has decided is policy. **Unfair employment practices are one of the main sources of the huge profit that is sucked out of Alabama to Wall Street banks.** 2-13-46

Powerful corporations know how to rule even where the people are allowed to vote. But it is easier when 86 out of every 100 potential voters can be kept from voting, as they are in Alabama. The greatest uneasiness arises out of the fact that all returning Alabama veterans legally have the right to vote without paying the polltax.

THREATEN VETERANS

Most of these have never voted before, are greater in number than the total of voters in the last election. The main struggle to prevent the returned veterans from voting, and most particularly the Negro veterans.

One of the little Birmingham papers toadying to the Steel Trust, a weekly called **Radio News** publishes open threats to murder Negro veterans if they demand the right to vote. The editor of the paper, Hugh Dubrose, wrote last week:

"Negroes marching on Jefferson County Courthouse in a 'we'll register or else' attitude. It's bad business . . . dangerous business, especially for Negroes who participate in such demonstrations.

"The best proof that I have to offer is that our Committee of Public Information comes up with the report that within a few hours of the Negro march on the courthouse, plans were under way to organize, or reorganize, the Ku Klux Klan.

"My judgment is that if the Negro of the South wants to live and do well it would be wise to keep out of politics and refrain from any semblance of demand for what the agitators call social equality.'" 2-13-46

But the smaller and less "respectable" papers that makes these **open** and **crude** threats of murder are the least important. Far more efficient is the service the trust-bred reaction gets from the three daily newspapers of Birmingham. There is a division of labor between them.

Ala. Vote Test Stumps Both Races

Memphis World, Tenn.

1-22-46

MOBILE, Ala. — (SNS) — Alabama's stiff registration laws were clearly demonstrated here Monday when more than 30 Negroes went before the Mobile County Board of Registrars seeking to qualify as voters. Chairman Milton Schnell described the number seeking to register as "unusually large."

Schnell said the applicants were given a written examination testing their ability to read and understand the United States Constitution. The tests require about one hour and a half, it was stated.

According to the board chairman, both Negroes and whites who had little educational background were given the tests.

1-22-46

Schnell cited Alabama registration requirements that the voting applicant be able to read and understand any section of the Federal Constitution, that he reside in the county one year and in he state two years and in the ward three months; that he be 21 years old and own real or personal property valued at $300.

Hannegan Asked to Act in Ala. P.O. Case

Washington, D.C. Sat 2-23

WASHINGTON

Thurgood Marshall, NAACP attorney, has requested Postmaster General Robert E. Hannegan to dismiss charges against St. John L. LeFlore, postal employe and NAACP secretary in Mobile, Ala., who is under fire because he directed colored people how to register and vote.

The NAACP told Hannegan that the charges constitute "spite action" in an effort to "intimidate an American citizen in the exercise of his citizenship rights." LeFlore challenged policies of the registrar Milton Schnell which the NAACP has protested.

Negro Files Discrimination Charge Against Mobile Board

Montgomery, Ala.

admitted

MOBILE, ALA., Jan. 31.—(AP)—An official of the Mobile branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said tonight the Mobile group had filed a complaint with the Department of Justice that the Mobile County Board of Registrars was discriminating against Negro vote registrants.

J. L. Leflore, Negro postal employe and executive secretary of the Mobile branch of the citizen committee of the NAACP, declared, "our organization has called the attention of the Federal authorities to the dilatory tactics of the Mobile County Board of Registrars" in examining Negro registrants. 2-1-46

He made the statement after Milton Schnell, chairman of the Mobile County Board of Registrars, announced he was protesting to Postmaster William B. Taylor against alleged political activity by Leflore in connection with registering of Negro voters.

"Leflore has persistently insisted upon entering the Board of Registrars office for the purpose of coaching other Negroes who were being examined by board members as to their fitness to become registered voters," Schnell said. 2-1-46

Schnell denied that there was any discrimination against Negroes and said that written examinations to test ability to read and understand the United States Constitution were given uneducated whites as well as Negroes.

The board chairman said that since the Alabama Democratic executive committee opened its primary elections to qualified Negro voters last month, a record number of Negroes had sought to register. He estimated that "about 500" Negroes, most of them returning servicemen and school teachers, had sought to qualify during the present registration period, ending tomorrow.

"I have appeared before the Board of Registrars as a voucher and witness for several colored persons whom I have known for a long time," Leflore said. "I deny that I have violated the Hatch Act for Federal Civil Service rules in any manner."

"Politics" in Alabama

Afro American Baltimore, Md.

The Mobile board must be made to understand this and we're certain that the NAACP will see that it does.

This Evening

New York

FUTILE DODGING

Jefferson County members of the State Democratic executive committee met Friday, when "white supremacy," is being sought. approved the Gessner McCorvey plan, and declared their support of the Boswell amendment. What is the McCorvey plan? To preserve the primary system while giving the issue boldly and broadly, we keep on running from stump to stump, inviting the dissemination of the constitutional requirement as to race, color and previous condition of servitude. What is the Boswell amendment? To enlarge the authority of local boards of registrars to the point of modifying, the poll tax, if they had shown effect of heeding a U. S. Supreme Court decision carrying out the constitutional requirement of lodgement of time. If these executive committeemen had said something about getting rid of, or even modifying, the poll tax, if they had shown some awareness of the extent to which our state and county affairs are determined by making them monarchs of a minority of potential voters, they could have been forgiven for following Mr. McCorvey as bellwether. But one looks and listens in vain for independent or creative thinking. And that is the way things stand throughout the state. Instead of seeking valid qualifications to be honestly administered, Alabama politicians persist in taking the line of prejudice, barring more white citizens than colored from the electorate, and, by implication, challenging the federal government to clean up the mess we have made.

This is traditional Black Belt doctrine, and McCorvey is its prophet. From representatives of a community like ours, one might have expected some hint of a more progressive philosophy. But that was not to be had. Everything else goes by the board when "white supremacy," is being sought. And the worst of it is that the dodge recommended by Mr. McCorvey will not stand up in the long run. Instead of facing up to the issue boldly and broadly, we keep on running from stump to stump, inviting the dissemination of the constitutional requirement of lodgement of time. If these executive committeemen had said something about getting rid of, or even modifying, the poll tax, if they had shown some awareness of the extent to which our state and county affairs are determined by a minority of potential voters, they could respect the law, be invited to vote, while, very realistically, have been forgiven for following Mr. McCorvey as bellwether. But one looks and listens in vain for independent or creative thinking. And that is the way things stand throughout the state. Instead of seeking valid qualifications to be honestly administered, Alabama politicians persist in taking the line of prejudice, barring more white citizens than colored from the electorate, and, by implication, challenging the federal government to clean up the mess we have made.

Negro Charges Bias in Ala. Vote Test

Sat 2-16-46

The Mobile (Ala.) County Board of Registrars has filed a complaint against J. L. LeFlore, U.S. postal worker and executive secretary of the citizens' committee of the Mobile branch, NAACP, alleging that he has violated federal Civil Service regulations.

Specifically, Mr. LeFlore is accused of "unusual political activity" as a result of his attempts as an NAACP official to encourage and aid colored citizens seeking to register as voters.

Some time ago Mr. LeFlore had filed with the U.S. Justice Department a complaint charging that the Mobile board was discriminating against colored registrants. The board's action thus constitutes a cross-complaint, which never would have been filed had the board not been called on the carpet.

This is pretty petty stuff, even for Alabama. The Mobile board is evading the direct issue and attempting to cloud it through persecution of Mr. LeFlore. No less a voice than the Montgomery Advertiser has deplored the action of the board calling attention to the fact that this is no time to soft-pedal the fact that, as a result of court decisions and education, the South is experiencing a social evolution.

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"Leflore has persistently insisted upon entering the Board of Registrars office for the purpose of coaching other Negroes who were being examined by board members as to their fitness to become registered voters," Schnell said. 2-1-46

Schnell denied that there was any discrimination against Negroes and said that written examinations to test ability to read and understand the United States Constitution were given uneducated whites as well as Negroes.

The board chairman said that since the Alabama Democratic executive committee opened its primary elections to qualified Negro voters last month, a record number of Negroes had sought to register. He estimated that "about 500" Negroes, most of them returning servicemen and school teachers, had sought to qualify during the present registration period, ending tomorrow.

"I have appeared before the Board of Registrars as a voucher and witness for several colored persons whom I have known for a long time," Leflore said. "I deny that I have violated the Hatch Act for Federal Civil Service rules in any manner."

"Politics" in Alabama

Afro American Baltimore, Md.

The Mobile board must be made to understand this and we're certain that the NAACP will see that it does.

This Evening

New York

FUTILE DODGING

The Mobile (Ala.) County Board of Registrars has filed a complaint against J. L. LeFlore, U.S. postal worker and executive secretary of the citizens' committee of the Mobile branch, NAACP, alleging that he has violated federal Civil Service regulations.

Specifically, Mr. LeFlore is accused of "unusual political activity" as a result of his attempts as an NAACP official to encourage and aid colored citizens seeking to register as voters. Sat 2-16-46

Some time ago Mr. LeFlore had filed with the U.S. Justice Department a complaint charging that the Mobile board was discriminating against colored registrants. The board's action thus constitutes a cross-complaint, which never would have been filed had the board not been called on the carpet.

This is pretty petty stuff, even for Alabama. The Mobile board is evading the direct issue and attempting to cloud it through persecution of Mr. LeFlore. No less a voice than the Montgomery Advertiser has deplored the action of the board, calling attention to the fact that this is no time to soft-pedal the fact that, as a result of court decisions and education, the South is experiencing a social evolution.

Jefferson County Democratic executive committee had approved the Gessner McCorvey plan, and the McCorvey plan? To prevent the McCorvey primary system while giving the proceeding a U. S. Supreme Court trying out the constitutional requirements to race, color and previous servitude. What is the Boswell amendment? To enlarge the authority of registrars to the point of making them monarchs of all they survey, with words, very high-minded, law by inviting everybody to vote, while very realistically, that qualification comes harder than other words, you provide a new law for the old Biblical injunction: "Thy left hand politics, let not thy right hand doing."

This is traditional Black Belt doctrine, and McCorvey is its prophet. From representatives of a community like ours, one might have expected some hint of a more progressive philosophy. But that was not to be had. Everything else goes by the board when "white supremacy" is being sought. And the worst of it is that the dodge recommended by Mr. McCorvey will not stand up in the long run. Instead of facing up to the issue boldly and broadly, we keep on running from stump to stump, inviting the disposition of the constitutional requirement, which is inevitable in the course of time.

If these executive committeemen had said something about getting rid of, or even modifying, the poll tax, if they had shown some awareness of the extent to which our state and county affairs are determined by a minority of potential voters, they could have been forgiven for following Mr. McCorvey as bellwether. But one looks and listens in vain for independent or creative thinking. And that is the way things stand throughout the state. Instead of seeking valid qualifications to be honestly administered, Alabama politicians persist in taking the line of prejudice, barring more white citizens than colored from the electorate, and, by implication, challenging the federal government to clean up the mess we have made.

45e 1946

Defeated Drys Blame Unexpected Race Vote

Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Writer in White Church Paper Yells "Fast-and-Black Maneuver" as Negroes Flood Polls in Alabama County

Sat. 5-11-46

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The Negro vote, balance of power in two important elections held recently in Georgia, has been credited with deciding the Colbert County (Ala.) special liquor election. The Wets won by a majority of 336 votes. Drys polled 2,540 and the Wets counted 2,876.

Results of the election caused considerable comment. Most noise was made by a white church paper, the Alabama Christian. Behind the big noise was W. Earl Hotalen,

BIRMINGHAM — (ANP)—Letters of protest, showing inaccuracy of material as well as inflammatory racial content of the recent Alabama Christian Advocate article, "Negro 'Balance-of-Power' Vote Wins Wet Majority," by W. Earl Hotalen, were received here last week by editors of the paper and the Alabama Temperance alliance.

executive secretary of the Alabama Temperance Alliance. In his vicious article, he says:

"For the first time since Reconstruction days, Carpet-bagger and scalawag politics have been revived and white men have raised an army of Negro voters to decide an issue at the ballot box . . . white men have regimented Negroes together and marched them to the polls to capture an election result they wanted when they knew they could not win that result with white men's votes.

LOOKED ON HELPLESSLY

"The Negroes of Colbert County are concentrated mostly in Sheffield where, for many years their total vote has been about 200 . . . Wet campaign workers hauled Negro war veterans into Tuscumbia, herded them into the courthouse and registered them for the next day's voting. As discharged soldiers, they were exempt from payment of poll tax, of course.

"On election day, Drys looked on helplessly while these same Negro GIs were transported to Sheffield's voting places in groups of four or five . . . In this way the Wets piled up a total of 1,131 votes in Sheffield's six boxes. Drys polled only 491 votes in the same boxes. Sat. 5-11-46

DRYS WON IN 1942

"It is estimated by careful calculation that if these Negro veterans had not registered in the last hours of the campaign . . . the Drys would have carried Colbert County again by a margin of approximately 450 votes, as compared with the dry majority of eighty-six votes in 1942.

"Drys were completely taken by surprise when the Wets hauled in their huge Negro vote at Sheffield. Such a thing had not been done in Alabama, or anywhere in the South, since the Reconstruction days following the Civil War. Drys just could not believe that whites would do such a thing."

QUITE ALARMED

The writer is somewhat alarmed and warned his readers: "One thing seems sure: There is more than just the liquor question involved in what happened at Sheffield. White citizens all over Alabama must now face the actual appearance of Negro determination of election issues."

It was a "fast-and-black maneuver" in the words of the writer.

Signing off, he wrote: "Perhaps God has allowed this thing to happen in Colbert County in order to wake up the white people all over Alabama." Sat. 5-11-46

REPUBLICAN VOTING IN ALABAMA

To the Editor of The Age-Herald: Age-Herald

In 1920 Mr. Harding polled 74,690 votes for president in Alabama, and since then the state's population has steadily increased and women now participate in the elections.

In the presidential elections for 20 years preceding 1936 the Republicans polled an average of 27.13 per cent of the total democratic and Republican vote in Alabama; and excluding 1928, when 47,000 Alabama Democrats voted for Mr. Hoover, this average would be 21.77 per cent. 5-27-46-Mon.

Hence it is reasonable to assume that there are now more than 70,000 Republican voters in Alabama. Birmingham Age-Herald

The reason the Republican candidates now poll about 30,000 or 40,000 votes in presidential elections in Alabama is because most Republicans now participate in the democratic primaries and abstain from voting in the general elections. Birmingham, Ala.

This general participation of Republicans in democratic primaries commenced in 1934, when a circular letter signed, "Central Republican Committee," was sent out to leading Republicans throughout the state, advising them to participate in the democratic primaries that year, and to vote for Col. Graves. B'ham, Ala.

The response to this call is evidenced by the fact that the vote in the primary that year increased from 196,708 in 1930, to 305,178 in 1934; and the Republicans have generally participated in the democratic primaries ever since—usually with a slate in some races, thus giving them the balance of power in the democratic primaries in Alabama.

It has been estimated that Mr. Dixon received nearly 85 per cent of this vote in 1938. In 1942 Mr. Sparks' majority was so large that the Republican participation was not a decisive factor.

Alabama

Republicans now also hold the balance of power in the democratic primaries in a number of counties, including Jefferson, which with half a million population, now has upwards of 10,000 Republican voters.

President Roosevelt declared that the participation of Republicans in democratic primaries was "politically immoral," but in Alabama it is more than that—under the Alabama election laws it is a clear violation of the law for anyone but a Democrat to vote in a democratic primary. 5-27-46

* * *

Primaries are party elections in which members of the party holding the primary select their party's candidates for the general election, and when the voters of other parties participates in the democratic primaries, such primaries cease to be primaries or democratic; and such illegal participation of the Republicans not only defeats the sole purpose of the holding of the primary, but it penalizes the loyal democratic candidates and rewards the self-serving democratic candidates who collaborate with the political enemy.

These lawless and fraudulent conditions can be best remedied by a law providing for the registration of party affiliations, such as is now in effect in most other states.

Under such a law a voter is not required to register his party affiliation or membership, but unless he is registered as a member of the party holding the primary, his name is not included in the list of voters for such primary and he cannot vote therein.

Not only do the rank and file of Democrats overwhelmingly favor such a law, but many Republican leaders, realizing the demoralizing effect of the present conditions on their own party, favor such a law as indispensable to an honest two-party system in Alabama. Birmingham Age-Herald

In 1938 a party registration bill, offered by Sen. Weatherford of Franklin County, was favorably reported by a Senate committee but, needing some amendments, it was allowed to die on the Senate calendar. Birmingham, Ala.

There has never been any open opposition to such a law, but the elected party leaders have by inaction and silent consent long failed in their duty to the democratic party, and the democratic rank and file, to seek the enactment of such greatly needed legislation, and thereby to restore the integrity of the democratic primaries in Alabama.

If the ballot box is the cornerstone of liberty, it is hypocrisy to talk of the sanctity of the ballot box, and supremacy of the law, while 40,000 Republican votes are permitted to be openly, notoriously and unlawfully cast in the democratic primaries in Alabama.

A law to provide for the registration of party affiliations would remedy such conditions and greatly help to protect the votes of the democratic voters of Alabama; and it would promote respect for the election laws and a return to fair and lawful primary elections in this state.

The next governor of Alabama will have an opportunity to secure the enactment of such a law and also to appoint the registrars of voters.

ROMAINE BOYD.

2111 Highland Ave., May 15, 1946.

Mobilians Back Reactionary; May Force Runoff In Alabama

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Sat. 8-10-46

By JOHN L. LE FLORE

MOBILE, Ala.—(ANP) — The blind loyalty of Mobile Negro voters to the causes of a reactionary may force a run-off in Alabama for the Senate seat of the late John H. Bankhead.

In last Tuesday's special Democratic senatorial primary, 45-year old Rep. John J. Sparkman, of Huntsville, led a field of five candidates for the vacancy caused by the death of Sen. Bankhead several months ago. He has apparently won the nomination, according to an unofficial tally of votes from throughout the state.

However, the issue must be settled by the State Democratic Executive committee on August 8. That body will officially canvass the vote Thursday to determine if a run-off between Sparkman and State Sen. James A. Simpson, who ran second in the contest, will be necessary. Sparkman, Democratic whip, had the support of organized labor and other progressive groups in the state. The CIO-PAC, the AFL United Mine Workers, the AFL executive committee, and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare endorsed his candidacy. The Birmingham NAACP urged Negro voters to support labor's choice in the primary.

In Mobile, A. S. Crishon, chairman of the local NAACP's Citizens' committee, charged that Negro voters in this city added to the muddling of the contest "by giving a reactionary the bulk of their votes. Someone or some group is definitely responsible for the blind support Negro voters here continue to give to candidates who do not represent the best interests of the Negro citizens," he said.

NEGRO VETERANS of Birmingham and Jefferson County last week made an appeal to the public for fairer consideration of their rights to vote. 6-23-46

The appeal was issued in the form of advertising in local daily and Negro weekly newspapers, which was sponsored by the United Registration Committee, composed of the local N. A. A. C. P., Progressive Democratic Council, United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Citizens Veterans' Committee, Birmingham Business League and civil liberties department of the Elks. Ala.

NAZI TACTICS

To the Editor of The News: News

Horace Wilkinson's belief that by any means whatsoever we must forever keep the Negro from voting and having a rightful share in government is not good sense. When he says the ignorant should not be permitted to vote, that is good sense. Sen. Bilbo, on his platform of race hatred, is kept in office by unthinking white voters. Sues.

If your wish is for wise-thinking voters, have a specified course of study for any youth before admission to a written examination, passing of which gives voting rights. That is perfectly legal and constitutional; also a good thing.

According to Horace Wilkinson, the one aim and objective of the colored man is social equality and intermarriage. Go North, Horace Wilkinson, to find out that any law man may make does not change the physical antagonisms existing between the races. White persons, unless compelled to do so, do not care for social equality or intermarriage. The few instances are rare indeed even in the North.

When the colored man rightly feels that no matter what his educational and other qualities, personal rights and freedoms come not from the federal constitution, but as a gift from his white neighbors, then you are always going to have trouble. Taxation without representation is wrong whether for white or colored. Birmingham, Ala

A real educated colored man, like a real educated white man, is a reasonable person to talk to. When our public schools turn out more of each, then we will have less race trouble. Joe Louis is admired by all, white or colored. 9-10-46

The half-educated of self-seekers of both races, Horace Wilkinson, make 90 per cent of our race troubles. Using Nazi tactics will not settle our very real race problems. More real education and common sense will.

1216 Woodland Avenue. W. G. KITTS.

Tell It To Old Grandma

WORTHY NEGRO CITIZENS

Editor, The Advertiser The Advertiser

Our great State has produced sons of both races who have honored the State by notable achievements. I wish to call attention to a few native sons of the Negro race who have thus contributed. Their contributions have been in the fields of religion, education, medicine, science, music, law, politics, and athletics.

The late Dr. L. K. Williams, vice-president of the World's Christian Alliance; Dr. T. K. Lawless, dermatologist, a graduate of the University of Paris and internationally known; Dr. Percy L. Julian, a Montgomery boy and recently referred to in Reader's Digest; W. C. Handy of "St. Louis Blues" fame; William L. Dawson, of the famed Tuskegee Choirs; Oscar DePriest and Arthur W. Mitchell, congressmen from the First Illinois district; Judge Miles Paige, Mont-

gomery, and now of New York; Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, and Dave Albritton, world famous in boxing, running and high jumping. We might also mention the adopted sons of our beloved State, viz: Booker T. Washington and George W. Carver. There are many others too numerous to mention here. Montgomery, Ala. Tues 10-8-46

We are thinking that if the learned and Honorable Attorney Wilkinson, of Birmingham, had his way none of these persons could qualify as citizens of Alabama, although this State is the place of their birth, and they have brought honor and distinction to the State. Sad but it seems true, this gentleman, whom the Constitution of the United States guarantees the right of freedom of speech which enables him to vilify and denounce a whole people, would deny such citizens as we have named the right to vote and sustain that constitution. And this after thousands of years of Christian civilization. It's very alarming to say the least. However, we do thank God for men who speak out for right and justice.

C. R. WILLIAMS

Box 101
Montgomery, Ala.

U. S. Judge To Hear Negro Voting Case

The News Birmingham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 15—(AP)—A suit by a Negro who charged the Macon County Board of Registrars refused to registed him to vote because of his race, is scheduled for rehearing in U. S. District Court here in the near future.

Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer, who dismissed the action originally on grounds that the Negro, William P. Mitchell, had not exhausted his rights in the state courts, said he would set a new hearing "before long." Tues. 10-15-46

The U. S. Supreme Court refused yesterday to review the case, thus sustaining a ruling by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans which remanded it to Judge Kennamer.

Mitchell filed suit against two members of the Macon board on the contention the board refused to register him "solely because of race or color." He asked $5,000 damages, a permanent injunction against the voting officials, and a declaratory judgment against what he termed the "policy, custom or usage" in refusing to register members of his race.

Negro Vets Denied Voting Privileges Fail In First Appeal Effort

Twenty-one Negro veterans denied voting privileges by the Jefferson County Board of Registrars in the recent primaries today had lost the first round in their fight to bring an appeal before a Circuit Court jury.

Circuit Court Judge Whit Windham in a ruling this morning sustained the state's demurrer which contended the petition was not in proper and legal form. The plaintiff sought to have the qualifications issue decided by a jury.

The veterans had been denied the voting privilege on the grounds that they did not possess the necessary elector's qualifications.

Following the board's ruling Atty. Arthur Shores, representing the veterans, filed an appeal to a Circuit Court, but the state intervened with the demurrer contending that the plaintiff's suit was insufficient.

* * *

THE CASE OPENED yesterday and was continued today following Judge Windham's ruling, with the plaintiff's attorney arguing grounds for an amendment and rehearing on the original suit.

Following a brief hearing on further motions Judge Windham declined to take further action at this time and Atty. Shores declined to commend and filed notice of an appeal to the Supreme Court.

The state is being represented by Assistant Solicitor Willard McCall.

Meanwhile, a suit for $5,000 damages filed by Atty. Shores in behalf of another litigant was headed for a Federal Court trial following Judge Clarence Mullins' dismissal of the state's motion to dismiss. This particular case also resulted from the Board of Registrars' denial of voting privileges to another Negro. The trial date is pending.

Gov. Sparks Calls On Vines To Reconsider His Resignation

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Sun. 10-20-46

MONTGOMERY, Aal., Oct. 19—(AP)—In an interest of "continued and orderly administration" of Alabama laws, Gov. Chauncey Sparks today requested Dr. J. B. Vines, of Birmingham, chairman of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars, to reconsider his resignation.

The Jefferson County official yesterday announced he had resigned because the board's work had become "a football for the organizations that seek to use the colored people for selfish reasons."

Gov. Sparks indicated he was returning the resignation along with a request that Vines withdraw it.

"We are having, and have had, difficulty in filling the office of registrars in some counties in Alabama," the governor wrote, "and personally I should regret to lose the services of one whose experience and character insure the fair and just administration of our registration laws."

* * *

THE LETTER CONTINUED: "I agree with you, we need to strengthen our registration laws and to give the registrars judicial authority. If we have lost faith in mankind, then we have no right to continue faith in democracy. Democracy is the government of the people, and if we say they haven't the integrity to administer their laws, we have lost faith.

"An orderly adjustment of our racial relations is absolutely necessary. It may be we have been negligent in the past in not extending gradual franchise to qualified Negroes. It is too late to right this wrong by mass registration which our present laws will permit.

"I may ask that you withdraw your resignation in the interest of continued and orderly administration of our law for your action might be contagious and cause resignations throughout the state."

* * *

IN CONCLUSION Gov. Sparks expressed hope that voters will ratify Constitutional Amendment No. 4 (the Boswell Amendment) next month so the Legislature can provide "rules, regulations and interpretations of a judicial nature to relieve registrars of a present embarrassing and hazardous situation."

A $50,000 damage suit is now pending in federal court against two former members of the Macon County Board of Registrars. It was filed by a Tuskegee Institute Negro professor who charged in his complaint that the registrars refused to register him "solely because of his race."

The case was appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court which recently ordered the Federal District Court in Montgomery to reopen it.

All members of the Macon County Board of Registrars resigned several months ago.

Boards Of Registrars

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Undoubtedly the responsibilities confronted by Boards of Registrars in these troubled days of controversy are very complex and burdensome. It is not difficult to understand something of how Dr. J. B. Vines, chairman of the Board of Registrars of Jefferson County, feels in submitting his resignation to the governor.

The problems and pressures facing such officials are numerous and heavy. Dr. Vines charges that "the work of the Board of Registrars has become a football for the organizations that seek to use the colored people for selfish reasons." He says $5,000 suits are pending in the Federal Court against each member of the board and that a large number of other suits are pending. He says that the board is "continually being harassed in the press by letters that are in my opinion libelous" and that "other libelous items have been placed in certain newspapers that have tended to inflame the minds of large groups of colored people against constituted authorities and to mislead other citizens who do not know the real facts." Sat. 10-19-46

Dr. Vines says he knows of no solution that can be given under the present law and that to his mind "the only solution" is to give the board "the same standing as a court or judicial body."

* * *

This paper is not disposed to question that the board has been subjected to certain excesses of the kind mentioned by Dr. Vines. But whatever excesses have occurred, the fact remains that under the best conceivable conditions boards of registrars in Jefferson and other Alabama counties would have to deal with many hard and trying questions.

The whole problem of registration standards is difficult and involved.

Surely most Alabamians agree that reasonably qualified citizens should be registered.

Surely no solution is to be found in arbitrary denial of any applicants on grounds not in keeping with the constitution of the United States.

This paper sees only an aggravation of the problem in any such program as that contemplated by proponents of the Boswell amendment.

Such broad and loose authority would not make for less, but more, of the kind of difficulties mentioned by Dr. Vines.

* * *

The suggestion of Dr. Vines that boards be given the standing of a court or judicial body is worthy of thorough consideration. Having such a standing they might be in much better position to withstand unjustifiable harassment. Likewise, as such, they might have the advantages of more clearly definite and uniform standards and processes respecting registration and this might well give greater satisfaction all around.

As it is, the boards have wide authority, but practices and standards and conceptions vary widely in this field. The result is much of confusion and conflict. If the authority of the boards were implemented with more precise stipulations with respect both to qualifications and procedure and if a way could be established assuring uniformity of application of these procedures, a definite advance might be made.

Certainly the present situation is unsatisfactory from various standpoints.

Certainly mere repression is not the solution.

A just and creative dealing with the situation offers the highest promise and should be sought.

Two Errors For Poole

Joe Poole, Alabama commissioner of agriculture and industries, made at least two errors in his statement announcing support for the Boswell amendment. One is an error of fact. The other was the error of using a department, tax-financed publication for making his statement.

If the Boswell amendment fails, say Mr. Poole, according to an Associated Press dispatch, boards of registrars will be compelled by a United States Supreme Court decision to register "practically everyone who applies." The Supreme Court decision to which Mr. Poole presumably refers says nothing about registration. It merely says that Negroes shall not be denied the effective use of the ballot through being barred from primary elections. The decision was not aimed at registration and does not affect registration. It was concerned only with voting.

The Supreme Court ruled, in effect, that Negroes could not be barred by their color from voting in Democratic primaries. The purpose of the Boswell amendment goes farther than that; it would provide the means by which Negroes (and anybody else) could be kept from registration for voting in any election. It is true that the Supreme Court ruling has helped to stimulate Negro registration by encouraging Negroes to hope for a larger voice in choosing their public officials. But it in no wise affected registration laws, and attempts to make it appear that it did are misleading.

The other error lies in the use by Mr. Poole of *Alabama Farmers*, a publication of the Department of Agriculture and Industries, for presentation of his views on this issue. *Alabama Farmers* is supported by tax funds and its columns should not be used to promote opinions that are in widespread controversy. A highly controversial matter, over which there is division running up to the top levels of government, should not be given one-sided presentation in a publication paid for by the taxpayers.

The More It Changes New Republic

The State Democratic Executive Committee voted today to open party primaries in Alabama for the first time to qualified Negro voters. . . . The committee also endorsed an amendment requiring prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" instead of merely to read parts of the federal Constitution.
—*AP dispatch from Montgomery, Alabama.* 2-4-46

Citizens Rally to Side of Accused Suffrage Worker

afro American Baltimore, Md.

White Registrars Seek Revenge on Postal Employee for Making Vote Denial Charges

Sat 2-23-46

MOBILE, Ala.—Colored citizens and liberal whites last week rallied to the defense of J. L. LeFlore, postal employee and militant civic worker, in his fight against charges of "unusual political activity" filed with U.S. postal officials by the Mobile County Board of Registrars.

J. L. LeFLORE,

In the meantime, Mobile's Postmaster, William B. Taylor, has referred to the Post Office Department in Washington a letter from Milton Schnell, white, chairman of the Board of Registrars, in which the accusation was made.

LeFlore, an official of the Alabama State and Mobile branch NAACP, was charged with violation of both the Hatch Act and the Civil Service Code, because he encouraged colored citizens to register as voters.

Schnell is said to have made the charges in retaliation for charges filed with the Department of Justice by LeFlore, as executive secretary of the Mobile NAACP, accusing the Board of discriminating against colored voters.

Sat 2-23-46

Alliance Backs LeFlore

Ashby B. Carter of Chicago, president of the National Alliance of Postal Employees, said that his organization stood wholeheartedly behind LeFlore, in a statement made at Memphis.

Carter, now on a southern tour, said that his organization would work relentlessly to "expose" the motives behind the "trumped-up" charges made against this "courageous and fearless leader."

Leslie Perry, NAACP administrative assistant in Washington, was scheduled to confer with Postal Department officials in the nation's capital this week.

The CIO Council, the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance and Mobile citizens, in a mass meeting last week, pledged to stand behind LeFlore. Several white citizens in the audience offered to "provide moral and financial assistance if the case takes an unfair turn."

Dailies Censure Board

Two Alabama newspapers, the Montgomery Advertiser and the Birmingham News, have censured the Mobile County Board of Registrars in their editorial columns for the action taken against LeFlore.

Postmaster Taylor, in turning Schnell's letter over to the Post Office Department in Washington, requested that it make "whatever investigation it thinks proper." He also suggested that he be advised as to what procedure he should follow. 2-23-46

Observers assert that Taylor has not approved the militant action LeFlore has been taking against local registration officials.

LeFlore, who has made no statement for publication, is known to have been subjected to subtle pressure, ridiculous charges, and potential traps by persons in or out of the post office over a period of years.

500 Now Registered

Approximately 500 colored persons were registered in Mobile County during the three months the Board of Registrars held daily sessions. More than 400 of the number became voters in January.

A new interest in suffrage was manifested by colored citizens here after the State Democratic Executive Committee voted on Jan. 12 to permit colored electors to participate in party primaries. The action followed the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case.

Officials of the NAACP here asserted that perhaps 1500 or more colored residents would have registered as voters during the past three months if the board had not imposed discriminatory educational tests and used dilatory tactics in dealing with colored applicants.

Poll Racket In Land of Filibuster

Daily Worker New York 2-2-46

By ROBERT MINOR

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Feb. 1.—In the Jefferson County courthouse last Wednesday forenoon, there were two lines of people waiting on the two sides of the door of the office for registration of voters. And here is the racket: 2-2-46

In one line, for whites only, were 86 people, of whom 15 were women. In the other line, "for colored," were 47 people, of whom five were women. In both lines the proportion of young war veterans appeared to be well above 25 percent. A large number wore discharge buttons, some were in full uniform with overseas insignia.

The people in the line on the left of the door, "for white," were being admitted rapidly, the Negroes very slowly.

Holding my watch, I saw that five white persons were being admitted in seven minutes, while Negroes were being admitted at the rate of one in about eight minutes. Sat.

At 10:47 two Negroes were admitted, and 4½ minutes later another Negro, while four white persons were admitted from the other side of the door. In the next 8½ minutes, seven white persons and no Negroes. 2-2-46

A young man in a checkered coat reached the head of the line on the Negro side of the door at 11 o'clock. He stood at the head of the line 27 minutes while 18 white persons were admitted ahead of him from the other line. The face of this very intelligent-looking young man was a study. He stood in military rigidity as he watched the first 12 or 14 white persons passing in to be registered. At first glance you would have thought his face was without expression; but study it and you could see he was boiling inside.

People at the tail end of the line of Negroes, seeing the white line moving up rapidly for nearly half an hour while their line moved not at all, came up front to ask why. They clustered around the door. The uniformed policeman told them they would have to go back to the end of the line. They moved about six inches. A man in shirtsleeves wearing a badge and pistol came out, looked around and went back into the registrars' office. 2-2-46

A clerk came quickly to the door and admitted six from the Negroes line. Then the small crowd that had come up from the rear moved back again to await their turn.

About 15 percent of the qualified Negroes are being registered, as far as can be judged at this stage, and about 85 percent of those entitled to vote and asking to be registered are being fraudulently rejected. It is crookeder than stuffing ballot-boxes.

But most of those entitled to vote under the so-called law of the state are in practical fact not allowed even the right to ask to be registered. Men and women who work must first of all take a day off, which they can't afford. Then they must come to the courthouse and those who are not veterans must pay a poll tax of $1.50 for one year or for each of several years that they haven's paid since their 21st birthday. Some would have to pay $36 in accumulated poll tax due from the ages of 21 to 45. One woman actually paid $30 poll tax to be able to vote for Roosevelt in 1944.

Then they spend the day standing in line. Some sit on the cold stone floor. They don't know whether they will get in at all that day, or, if they get in, whether they will be registred. They have to do without eating, and wait, without knowing when or how it will end.

When they get inside, if they get in, a white official asks them to read a section of the Constitution. Then to explain it. Some are asked to "repeat" the constitution—which not one of the registrars could do. And "what kind of a government have we got?" Or "what kind of judges?" No matter what the answer is, it is called wrong, the Negro is ordered out. The few exceptions are "token" registrations to make the general disfranchisement more easily accomplished.

Out of 1,614,654 Alabama citizens 21 years or more of age, only 222,338 voted in the general election in 1944—which is 14 percent. There are almost twice as many white people disfranchised as colored people. Of the nearly 1,400,000 Alabamans of voting age who didn't vote in 1944, about 900,000 are white and 500,000 colored.

Strangely enough, the smallness of the number of voters of the past may prove to be an Achilles heel for the gang that rules the state.

The number of young veterans returning to Alabama—and they are **not** required to pay the poll tax—**is actually larger than the total number of persons who voted in the 1944 election.** About a quarter of a million Alabama veterans are returning, and most of them have never voted before. Practically all of the Negro veterans have never voted—about 100,000 colored citizens of voting age, all able to read and write by U. S. Army standards, and free of the obligation to pay the polltax. 2-2-46

The monied interests—mainly the steel trust—are resorting to every fraud and intimidation to prevent the enrolment of these thousands of young men as voters—even publishing open threats of murder of Negro veterans who attempt to register. And since they think it is easier to fight Negroes because of the heritage of slavery, the center of gravity in the fight is shifted heavily to the struggle against the registration of Negro veterans. A little show of solidarity of white veterans with the colored veterans would go a long way. 2-2-46

The time for the payment of the polltax expires today. Non-veterans who did not pay cannot vote unless the polltax law is overthrown by a fight before election day.

But this does not apply to the quarter of a million veterans. Their fight for the right to be registeerd is just reaching its height. Among them by far the most active are the colored veterans, and I have never seen a finer lot of young leaders than they are producing.

NEGRO VOTERS Mobile Alabama News

To the Editor of The News:

I am a young voter and for the past several days I have been reading in magazines where Negroes of this state are not receiving fair treatment in becoming registered voters.

I have read under the Alabama law where a person may qualify to vote if he can either show that he holds a certain minimum amount of personal or real property or if he can read and write.

In one magazine I read where the Board of Registers is trying to discourage qualified Negroes in Mobile from becoming registered voters. I have also read where Negroes who went to the Board of Registers must spend hours, where his white fellow citizen stays only a few minutes. 2-3-46

In Birmingham, Capt. H. C. Terell, head of the veterans' voter registration committee of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, is trying to get as many as 15,000 Negroes, who have served time in the war, to pay poll tax, with the aid of his associates, although he knows that under the Alabama law veterans are not required to pay poll taxes.

As for my opinion, I think these poll should be opened to everyone, so that we all can live up to the laws and that this country can have a true democracy.

Talladega, Ala. WALTER L. PHILLIPS.

Alabama Democrats Take Action

Announcement has been made by the Alabama Democratic executive committee that it will, at its January 12 meeting, abolish the white primary, in effect since 1870.

Qualified Negro voters will vote in the state elections in May if they subscribe to the primary pledge to support the nominees. Thus Alabama announces it has abandoned efforts to "find a way out" of the supreme court decision which ruled that in state primaries, financed by the state, nominees of which have no opposition in the general elections, qualified Negroes may not be barred.

Alabama has, we think properly, submitted a constitutional amendment which will be voted on in the November election. It will tighten the registration laws and enable registrars to determine the literacy of prospective voters, white and colored. Georgia already has such a law which, if the state wished, could be strengthened by amendment. The Democratic Executive Committee of Georgia, facing a similar problem made more acute by a state ruling by a Georgia-born jurist, in addition to the supreme court decision, would do well to study the Alabama plan. There actually is no way to by-pass the supreme court decision, but strict interpretation of qualifications would prevent turning this, or any other state, over to undesirable, illiterate majorities.

Is This Constitutional?

The Mobile County Board of Registrars is giving written examinations on the United States Constitution to applicants for registration as voters. According to the board's chairman, Milton Schnell, the tests on ability to read "and understand" the constitution are being given uneducated white persons as well as Negroes.

The Alabama Constitution does not require any such test. Section 181 of the constitution sets up as a qualification for voters the ability to "read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language." Specifically exempt from this requirement are those unable to read or write solely because of physical reasons. There are also certain property qualifications for suffrage.

The present State Constitution says nothing about ability to "understand" the constitution as a prerequisite for voting. The nearest approach to any such provision is in Sec. 180 of the constitution where it is declared that, except for those specifically disqualified, the right to vote shall be given "all persons who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government."

* * *

Do these sections of the Alabama Constitution give a board of registrars the right to demand that applicants for registration undergo a written examination on the Federal Constitution? Does ability to explain the constitution fall among the "duties and obligations of citizenship" in this country?

If that ability is required as a *sine qua non* of citizenship, then Alabama has no need of the so-called Boswell amendment which would limit the franchise to those "who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language." But if the present law does not demand ability to explain the constitution as a prerequisite to registration, then what right has a board of registrars to give written, or oral, examinations on the constitution?

* * *

The loose, and sometimes autocratic, attitude taken by some Alabama boards of registrars toward their duties is a repudiation of constitutional law. It often, as one might expect, leads to a denial of justice.

It begins to appear that a basic reason for the proposed Boswell amendment is to give the color of legality to something boards of registrars are already doing. Perhaps what we need more than any new law on the subject is a higher sense of duty on the part of registrars, more devotion to the principles of justice, and more fidelity to practices of impartiality and fairness.

Federal Court To Hear Case

Appeal from a Federal District judge's action in dismissing a suit charging the Macon County, Ala., board of registrars with refusing to register a Negro voting will be heard by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans April 12.

Assistant Attorney General W. W. Callahan said yesterday he had been advised of the date.

Federal Judge G. B. Kennamer last Oct. 12 dismissed a suit by William P. Mitchell charging that the board of registrars denied him a registration "solely because of race of color." Judge Kennamer held that Mitchell had not exhausted his rights in state courts.

Defendants in the suit, which asked a declaratory judgment, a permanent injunction against the alleged discrimination, and $5,000 damages, were Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil M. Guthrie, members of the board of registrars.

Ala. Registrar Ousts Negro Voters' Witness

By FRED ATWATER
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

MOBILE, Ala.—Despotic rule by the Mobile County Board of Registrars against Negro citizens continued unabated this week.

Latest victim of the board's fraudulent contrivance to bar Negroes from use of the ballot is Rev. E. T. Taylor, pastor and businessman.

Rev. Taylor, active in the Mobile NAACP's campaign to get Negroes registered as voters, was disqualified from further serving as a voucher or witness for suffrage applicants. Milton Schnell, white, chairman of the board, concocted the scheme to deprive the minister of the right to continue contributing his services in that capacity.

The Board of Registrars in Mobile County requires a qualified voter to personally appear with a would-be-registrant, and the two under oath fill out their respective parts of the qualifying form.

Negro Vets Register

Last Monday the board held the first meeting of its new semi-monthly sessions to register war veterans who hold poll tax exemption certificates.

Rev. Taylor was there with five Negro war veterans. Schnell is reported to have said, as he did about J. L. LaFlore: "Every time I look up this blankety blankety n - - - - - - r is here. He is getting in my hair!"

The minister looked on as Schnell put the colored war vets through the third degree with oral tests, including the reading of selected difficult sections of the Constitution. At the same time whites were permitted to register without any questioning whatever, as usual.

Assist With Illiterates

In a number of instances white persons who could not write had consent of the board to have their witnesses fill out the application forms for them. Members of the board are said to have obligingly rendered such service for illiterate whites.

Two of the war veterans accompanied by Rev. Taylor had their applications rejected by Schnell because they could not read well enough to suit him. Two were okayed as voters.

With the fifth applicant the board chairman asked Rev. Taylor: "Preacher, where does this boy live?" Thinking that the young man still resided at the address from which he was inducted, the clergyman unhesitatingly offered that street and number. It was revealed, however, that the vet's family had moved to a new address while he was in the Army.

Disqualify Taylor

Schnell eagerly seized the mistake as cause to disqualify the minister.

The Mobile County Board of Registrars has been charged with practicing racial discrimination in an effort to discourage and curb Negro voting. The Mobile NAACP recently filed such complaints with the Department of Justice and requested an immediate investigation.

Between 400 and 500 Negroes were registered as voters during the three-month daily sessions of the board. NAACP officials contend that unfair educational tests and dilatory tactics employed by the registrars against colored people prevented approximately one thousand or more others from obtaining the ballot.

Liaison Link Authorized For State Negro Vets

MONTGOMERY, Ala., July 2—(AP)—Employment of a liaison officer to work with the state's 85,000 Negro veterans has been authorized by the Veterans Affairs Board.

C. C. Norton, state service commissioner, says the new officer will travel throughout the state to acquaint Negro veterans of their rights and opportunities under the GI bill.

The board has also approved appointment of Walter C. Head, Jr., of Bessemer, as an assistant state service commissioner.

Negroes Lost First Round Of Vote Trial

A group of Negro war veterans denied the right to register in Jefferson County lost their first legal move toward a trial by jury.

Circuit Judge Whit Windham yesterday sustained a state demurrer contending their appeal for the trial by jury was not in proper legal form. The 21 Negroes carried their fight into court after being denied registration by the Jefferson County Board of Registrars.

Arthur Shores, attorney for the group, said he would appeal the judge's ruling direct to the State Supreme Court instead of amending his bill.

Terrell pointed out that the purpose of the movement was to increase the number of registered voters and to stimulate the interest of Negro veterans in Government.

Other local leaders who accompanied the veterans were E. O. McKaine, field representative of the Southern Negro Youth Congress; Malcolm C. Dobbs, Alabama secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; the Revs. J. L. Ware, pastor Trinity Baptist Church; John W. Goodgame, pastor Sixth Avenue Baptist Church and W. Wilson, Shiloh Baptist Church.

Since Alabama registration law merely requires ability to read or write, court action against the three-man registration board is expected following the ten-day registration drive of veterans. The demonstrations are being sponsored by the Veterans committee of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, of which Henry O. Mayfield is chairman.

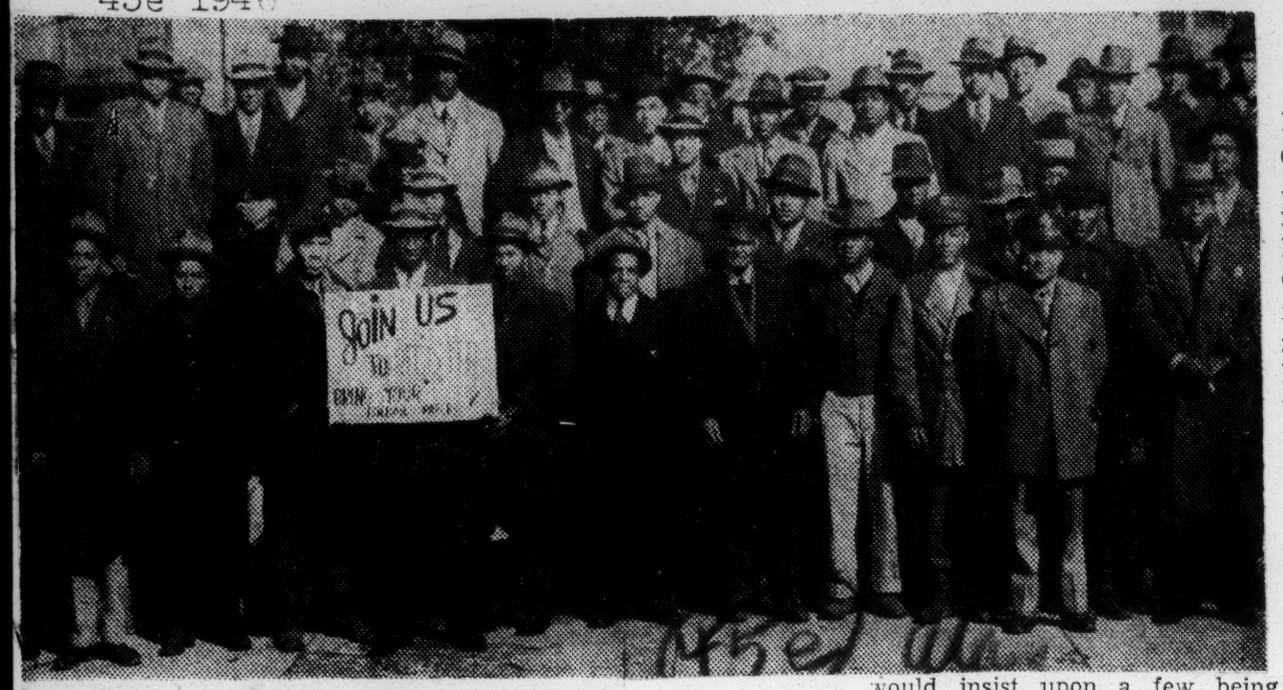
Right To Vote Veterans

d War II marched in double file through the main streets here Wednesday to the Jefferson County Courthouse in the first of a series of mass delegations of veterans sponsord by the Southern Negro Youth Congress during a ten-day registration drive. Led by Capt. H. C. Terrell, U. S. Army chaplain on terminal leave, many departments of the veterans were there in the majority of the veterans were Captain Terrell was released after being detained by MPs, who demanded to know why he had received "Howtold him that he was leading a procession of political demonstration. The demonstrations are being sponsored by the veterans committee of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, of which Henry O. Mayfield is chairman.

Alabama Denies Vote Right To Scores of Negro Vets

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(ANP)—One hundred veterans of World War II marched in double file through the main streets here Wednesday to the Jefferson County Courthouse in the first of a series of mass delegations of veterans sponsord by the Southern Negro Youth Congress during a ten-day registration drive. Led by Capt. H. C. Terrell, U. S. Army chaplain on terminal leave, many departments of the veterans were there in Captain Terrell was released after being detained by MPs, who demanded to know "Whatter being detained by MPs, who demanded to know "Whatter being detained by MPs, who demanded to know "Howtold him that they had received Congress consist of?" "Howtold him that he was leading a procession of political demonstration." "What is the Constitution made of?" "Can you repeat the Constitution?" "How does the Government of the U. S. operate?" "How does the Government operate?" "How CAPTAIN DETAINED

Fought for U. S., But Can't Vote



ALABAMA VETS DENIED VOTE—Many of these World War II veterans were rejected last week when they marched to the Jefferson County Courthouse in Birmingham, Ala., and sought to register with the Board of Registrars. The demonstration was part of a campaign sponsored by the Southern Negro Youth Congress Veterans Committee. Holding the sign is Henry O. Mayfield, chairman of the committee. Wearing Army uniform is Capt. H. C. Terrell, U. S. Army chaplain.

Alabama Negroes Face Rigid Vote Requirements

Chicago Defender Sat 1-26-46

Chicago, Ill.

By JOHN Le FLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

MOBILE, Ala. — The Mobile County Board of Registrars this week tightened their list of requirements to discourage Negro voters.

Alarmed over the possibility of an increase of about 200 Negro voters, Milton Schnell, board chairman, is said to have issued a distorted statement of requirements to the daily press. Meanwhile the board has been accused of invoking unorthodox tactics in receiving applicants, subjecting many of them to tests that board members themselves are not capable of passing.

Negroes Led By Elks

Negro registrants here have been led by Alex Herman, exalted ruler of the Gulf City Lodge No. 244 IBPOE, Order of Elks. The Elks have undertaken a campaign to have all of their 300 members registered and qualified voters.

National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People officials have also been diligent in encouraging Negroes to register.

Registrants Must Pay

In order to become a qualified voter under Alabama's cumulative poll tax system a registrant must pay all tax in arrears from the 21st to the 45th birthdays. The Department of Justice has been asked to investigate alleged unlawful practices imposed upon Negro vote applicants by the Mobile County Board of Registrars.

War veterans have made up about three-fourths of the persons registered to date. They are exempt from the state's poll tax which has squelched Negro voters in large numbers throughout the deep South. Sat 1-26-46

Applicants Tested

A petition to Atty. Gen. Tom C. Clark specifically charged that a number of Negro citizens of unquestionable character who applied to register were compelled to write, read and explain to the satisfaction of the Board of Registrars any section of the U. S. Constitution designated by its members.

"Failure to be able to do so," the statement added, "resulted in their being denied the right to the ballot.

"Alabama law requires that a person be able to read and write any section of the Constitution or own $300 worth of real or personal property," the attorney general added.

So far as is known no whites have been forced to take any kind of test regardless of illiteracy. It is believed however, that the board would insist upon a few being made to read and write a section of the Constitution if a Justice Department investigation loomed imminent.

Prosecute Man For Negro Aid

Daily Worker New York N.Y.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., March 1.—Veterans in the Southern Negro Youth Congress have condemned the persecution of J. L. LeFlore, of Mobile, Ala., for helping prospective Negro voters register for elections.

Henry O. Mayfield, spokesman for the Veterans Committee of the SNYC criticized the effort to prosecute LeFlore on a complaint by the Mobile Board of Registrars. LeFlore, who is executive secretary of the Citizens Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People declared, **"he had appeared before the Board as a voucher and witness for several colored persons whom he had known for a long time."** Sat 3-2-46

Mayfield's statement said: **"LeFlore was only doing his duty towards his felow men when he was trying to help them to register to vote. The Board of Registrars which is trying in every way to prevent Negroes from exercising the right to vote should be the ones to be investigated."** Sat. 3.2.46

Mayfield added: **"We Negro veterans are trying to become bona fide citizens by registering to vote, but we are turned down by the undemocratic Board of Registrars by the hundreds."**

Mayfield announced that Negro veterans in Alabama will hold a statewide conference in Birmingham, Ala., on March 8-10.

Religion And Politics

Birmingham, Ala.

Our hat is off to the Rev. W. Glenn Bartee of the First Methodist Church of Sheffield for his fine letter to *The Alabama Christian Advocate* protesting against the charges made by W. Earl Hotalen concerning the recent Colbert County election on the liquor issue. Mr. Hotalen did not like the fact that the election had gone against his side. He undertook to interpret the event in *The Advocate* by saying that the wets won because of the Negro vote. age Herald

Mr. Bartee tells the story of what really happened in a way which demolishes the Hotalen myth. For it must be understood that this minister is not exulting. The election went against him too. But he believes in democracy, he believes in telling the truth and he cannot bring himself to be silent when an effort is launched to make an issue of a non-existent Negro issue. So he explains that, even if Negroes had not voted, the election would have gone as it did. Even though he doesn't like the result, he feels bound to declare, it "would not have been changed had no Negroes voted." That testimony from such a man, on the ground, is conclusive.

When he faces up to the wrong inherent in Mr. Hotalen's stirring up of race feeling the Sheffield minister takes a truly exalted position. "One thing is sure," he asserts, "we cannot hope to win on one moral issue at the expense of another, which is certainly no less vital. Sound reason and earnest persuasion, not belligerency and prejudice, are avenues to ultimate victory. In these anxious days, the church and its correlated agencies must hold high the spirit of fraternity and goodwill among men, else I shudder at what the future may bring." Sat 1-26-46

That is a noble statement, and deserves to be inscribed on the doorpost of every church and every home in Alabama. It is the true Christian principle, forgotten by too many. The church should be immune from the abuse to which exploiters would subject it. "The church and its correlated agencies" should not lend themselves to urging intolerance and hatred. If the church feels under a compulsion to intervene in politics for the sake of one moral issue, it should certainly forego doing so at the expense of another equally vital moral issue. That is the best of good doctrines. Alabamians should be grateful to Dr. Bartee for his timely and eloquent call for truth and consistency.

Largest Primary Vote In State's History Forecast

Birmingham, Ala. Ledger Sun. 5-7-46

350,000 To 375,000 Total Is Expected; Veterans Swell List

The largest primary vote in the history of Alabama was believed under way today.

Thousands of voters, including some Negroes and a great many veterans, began flocking to the polls soon after they opened. Negroes were voting for the first time in a primary as the result of a Supreme Court ruling that they cannot be barred. Veterans had taken advantage of the exemption from payment of poll tax.

This latter factor, plus the accelerated interest in elections since the termination of the war, led party officials to predict a turnout of between 350,000 and 375,000 voters which will be unprecedented in this history of the state. The 1942 primary polled 279,000 votes.

The Negro vote was expected to be small, due to the fact that the state's cumulative $1.50 a year poll tax would require some to pay as much as $36 before voting and also because the time limit for payment of the poll tax expired Feb. 1. Voters of the age of 45, however, are exempt from paying a poll tax. The traditional "white" party label was discarded by the Democratic committee only a few days before the Feb. 1 time limit.

Registration, which has been brisk in the past few weeks, took a final lively spurt yesterday when between 400 and 500 residents of Jefferson County registered.

* * *

YELLOW CERTIFICATES were given the last minute registrants. Poll officials were instructed to recognize these certificates whether or not the names of the new voters were on the lists.

In Birmingham the polls opened at 8 a.m. and will close at 6 p.m. Polls in the county will close at 5 p.m. Sun. 5-7-46

Absentee ballots, which in the past have been counted beginning at 9 a.m. on election day will not be counted until 6 p.m. today. This is in compliance with a ruling made last week by State Atty. Gen. William N. McQueen.

While the gubernatorial race was the biggest issue at stake in the state, Jefferson County was taking tremendous interest in the congressional race and in the selection of a state senator and members of the lower house of the Legislature.

In the fifth congressional district, the U. S. Congress election was throwing the spotlight on the potency of the Political Action Committee of the CIO. This organization was backing Rep. Albert Rains. It supported Rains two years ago when he was defeated by Joe Starnes, then vice chairman of the Dies Committee. Starnes is now trying to unseat Rains.

The threat of showers in the county and the state was not expected to keep voters away from the polls. Rain was falling in parts of the southern section of the state when the polls opened, but this was not a factor in slowing up the casting of ballots. Intermittent showers were in the northern section.

Voters in Bibb and Talladega Counties were voting today.

Sun. 5-7-46

antics will remain city attorney, and John Goodwin, sociated Press. ale of alcoholic Alex Perry, railroad man, are the Nomination in the Democratic along with the way in three other states. A guber- party is tantamount to election in referendums were natorial candidate was to be named Ellis, Alabama. The candidates for gov. in the election of in Ohio and congressmen were be- Elbert Boozer, Anniston; James E. urtime mayor. Da- ing chosen in that state and in (Big Jim) Folsom, Cullman; Gor resigned several Florida and Indiana. Alabama don Persons, Montgomery, presi ase of a promise however, was taking a far greater dent of the Public Service Commis p down after the interest in its election than these sion, and Joe N. Poole, Butler eran run. other states, according to The Associated Springs, agriculture commissioner

Campaign officials predicted that at least four of the candidates for governor would be in a runoff. A second primary will be held June 4 if no candidate polls a clear majority of all votes cast.

Five of the state's Democratic congressmen had oppositions. They are: George Andrews, Third District, opposed by K. C. Tigner; Albert Rains, opposed by Joe Starnes, in the Fifth District; Pete Jarman, opposed by Edward DeGraffenreid, Sixth District; Luther Patrick, opposed by Laurie Battle and Hugh DuBose, in the Ninth District; Sam Hobbs, opposed by Mrs. Lollie L. O'Connell and William C. Irby in the Fourth District.

A LIST OF THE RACES IN JEFFERSON COUNTY, excluding the congressional race already mentioned, with an (x) denoting the incumbent is given below:

State Senate — Albert Boutwell, Emmett Perry, Jerome (Jerry) Phillips, Roger Snyder. (Sen. James A. Simpson is not seeking reelection.) Ave. 5-7-46

Sheriff—(x) Holt A. McDowell, Harry E. Smith.

County Commission President—(x) Clarence M. Pinson, Henry W. Sweet.

Associate County Commissioner No. 1—Philip Bethea, (x) Earl Bruner, A. C. Frazier.

Associate County Commissioner No. 2—Frank Cain, Claude N. Gilley, E. H. (Eddie) Gilmore, Charles E. (Charlie) Harrison, Henry C. Wood. (This place being relinquished by Mr. Sweet.)

Circuit Judge No. 2—John T. Batten, (x) Robert J. Wheeler.

Probate Judge—J. W. (Dave) Davidson, Tom C. Garner, William L. Hogue, Alta L. King, Thomas Seay, James H. Willis. (Probate Judge Eugene H. Hawkins is a candidate for circuit judge and is unopposed.)

Circuit Clerk (Birmingham Division)—(x) Osa L. Andrews, Newman Jones.

Circuit Clerk (Bessemer Division) — Dewey Acker, (x) Rose Huey, Elmore McAdory.

State Legislature, Lower House (seven to be elected) — James G. Adams, Jr., Horace C. Alford, William Henry Beatty, J. N. Brown, Jr., George R. Byrum, Sr., D. D. Crawford, Glenn Cummins, W. D. Dobbins, Mrs. Pauline Thomas Dobbs, Harry A. Dorman, Sam S. Douglass, Lawrence Dumas, Jr., (x) J. K. (Jess) Edwards, Wallace Gibson, Arthur C. Halbert, W. O. Hare, Jr., Frank M. James, Wallace Johns, Jr., Alexander W. Jones, Hugh Kaul, Guy A. Matlock, James E. Matson, O. L. McCormick, Mrs. Ray Meade, J. Paul Meeks, Lewis A. (Gus) Montgomery, Marston Muir, F. A. Peake, Will H. Sadler, Jr., C. J. Settles, Kingman C. Shelburne, I. T. Thomas, Mrs. Amy H. Whitton, George Dent Williams, Maurice B. Williams. (The name of Charles W. McGowen, Jr., will appear on the ballot as a Legislature candidate, but he announced his withdrawal last week. Ave. 5-7-46

State Democratic Executive Committee (eight to be elected)—(x) H. M. Abercrombie, Clint F. Allgood, H. H. (Babe) Askew, Clements S. Barnes, Monroe J. Beasley, (x) Bob Bell, T. O. (Tom) Brown, Harris Burns, James A. (Sunny Jim) Downey, Irving E. Fullington, (x) Lawson Gambill, Robert C. Garrison, Jerry W. Gwin, C. Clyde Hill, William Alfred Jacobs, William J. O'Neal, (x) Roy Phipps, A. V. Simmons, H. A. (Gus) Thompson, Raymond Weeks.

County Board of Education (two to be elected)—(x) Andrew H. Knight, M. W. Lewis, (x) W. I. Pittman.

* * *

HERE ARE THE CANDIDATES for state and district offices:

Lieutenant Governor—J. C. Inzer, Gadsden; State Sens. Elvin McCary, Anniston, and Reuben L. Newton, Jasper, and Wallace P. Pruitt, Jr., Montgomery.

Attorney General—Albert A. Carmichael, Montgomery (unopposed).

State Auditor—Langdon C. Parker, Montgomery, and Dan Thomas, Winfield.

State Treasurer—John Brandon, Montgomery, and Thomas H. Maxwell, Tuscaloosa.

Secretary of State—Sibyl Pool Linden (incumbent), and Ben Hudson, Gadsden.

Superintendent of Schools—H. C. Pannell, Tuscaloosa (unopposed).

Agriculture Commissioner—Haygood Paterson, Montgomery, and Mason Paschall, Uniontown.

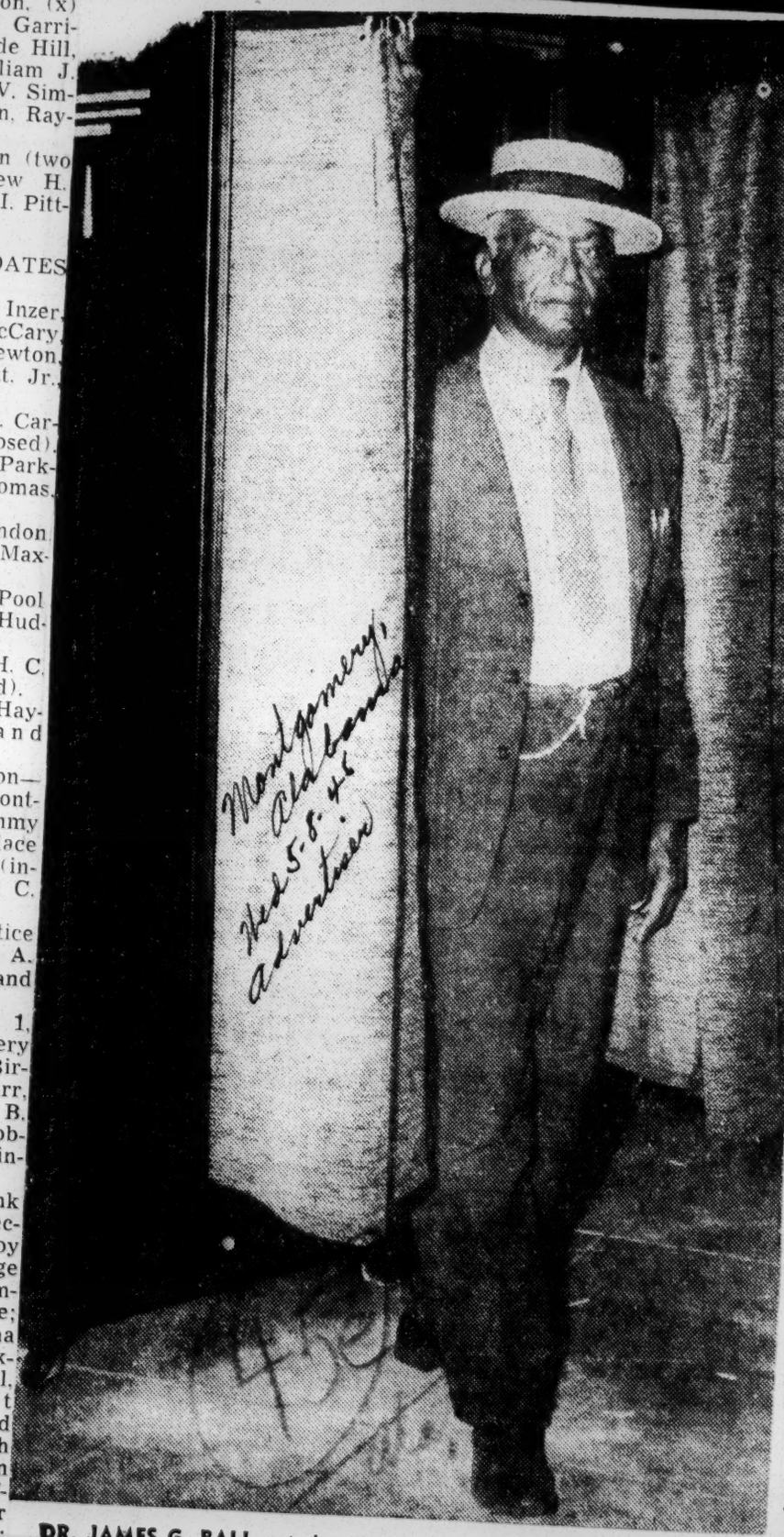
Public Service Commission—Place No. 1, James Perdue, Montgomery (incumbent) and Jimmy Hitchcock, Union Springs; Place No. 2, Clint Harrison, Gallion (incumbent; Ralph W. Adams and C. M. Owen, both of Tuscaloosa.

Supreme Court — Chief Justice Lucien D. Gardner and Justices A. B. Foster, J. Ed Livingston and Davis F. Stakely, all unopposed.

Court of Appeals—Place No. 1, Charles R. Bricken, Montgomery (incumbent), and M. B. Grace, Birmingham; Place No. 2, R. B. Carr, Montgomery (incumbent), and J. B. Atkinson, Clanton; Place No. 3, Robert B. Harwood, Montgomery (incumbent, unopposed).

Congress—First District, Frank Boykin, Mobile (incumbent); Second District, George Grant, Troy (incumbent); Third District, George Andrews, Union Springs (incumbent), and K. C. Tigner, Seale; Fourth District, Sam Hobbs, Selma (incumbent); William C. Irby, Jacksonville, and Mrs. Lolly O'Connell, Anniston; Fifth District, Albert Rains, Gadsden (incumbent), and Joe Starnes, Guntersville; Sixth District, Pete Jarman, Livingston (incumbent), and Edward DeGraffenried; Seventh District, Carter Manasco, Jasper (incumbent); Eighth District, John Sparkman, Huntsville (incumbent); Ninth District, Luther Patrick (incumbent), Hugh DuBose and Laurie C. Battle, all of Birmingham. 5-7-46

Boykin, Grant, Manasco and Sparkman have no opposition.



Montgomery Ala Herald 5-8-46 Democratic primaries

DR. JAMES G. BALL voted yesterday for the first time. He paid $36 back poll taxes in order to be eligible to cast a ballot. Yesterday's balloting was the first in an Alabama primary that had been open to Negro voters. All previous Democratic ballots had carried the word "white" on the ballots.

Seeks Device To Stop Negro Vote

The Call Kansas City Mo. 5-17-46

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (ANP) —Seeking a return to the traditional "white primaries," Alabama last week considered a constitutional amendment to make more stringent vote qualifications in the hope of eliminating Negro votes here.

Before the Negro may vote, in keeping with a supreme court decision outlawing the bar on grounds of race or color, he must register. Qualifications for registration are up for amendment, according to present plan.

The bill, which says that all registrants must "understand and be able to explain" the Constitution, will be voted on in the general election in November.

County boards of registrars will be the sole judges of a prospective voter's qualifications, with their word law unless questioned in court procedure.

The proposed act, although it makes no mention of race, has been announced as "essential to white supremacy" by an Alabama legislator. Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey refers to it as an "effective way of keeping Negroes from voting in primaries in the future." (Pitts)

The proposed amendment has brought some opposition. Richard T. Rives Jr., Montgomery attorney and politician, argues that enactment would "encourage Negroes to go to court to enforce their right to vote," and that court action "inevitably breeds bad feeling between the races." Rives cited such a suit, now pending in the federal court. 6-04-46

The Negro vote in the May 7 Democratic primaries was reported negligible because of several reasons. One was the fact that the state committee's failing to register between then and the end of the month was barred from the primaries by the Feb. 1 deadline on payment of poll taxes. The age span for the poll tax is 21 to 45, with veterans only exempt. 6-14-46

Efforts to repeal the poll tax so far have been of no avail. The legislature blocked a move to abolish the levy during the 1945 season.

Asks Clark To Probe Ala. Vote Brutality

American News N.Y. N.Y.

Thurgood Marshall, NAACP Special Counsel, demanded an investigation into the brutal police beating of Napoleon Rivers in Mobile, Ala., May 6th. Rivers was the latest victim of Southern attempts to keep Negroes from exercising their voting privileges through a program of official terror. Sat.

Mr. Marshall, in a telegram to U. S. Attorney General Tom Clark, stated: 6-1-46

"Napoleon Rivers, respectable citizen Mobile, Ala., severely beaten by Policeman Edward Bartlett at office registrar voters Mobile, Ala., May sixth and is now confined to city hospital severe injuries. Rivers beaten by policeman while seeking to qualify Negro registrants in exercising his civil rights under constitutional laws United States. Bartlett acting as police officer and exerting apparent State authority beat Rivers to prevent him from exercising his rights. Would appreciate immediate investigation. Looking forward to early prosecution under Section 20 U. S. Criminal Code." Sat.

Negro Ballot Ruling Before Top Tribunal

Macon Registrars Seek To Stop Reopening Of Proceedings

A Negro vote suit against members of the Macon County, Ala. Board of Registrars, once dismissed in federal court but later ordered reinstated, has been appealed to U. S. Supreme Court.

Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer who last October granted a dismissal motion by the State of Alabama, said yesterday the registrars had filed a petition for a writ of certiorari seeking to overturn an Appellate Court's order that the case be reopened.

The suit was instituted in Federal Court here by William Plum Mitchell, Macon County Negro charging two members of the Board of Registrars with refusing to register him for voting on the ground of his race or color. This refusal was alleged in the complaint. From these facts it appeared in substance as follows:

The defendants refused to register him (Mitchell) and others, solely because of "race, color and previous condition of servitude." The Negro asked $5,000 damages, a permanent injunction and usage of the defendants, a declaratory judgment against the voting officials and Mitchell went to the U. S. Court of Appeals in Newton, solely on the ground of their Tri-race or color. This refusal was taken pursuant to the policy, custom and usage of the defendants, its machinery, to deprive Negroes of the right to vote in Alabama." Mitchell had no remedy under the law and that, therefore, his complaint lacked jurisdiction.

Kennamer, admitted all of the well-pleaded facts alleged in the complaint. From these facts it appeared in substance as follows:

The defendants refused to register him (Mitchell) and others, solely because of "race, color and previous condition of servitude." The Negro asked $5,000 damages, a permanent injunction and usage of the defendants, its machinery, to deprive Negroes of the right to vote in Alabama." Mitchell had no remedy under the law and that, therefore, his complaint lacked jurisdiction.

The Circuit Court, in its opinion, held that "the State intervened and asked authority to dismiss, as a matter of right to vote in Alabama." The case was remanded to the lower court for "proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion."

Ala. Registrar Quits Board, Afraid of $5,000 Suits

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(NNPA)—J. B. Vines, white, chairman of the Jefferson County, Birmingham Board of Registrars, resigned on Oct. 18, and cited two reasons:

1. Colored people not permitted to register under recent Supreme Court decisions, are filing suits for $5,000 damages.

2. Colored people are registering in such large numbers that they keep the Board in session after hours. Sat. 11-2-46

Suits Pending

Vines said already one suit of $5,000 is pending against him and every other member of the Board; life is too short for him to contend with that kind of situation.

At Mobile, Ala., these suits against registrars who have barred colored people from getting on the rolls have been so frequent that Gov. Chauncey Sparks appointed eight out of ten new registrars and all of them declined.

This emboldened colored people themselves to ask to have three colored registrars appointed.

Fear Black Belt

What riles some Alabamans is that colored persons out-number white five to one in Macon County, for example, where Tuskegee is, and in 17 or 18 other counties in what is called Alabama's black belt. Afro-American

There the white people have the vote and whites have all the county jobs. The Macon County Board of Registrars also resigned recently. Baltimore, Md.

Even in Tuskegee itself, where the institute and the officials own millions of dollars worth of property to a few hundred thousand owned by whites: where 99 per cent of the population is colored even at Tuskegee town, the whites have all the jobs, such as sheriff policemen, coroner, etc. Sat. 11-2-46

Meanwhile, under consideration is the Boswell Amendment, which would deny the franchise to thousands of Alabamans of all classes groups, and stations of life, such as farmers, laborers, trade unionists, ex-service men and women and small business men.

The Amendment calls for the final decisive power as to who shall vote to be vested in the hands of registrars, and eliminates the requirement that registrars accept without question anyone who can prove he owns $300 or more in real or personal property.

TO THE VOTERS OF ALABAMA:

Notwithstanding the criticism which has been directed at our State Democratic Executive Committee from some sources, it is the purpose and intent of our Committee to see to it the people of Alabama are fully advised as to the very great importance of giving their active and vigorous support to the campaign for the adoption of the prposed Amendment to Section 181 of the Constitution of Alabama, known as the Boswell Amendment which amendment will be voted upon at the time of the General Election on Tuesday, November 5th, and will be known as Proposed Amendment Number 4 on the Ballot.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in a far-reaching and precedent shattering opinion has held that any qualified voter, whether he be white or colored, has the legal right to vote in any party Primary supported by State funds. The effect of this drastic decision, reversing the former decisions of our highest Court, is to destroy the White Primary which our Committee, under its slogan of "WHITE SUPREMACY", is pledged to maintain. This Court decision has opened the way to a flood of negro registration and negro domination, at the polls of Alabama,—especially in our Black Belt Counties,—which our present election laws are powerless to prevent.

Section 181 of our Constitution as it now stands contains an obsolete provision permitting a person to register as a voter merely by reason of the fact he or his wife has real or personal property of the assessed value of $300.00. No educational requirements whatsoever are required under our Constitution as it now stands, and a prospective voter does not have to be able to read and write, and it is not even necessary that he know under what form of government he lives, if he has property of an assessed value of $300.00. This was all right back in 1901, when our present constitution was adopted, as at that time practically no one except substantial citizens had as much as $300.00 worth of property assessed to them.

However, in this day and time there are literally thousands and thousands of citizens who have an old, second-hand, rattle-trap automobile assessed at as much as $300.00, who will possess very few of the qualifications which we consider important for a citizen to possess before being permitted to vote. Unless we tighten up our registration laws, we are going to see our poll lists flooded with thousands of voters who have not yet fitted themselves to participate in our government. There are any number of Counties in Alabama's "Black Belt" where within a comparatively few years there will probably be only negro City and County Officials unless we do something to tighten up our registration laws. In many of these "Black Belt" Counties the negroes out-number the white people from five to one to ten to one.

Obviously, neither the State of Alabama nor our State Democratic Executive Committee can defy the Government of the United States. But the State of Alabama, acting within the law, can by action of its people surround the exercise of suffrage in Alabama with such legal safeguards as will protect our State from the veritable flood of Negro registration and negro domination, which the Supreme Court decision has released.

It is not the intent of Proposed

Rule By Minority

The News Birmingham, Ala.

This month's general election in Alabama called out only about half as many voters as did the May Democratic primary. A total of 365,513 votes were cast in the primary. The final figure for the general election of Nov. 5 was 166,006.

That is only about 6 per cent of the total population, or 11 per cent of the population of voting age, or 35 per cent of the number of registered voters. Any way the matter is considered, therefore, the Nov. 5 election represents rule by minority in Alabama.

However, the vote this month was the largest ever cast in Alabama in a general election when a president was not being named, with two exceptions. In 1930, when B. M. Miller, the Democratic nominee, was opposed by Hugh A. Locke, independent, 250,776 votes were polled after one of the warmest campaigns in the state's history. The 1934 general election drew 177,192 votes. Four years ago the vote for governor in the general election drew only 77,627 voters. In 1938 the vote was 131,485. Mon. 11-18-46

The Boswell amendment was in large part responsible for bringing out the comparatively strong vote this time. That is shown in Jefferson County, where the amendment polled 31,932 votes, for or against, a figure that was exceeded only by the 31,939 votes cast in the governor's race. The other amendments drew much smaller totals, the heaviest being on No. 2 (hospital amendment), which polled 26,835 votes.

These figures are disturbing to persons who believe that the best interests of the state call for broadening the electorate and inducing more persons to participate in elections. Fewer than half of the white persons of voting age in Alabama are qualified to vote. More persons should participate in elections. That is not a racial issue. It is much bigger than that.

It is not the most desirable manifestation of democracy in Alabama when only 11 per cent of the persons of voting age determine fundamental constitutional questions.

Registration Suit Reset For Dec. 5

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Negro Wants $5,000 From Ex-Board In Macon

A Negro's complaint that he was denied registration as a voter in Macon County, Ala., solely because of his race is scheduled for a new hearing in Federal Court here on Dec. 5.

Date for reoping of the $5,000 damage suit filed by William P. Mitchell of Tuskegee was announced Monday by U. S. District Judge C. B. Kennamer, whose decision to dismiss the case a year ago was later overturned by the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. Tues. 11-12-46

The petition, originally filed in August, 1945, charges two former members of the Board of Registrars in Macon County with refusing to register Mitchell "solely because of race or color."

In addition to the $5,000 damages, it asks a permanent injunction against the voting officials and a declaratory judgment against what the Negro termed "the policy, custom or usage" of the registrars in denying the ballot to Negroes.

After Judge Kennamer dismissed the suit on the grounds that Mitchell had not exhausted his remedy in State courts, the plaintiff appealed to the Circuit Court and the Appellate body ordered the case returned here for new action.

Later the U. S. Supreme Court refused to review the case.

In its ruling, the appellate tribunal noted that Judge Kennamer dismissed the suit on motion of the State of Alabama and held that the motion itself "admitted all the . . . facts alleged in the complaint." It ordered the suit reopened for "proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion."

Since the suit was filed, the defendants, Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil M. Guthrie, resigned from the Board of Registrars.

Ala. Court Told to Hear Vote Suit

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Supreme Court Returns $5,000 Damage Case

Sat.

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — The United States Supreme Court, in effect, last Monday ordered a lower court to hear a suit challenging the practice of the Board of Registrars of Macon County, Ala., in excluding colored voters from registration. 10-26-46

In declining to review the case, the court sent it back to United Federal Judge Charles B. Kennamer of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

At Montgomery last Monday Judge Kennamer said the litigation would start all over.

State Courts Not Exhausted

William P. Mitchell instituted the suit against two members of the Board of Registrars, but Judge Kennamer dismissed it on the grounds that Mitchell had not exhausted his remedies in State courts.

Mitchell charging the board with refusing to register him because of race, asked $5,000 damages, a permanent injunction against the voting officials, and a declaratory judgment against what he termed the "policy, custom or usage" of refusing to register colored persons.

Negro Group Begins Study Of Constitution

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

MOBILE, ALA., Dec. 19.—(AP)—A Negro group organized to help members of the race qualify for voting privileges under the newly-adopted Boswell Amendment announced today it would hold its first class on the Federal Constitution next Monday night.

President J. J. Thomas of the Negro Voters' and Veterans' Association said the first classes would be small, and confined to association membership, but later they would be thrown open to the general public.

"Several weeks hence others will be permitted to take advantage of the opportunity to better qualify themselves to meet tests to register as voters through the constitution study program," he said. Fri. 12-20-46

Vote Denial Because Of Race Denied By Former Registrars

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Sat. 12-7-46

Taking the stand after a Federal judge ruled against their request for a jury trial, two former members of the Macon County Board of Registrars denied yesterday that they refused to certify a Tuskegee Negro as a voter "solely because of race or color."

Virgil M. Guthrie and Mrs. George C. Wright, defendants in a $5,000 damage suit filed by William P. Mitchell, testified that they applied the same vote qualification tests to Negroes and whites alike, and Guthrie said the complainant was turned down because he failed to complete the examination.

Their testimony was taken during a hearing before U. S. District Judge C. B. Kennamer and came after attorneys for Mitchell, in order to avoid having the case heard by a jury, agreed to accept "nominal" damages instead of the $5,000 originally asked.

Trial Dec. 18

Judge Kennamer set Dec. 18 as the date for trial.

The court's ruling on the jury question followed a motion by Defense Attorney Richard T. Rives of Montgomery asking for a jury trial and seeking to strike from the complaint everything but the matter of monetary damages. The petition also sought an injunction against the voting officials, a declaratory judgement, and a "class action" in behalf of other Negroes.

Judge Kennamer held that a jury would not be impaneled unless the plantiff insisted on damages other than "nominal." Mitchell's attorneys agreed to ask only that.

Decision Withheld

On the other questions, the court ruled against the petition for a class action, and withheld a decision on the injunctive relief and a declaratory judgement until all the evidence is heard.

Guthrie, who said he took Mitchell's application at the board's regular session in July, 1945, testified that the Negro did not comply with a requirement that would-be registrants have a "voucher" sign their application papers.

A "voucher," he said, was a voter known to board members who would attest to the applicant's residence qualifications. Under Alabama law, a voter must have lived in the state two years, in the county one year and in the voting precinct three months.

Voucher Required

The former board member, who resigned after the litigation began in August last year, told the court that all applicants, white and Negro, were required to produce a voucher, and that his own sister and brother-in-law were made to conform to that when they registered while he was in office. The Advertiser

He said Mitchell listed two persons as reference, as required on the application blank, but that neither appeared in his behalf, although he said one of them, G. W. A. Johnson, also a Negro, vouched for several other persons at the same board session.

Both Guthrie and Mrs. Wright testified it was the policy of the board to reject all applications where the printed form was not filed out in full.

Blanks Introduced

Mitchell's application blank was introduced in evidence along with 17 others the defense said were approved during the July, 1945, session, and of the 17, all but seven were for Negroes.

The defendants said those were the only voters certified during the five-day meeting, and Rives emphasized that 10 of them were Negroes. How many Negroes were turned down, the former registrars said they could not tell.

Guthrie and Mrs. Wright insisted they felt Negroes should not be discriminated against and that as far as they recalled, none was ever denied registration "if he had the proper qualifications."

They denied that any questions were asked of Negro applicants that were not propounded to white persons and that they were not required to wait any longer in the board office than members of the white race.

Both testified that they paid little attention to applicants' ability to read and write the U. S. Constitution, one of the qualifications set out in the state's basic law, and Guthrie said:

Made No Difference

"If they answered the questions intelligently and could sign their names, we registered them. It didn't make any difference whether they were black or white." Montgomery, Ala.

As to the property ownership qualification—the State Constitution until last month gave the right of ballot to anyone who possessed tax-paid property worth $300—Mrs. Wright said, "we usually took their word for it. If we doubted it we could look it up in the tax assessor's office."

After the hearing was concluded, Rives said he would renew his demand for a jury trial, contending that his client was entitled to one on the grounds the proceedings are both equitable and legal. Sat. 12-7-46

Mitchell's counsel, Arthur D. Shores and Frederick H. Douglas of Birmingham and Robert L. Carter of New York, attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, attacked the jury request on the issue that the suit was not a matter of law, but strictly one of equity.

Second Time

It was the second time Judge Kennamer has had the suit in his court. After it was filed in August, 1945, the judge, at the motion of the State of Alabama as an intervenor, dismissed the complaint on the grounds that Mitchell had not exhausted his remedy in state court.

Alabama law gives an applicant the right to appeal to state courts if denied registration, and Mitchell took his direct to federal court.

The U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals reversed Judge Kennamer's ruling, however, and ordered the cast returned here for further action. The U. S. Supreme Court refused to review the case, thus in effect upholding the appellate tribunal's decision.

Ala. Gov. Rejects Voting Registrars

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Spurns Tuskegee Unit Plea, Angered by Suit

Sat. 12-19-46

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (NNPA) —Governor Chauncy Sparks said that he had been asked by the Tuskegee Civic Association to consider appointment of qualified colored election registrars, but added that it would never be done "while I am Governor."

The association, Governor Sparks said, asked him to appoint colored persons to replace white members of the Macon County Board of Registrars, all of whom resigned after nearly 2,000 persons congregated around the courthouse on registration day.

Law Suit Pending

The Governor, who goes out of office the first of the year, said, "Boards of registrars should be given judicial powers to protect their members from law suits such as the one now pending against two former Macon County registrants."

In a $5,000 damage suit, filed by William P. Mitchell, pending in the United States Supreme Court against two former board members, he asked for a declaratory judgment against the "policy, custom or usage" of refusing to register minority members because of their color.

Negro Ballot Ruling Before Top Tribunal

Macon Registrars Seek To Stop Reopening Of Proceedings

A Negro vote suit against members of the Macon County, Ala., Board of Registrars, once dismissed in federal court but later ordered reinstated, has been appealed to U. S. Supreme Court.

Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer, who last October granted a dismissal motion by the State of Alabama, said yesterday the registrars had filed a petition for writ of certiorari seeking to overturn an Appellate Court's order that the case be reopened.

The suit was instituted in Federal Court here by William P. Mitchell, Macon County Negro, charging two members of the Board of Registrars with refusing to register him for voting solely because of "race, color and previous condition of servitude."

The Negro asked $5,000 damages, a permanent injunction against the voting officials and a declaratory judgment against what he termed the "policy, custom or usage" of refusing to register members of his race because of color.

The State intervened and asked dismissal, and Judge Kennamer granted the motion on the grounds that Mitchell had not exhausted his remedy under state law and that, therefore, his court lacked jurisdiction.

Mitchell went to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans and the Appellate Tribunal directed that it be taken up again in the court here.

The Circuit Court, in its majority opinion, held that "the motion to dismiss, as a matter of law, admitted all of the well-pleaded facts alleged in the complaint. From these facts it appears in substance as follows:

The defendants refused to register him (Mitchell) and others, when they applied for registration, solely on the ground of their race or color. This refusal was pursuant to the policy, custom and usage of the defendants, acting under color of state authority, to deprive Negroes of the right to vote in Alabama."

The case was remanded to the lower court for "proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion."

Alabama Begins Disfranchisement

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Boswell Law Results in 15 Test Queries

BIRMINGHAM (ANP) — Questions with significance only as a disfranchising device were asked by the Jefferson County Board of Registrars, according to applicants, when the Boswell Amendment went into operation in Alabama, Nov. 18.

The new "tight vote" law requires that an applicant "understand and explain" the United States Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrars, be of good moral character and understand the duties of citizenship under a Republican form of government. Sat. 12-7-46

Few Vote on Law

This "clamp down on the vote" law was put into operation by 35% of the registered voters, 11% of those of voting age, and by 6% of the total vote cast in the May primary in Alabama. Only 166,006 voted on the Boswell Amendment in the general election in November.

Colored and white applicants took the Boswell quiz recently; but the questions can be juggled and asked in such a way as to confuse and trick an applicant. The local NAACP said the list of questions asked by registrars was as follows:

Questions on UN Asked

1. "What is meant by veto power of United Nations?"
2. "Has Byrnes power to veto?"
3. "Name the five great powers."
4. "How are Senators and Representatives elected?"
5. "How are the members of the President's cabinet elected?"
6. "What are the duties of ambassadors?"
7. "What is the purpose of the United Nations?"
8. "How does a bill become law?"
9. "How was this country originated?"
10. "What are the three branches of government?"
11. "What are the qualifications for a member of the House?"
12. "How old must the President be?"
13. "What is meant by a pocket veto?"
14. "How many Associate Justices are on the Supreme Court?"
15. "How are Federal laws made?"

Negro's Suit Against Two Ex-Registrars Dismissed By Judge

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Thurs. 12-19-46

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 19—(AP)—A suit by which a Tuskegee, Ala., Negro sought to win a declaratory judgment against what he said was a registration board's "policy, custom or usage" of refusing to register Negroes as voters was dismissed in U. S. District Court here yesterday.

U. S. Dist. Judge C. B. Kennamer, ruling at the conclusion of a one-day trial, held that the plaintiff, William P. Mitchell, has failed to show that two former members of Macon Couuty Board of Registrars discriminated against him.

Before handing down his ruling, the jurist observed, however, that it is a well-settled law that under the Federal Constitution, "you cannot discriminate against a group because of race or color or previous condition of servitude."

* * *

MITCHELL, IN ADDITION to seeking an injunction and a declaratory judgment against the Macon County board, also asked that damages in his favor be assessed against the two former board members, Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil M. Guthrie.

There was no immediate announcement from Mitchell's attorneys as to whether the verdict, delivered after a non-jury trial, would be appealed.

Judge Kennamer, in finding for the defendants, cited testimony that every applicant for the franchise was required to have a witness vouch for him, and said that Mitchell failed to comply with this regulation.

* * *

ARTHUR D. SHORES, the Negro's attorney, touched on this requirement during his final argument, declaring that it was merely devised for today but was postponed one day beause of the possibility that Judge Kennamer, who has been holding court in Dothan this week, might not be back in time.

Two defendants in a Tuskegee, Ala., Negro's vote registration suit have been subpoenaed to appear in Federal court when the complaint is heard before U. S. District Judge C. B. Kennamer here Friday.

The hearing was originally set in an appeal to the U. S. Court of Appeals, which directed a reopening of the case.

Vote Hearing Begins Friday

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Negro Claims Damages

Thurs. 12-5-46

Two defendants in a Tuskegee, Ala., Negro's vote registration suit have been subpoenaed to appear in Federal court when the complaint is heard before U. S. District Judge C. B. Kennamer here Friday.

The hearing was originally set in an appeal to the U. S. Court of Appeals, which directed a reopening of the case.

Judge Kennamer, who has been holding court in Dothan this week, might not be back in time.

Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil M. Guthrie, defendants in the $5,000 damage suit filed by William P. Mitchell charging he was denied registration as a voter in Ma

con County "solely because of race or color."

Mrs. Wright and Guthrie were members of the county boards of registrars at the time the Negro alleges he was denied registration, but both have since resigned.

Filed In 1945

They were summoned to court by attorneys for Mitchell.

The suit, which also asks a permanent injunction against the voting officials and a declaratory judgment against what the plaintiff terms the "policy, custom or usage" of denying the ballot to Negroes, was first filed in August, 1945.

It was dismisesd by Judge Kennamer on the grounds that Mitchell had not exhausted his remedy in State court, but the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals directed the district judge to reopen the case. Later the U. S. Supreme Court refused to review the proceedings, which in effect upheld the action of the appellate tribunal.

In its decision, the Court of Appeals held that the motion to dismiss, filed by the State of Alabama as an intervenor, "admitted all the . . . facts alleged in the complaint." It remanded the case for "proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion."

An attorney for the defendants, Richard T. Rives, of Montgomery, said he would contend at Friday's hearing that as a result of the Appeals Court's findings, the only question remaining was that of damages. He said he would take the position that the questions of injunctive relief, a declaratory judgment and a class suit in behalf of all Negroes had been ruled out.

Rives said he would demand a jury trial and that counsel for Mitchell opposed this.

one of them. He declared it to be a subterfuge "to get around the registration of Negroes. Apparently fair on its face but administered with an evil eye and an unequal hand." Sat Sat. 12-7-46

In the original suit, Mitchell had asked $5,000 damages, but at a hearing before Judge Kennamer on December 5, his attorneys including Shores and Robert L. Carter, of New York, of the NAACP legal staff, agreed to accept nominal damages in order to avoid a jury trial. Defender 12-28-46

When the suit was first filed in 1945, Kennamer dismissed it on the grounds that the plaintiff has not exhausted his remedy in state courts. Chicago, Ill.

An appeal may be taken to a higher court in the present instance of Judge Kennamer's ruling.

MORE WHITE VOTERS? The News

Democratic State Chairman Gessner McCorvey, Gov. Chauncey Sparks and former Gov. Frank Dixon were successful in selling the majority of the limited Alabama electorate that the Boswell law will keep the Negroes from gaining political power in several of the Black Belt counties. Granting that these leaders are sincere in their endorsement of a measure which makes it mandatory for an Alabama voter, white or Negro, to be able to "understand the Constitution of the United States of America," and thereby keep thousands of Negroes from the polls, what do they propose to do about the disfranchised white people? Birmingham, Ala.

According to George Bender, Ohio congressman-at-large, the poll tax and registration laws disfranchise 25,000,000 Americans. Seven white persons to every three Negroes are barred. It's these non-voting white people that North Alabama residents are particularly interested in having given to them their birthright of citizenship. Wed. 11-27-46

In the general election last week less than 8,000 Cullman County citizens marked ballots. With a population of nearly 50,000, this shows that less than one of five residents in the county voted.

If Mr. McCorvey, Gov. Sparks and Mr. Dixon want to render outstanding service to our state, they will now begin a campaign for more white voters.—Cullman Tribune.

No Discrimination, Says Judge To Negroes Denied Ala. Vote

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 12-28-46

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—The fight of Alabama Negroes to win the right to an unrestricted ballot received a setback last Thursday when Federal District Judge C. B. Kennamer returned a verdict in favor of two former Macon County Board of Registrar officials and ruled that the colored plaintiff was not entitled to damages.

The suit was filed by William P. Mitchell, of Tuskegee, against Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil M. Guthrie, both white, who were charged with systematically preventing Negroes from voting by barring them from registration. It is regarded by the colored group as one of the most uniform methods adopted in the deep South to deny Negroes the ballot. The flagrant practice is widespread in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and other states in this section.

However, in this case the defendants succeeded in "impressing" the federal court that they had not discriminated against Negroes. Judge Kennamer also rejected Mitchell's appeal for a permanent injunction and a declaratory judgment against the "policy, custom or usage" of refusing to register Negroes.

The defendants said that they required every applicant for registration to have a witness vouch for him, and that Mitchell failed to comply with that rule. Further, that the two vouchers whose names the complaint gave the board members when he applied for registration told the court they did not appear before the registrars, and that the board would not certify anyone as a voter unless he appeared with a qualified voter to vouch for him.

Kennamer said in his decision that "it is a well settled law that under the Federal Constitution, you cannot discriminate against a group because of race, color or previous conditions of servitude" but held, however, that Mitchell had failed to show the registrars had resorted to racial discrimination.

Arthur D. Shores, of Birmingham, attorney for the complainant, charged that since the enactment of Alabama's 1901 constitution, "various schemes have been devised to prevent Negroes from voting," and that the voucher requirements imposed on complaints was

Ala. County 80% Negro, Allow 2% to Register

Daily Worker New York, N. Y. Thurs. 12-26-46

A recently concluded law suit brought by William Mitchell, Alabama Negro, against two registrars of Macon County showed that while 22,000 of the county's population of 27,650 were Negroes, less than two percent of them had been registered. Over 47 percent of the white voters were registered in July, 1945.

The suit was dismissed on Dec. 18 by Judge Charles Kennamer of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Alabama, on the ground that the evidence presented showed no discrimination against the plaintiff as an individual.

Ninety-three Negroes and seven whites presented themselves to the registrars during the July period. The whites registered forthwith. Ten Negroes were registered, 23 failed outright, and application blanks for the remaining 60 who attempted to vote wore certified as qualified by Mrs. Wright, the chairman of the registration board.

The registrars failed to place these 60 Negroes on the registration roll, however, giving as an excuse the fact that they had failed to produce the necessary persons to vouch for themselves. Actually, evidence was produced to indicate that vouchers for some of these applicants had presented themselves to the board, but were not permitted to vouch for the Negro applicants. The evidence also showed that any one was permitted to vouch for a white applicant, although the registration board insisted that all Negroes know the person who vouch-

ed for them. 12-26-46

One white witness stated that he had merely given the names of several persons to the registration board who could vouch for him, although he never consulted these people about it and had no idea which of the persons had signed his form in the registration office.

As counsel, the defense had the services of E. C. Boswell, the author of the infamous Boswell Amendment to the Alabama Constitution. It requires applicants for registration to be able not only to read and write any section of the Federal Constitution, but be able to understand and interpret any section to the satisfaction of the registrar—a method of disqualifying otherwise qualified Negro voters.

Defender Chicago Ill. Sat. 6-29-46

Eugene Murphy, chairman of the Birmingham United Registration Committee, addresses committee members concerning funds raised to insert ads in local papers exposing illegal tactics used by members of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars. Tickets were designed to prevent Negroes from qualifying as voters.

Returning to Ala.

The Afro-American 45e

Baltimore Afro-Am. Sat. 11-23-46

ARTHUR A. MADISON, attorney, who two years ago was jailed in Montgomery for waging a campaign for the right of colored citizens to vote in Alabama, left NYC last week to continue the fight. Mr. Madison will take an active part in a campaign for the privilege of the rank and file to register in the present registration which began Nov. 11, and will continue through January, 1947.

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AMERICA REVISITED

The Defender

Battle For Vote Unites Negroes

Chicago, Ill. Sat. 6-29-46

By ENOC P. WATERS JR.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — The southern Negro's struggle for the ballot is universal. Previous apathy and unconcern about issues which did not appeal to the mass of the people, is gone.

Five years ago, Negro teachers themselves could not be united in a fight for equalization of teachers' salaries. Last week in a few days, in this city, Negroes raised more than $1,000 to run large ads in four papers telling of their grievances against the Jefferson county board of Registrars.

Negroes along teeming 4th ave., are intelligently discussing the registration and voting campaign. They are planning to defeat the Boswell amendment, passed by the state legislature and up for referendum in November, which would require prospective voters to interpret sections of the state constitution to qualify. Purpose of the amendment, openly bragged of, is to get around the federal court ruling prohibiting the barring of Negroes from registering and voting in the primaries.

Militancy Increases

That the Negro's militancy increases right along with the opposition,, is shown here in Birmingham and Jefferson county. Whites in attempting to steal Negro's franchise have unwittingly given the registration and voting drive its greatest impetus.

A rigidly controlled number of Negroes have always been permitted to vote, as a condescending favor by whites to a select few. Now that the lily-white primary has been ruled out, the whites have paradoxically begun open opposition to the whole idea of Negro ballots.

Ironically two-thirds of the estimated 3,000 eligible Negro votes in the county qualified before the white primary was illegalized. This is a low number of voters for a Negro population of 179,150 (1940), due to Board of Registrars opposition to the black vote, and the poll tax, which has hopelessly disfranchised many older Negroes. The campaign is being concentrated on young people and veterans, exempt from the poll tax because of military service.

Began In January

The registration campaign began full force last January, when the Southern Negro Youth congress, after several months' effort, marched 100 veterans quietly through Birmingham to the courthouse to register.

The effect was electrical.

White supremacists immediately began to warn of the black threat. White registrars, rejected all but a handful of the veterans. The war was on. Negroes arose in indignation. Young Louis Burnham, of the congress, got affidavits from the rejected vets, turned them over to Arthur D. Shores, Alabama's only active Negro attorney and chairman of the legal redress committee for the local NAACP.

Burnham and Shores, aided by Wilbur R. Hollins, young realtor, and Eugene H. Murphy, insurance official and veteran, capitalized on the indignation to set up the United Registration committee, representing almost every Negro group in the city and county. Their drive, the most intensive ever known, simultaneously touched off a similar drive by whites, and awakened Negroes in other parts of the state.

Macon County Acts

In Macon county, rebuffed veterans gave Shores 25 affidavits. He now has 47 cases pending in the courts against registrars, who refused Negroes, the first group set for hearing June 23 in Jefferson county. During the registration campaign, 10,000 windshield stickers, 25,000 handbills were distributed, while speakers appeared at almost every Negro meeting. At registration clinics in churches, thousands were instructed in how to qualify. More than 10,000 swamped the registrar's office in efforts to qualify.

Only 1,500 of these were allowed to register. The majority were refused because of color. At one time 10 whites were registered for each Negro. Again only one Negro per hour was allowed to fill out a blank, which normally takes a few minutes. Negroes were commonly told their application was "under consideration." That was the last they heard.

Ads Hit Like Bomb

The Negroes demonstrated their small numbers knew how to use the vote. In one precinct Big Jim Folsom, endorsed by the Progressive Democratic council and the CIO's Political Action committee garnered 220 of 241 Negro votes cast. In other contests, although their man lost, Negro votes followed the council recommendation with huge majorities.

The ads protesting the denial of the vote, headed "Qualified to vote but denied the chance" hit the streets like an atom bomb. Comments by whites and colored were encouraging. The ads were an eye opener to some liberal minded but unaware whites, and brought out the fighting spirit of many Negroes.

One significant incident marked the ad campaign. When the $1,000 was raised, one man at the registration committee meeting opposed the ads, saying he knew some "good white folks," and with the money could guarantee "no more trouble with the registrars." He was thrown out of the meeting.

There is a new order among Birmingham Negroes today.

DELAY GRANTED NEGRO VOTE CASE

Answers To Be Filed October 9, New Trial Date Set For Case.

County Attorney Robert Culpepper said this week that a delay had been granted in the case injunction brought by a group of negroes against the Mitchell County Board of Registrars to have their names restored to the voters books of the county.

Mr. Culpepper said that Federal Judge Hoyt Davis had granted permission to return the answer to the injunction petition on October 9th, the original date set for either hearing or trial of the civil action. At the time the attorney's file their answer a new date will be set by the Judge for trial or hearing of the case.

County Attorney Robert Culpepper together with O. B. McElvey, of Pelham, are representing the Mitchell County Board of Registrars in this civil action. Joining together with Early county, Attorney A. B Conger, of Bainbridge, has been engaged to represent jointly the two counties in their suit before the federal court.

Last week Attorney Robert Short, representing the Baker County Board of Registrars, filed the answer for that county with the court and asked that the court dismiss the case on the grounds that none of the charges were true, that hearings had been conducted, voters notified, and purging of the list accomplished strictly according to law. They also pointed out that one of the defendants named in the petition was not a member of the Board of Registrars.

Worth County, the fourth county named in the joint civil action brought by the Negroes, likewise has filed an answer through an Albany attorney and asked that the suit be dismissed on the grounds tht the charges in the petition are false. Worth county represents the action of their board of registrars to be strictly according to the state laws and no basis for the suit can be found.

WAY WITH STUBBORN PREJUDICE

The Birmingham, Ala. News: 10-2-46

To the Editor of The News:

It was with delighted surprise I read the letters in "Voice of the People" last Thursday. I went on to read all the editorial page

It does my heart good to see these young soldiers waking up to the fact the South needs to be more democratic and more progressive. Stubborn prejudice has held her back too long already. Let's not give away our liberty!

Congratulations for your unbiased stand!

Yankees!

M. L. EDWARDS.

Warrant City, Ala.

expressing my views. James P. Phillips, III's letter reminded me of a conversation between my husband's brother and cousin.

Cousin: "I did purty good on the debate; and was surprised to find it was over, and back to teacher jumped on me after it was over, and I told her, 'Didn't nobody ask us, or them either, if we understood the constitution 'fore we were drafted; and if they're good enough to sleep, eat and fight with us over there, they're good enough to vote with us here.'"

Brother-in-law: "You're dang tootin' they are; I'll take them any day in place of them

Macon Registrars Resign; Call Position 'Hot Potato'

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala. Fri. 10-4-46

TUSKEGEE, ALA., Oct. 3 —(AP)— Resignations of all members of the Macon County Board of Registrars were disclosed today as a result of what one of them termed a "hot potato," but in Montgomery the Governor's office said none of them have been accepted.

Tuskegee is the county seat of Macon County.

The Governor's Secretary, George Bliss Jones, said letters of resignation were received from each member of the three-man board in June.

"Technically, however," he said, "there is no vacancy on the board because the State Board of Appointment has not accepted any of the resignations."

Don't Like Job

G. A. Smith, one of the last members of the board, said "folks down here just don't like the job" and declined to amplify the statement.

(Records in the Governor's office showed four persons have been appointed to the board since August, 1945, when William T. Mitchell, a Negro, filed a $5,000 damage suit against two of the board members.)

In the suit, which is now pending before the U. S. Supreme Court, Mitchell charged the registrars with refusing to register him "solely because of race or color."

The board members named in the litigation, Virgil M. Guthrie and Mrs. George C. Wright, both of Tuskegee, resigned shortly afterward. The third member of the original board named in 1943, W. W. Edwards, had not been replaced when the suit was instigated.

Smith, one of the three registrars who resigned in June, explained that he agreed to serve on the board only "to clean up a bottleneck" of war veterans who wanted to qualify as voters.

He said he was asked to serve on the board by Rep. Henry Neill Segrest of Macon County and did so for "about two months." During this time he estimated about 25 qualified voters were added to the voting list.

The other two members of the board, J. J. Jolley of Chesson and S. W. Tally of Auburn, could not be reached for comment.

A spokesman for the State Board of Appointment said members of the board (Chauncey Sparks, State Auditor John Brandon and Agriculture Commissioner Joe Poole) are attempting to find properly qualified persons who will agree to serve on the board.

The Negro's suit against the former registrars went to the Supreme Court of Appeal from a ruling by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans.

The Appellate Court ordered the suit reopened by Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer at Montgomery, who previously had dismissed it on grounds his court lacked jurisdiction.

The Advertiser

In his suit, Mitchell also sought a permanent injunction against the registrars and a declaratory judgment against what he referred to as the "policy, custom or usage" for refusing to register members of his race because of color.

Montgomery, Ala.

Judge Kennamer dismissed the petition at the request of the State of Alabama, which intervened, contending that Mitchel had not exhausted his rights in state courts.

Fri. 10-4-46

When the Appellate tribuna ordered the case re-opened in Federal District Court, the stat then asked the U. S. Suprem Court for a writ of certiorari t overrule the Appellate tribunal verdict.

Beating Victim In Alabama Fined $150

The Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 7-20-46

By FRED ATWATER

MOBILE, Ala. — Terrorism against Negro voters was given the green light here last week, when 74-year-old police brutality victim, Napoleon Rivers, was fined $150 and costs in Recorder's Court on charges filed by Policeman Edward Bartlett, his assailant.

The aged Rivers, a retired contractor, who suffered a fractured skull and a broken jaw when he was clubbed at the Board of Registrars office by Bartlett, was found guilty on charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

20 Defense Witnesses

More than 20 Negro and white citizens testified for the defense in the two and a half hour hearing. Only two witnesses appeared for the prosecution. They were Milton Schnell, chairman of the Board of Registrars and one of his women aides. Courtroom spectators gasped when Judge Norvelle R. Leigh III, widely known for anti-Negro rulings, announced the fines. Defense attorneys, C. M. A. Rogers and D. R. Coley, both white, immediately filed notice of appeal.

Beaten During Campaign

Rivers was struck down and beaten by Bartlett, May 6, during the primary election campaign. At the time the aged gentleman, one of Mobile's most progressive citizens, was vouching for Negro war veterans attempting to register. He asked permission of Bartlett, who was on duty at the time, to go into the registrars' office to speak to another voter who was acting as a reference. The policeman refused him in an abusive manner, according to witnesses. When Rivers paused in the corridor to speak to a minister who was seated near the segregated line of Negro applicants witnesses stated that Bartlett seized him and shoved him toward an exist where a long line of whites was waiting. Bartlett clubbed the feeble old man when the latter asked him not to tear his clothes.

Admits Attack

Bartlett admitted that he struck Rivers in the stomach, adding that the aged man made a motion as if to strike him. It was then that he struck the blows which fractured Rivers' skull and jaw, Bartlett said.

Schnell in testifying for the prosecution, stated that the dignified old man was insolent and abusive to the policeman. His woman aide corroborated her boss' statement.

Witness Disqualified

James Dial, Negro eyewitness, who overheard Schnell goad Bartlett into striking Rivers was disqualified as a witness by city attorney Harry Seale. Prominent white character witnesses called to the stand spoke highly of Rivers. Obviously disturbed by the large number of citizens sympathizing with Rivers, Judge Leigh told defense attorneys, "This is an ordinary case, (but) for some reason it has some notoriety. We have many such cases every month." He told attorneys to be brief as possible because of a "heavy docket."

Rivers, who has not completely recovered from the terrible beating given him by Bartlett appeared very weak throughout the hearing.

There is a great deal of resentment to the biased court decision here, and many persons declare that evidence given by Negro and white eyewitnesses should have sent Bartlett to jail for assault with intent to murder.

Chicago, Ill.

Tell It To Old Grandma

EDUCATIONAL TEST FOR VOTING

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

Please allow me the space in Grandma's column to reply to Allie Sansom who took me to task for advocating an educational test for all applicants for registration to vote in this state. I think Mr. Sansom's letter appeared on Oct. 10th and my letter a few days earlier.

I want Mr. Sansom to know that I am stronger in my belief that this test should be given to all prospective voters than ever. And that I also claim there is no excuse for ignorance or illiteracy in the State of Alabama in this day and time, for schools are available to all, and any one, no matter how hard they have to work or how poor they are, can acquire a primary—or as it is called today—"A Grammar School education." An ignorant or illiterate person is out of step with events in this day and time, and regardless of his honesty he should not be allowed to vote even if he is a property owner, for the simple reason that he refuses himself an education which is paid for by taxation. We will have to impose an educational test some day—sooner or later—why not begin now? The illiterate voter always has to call on someone to inform him of the issues during a political campaign, or find out who is the best man to vote for, and is more likely than not to go to some smooth and fast-talking political crook for his information and thereby vote against his own interest. I have seen a lot of this kind of work. Montgomery, Ala.

So many of the people of poor education cannot or will not seek information from honest and well informed people. I do not think that a person guilty of buying votes should be allowed to vote or run for office. I think he should be, before allowed to stand for office, required to make a solemn oath, that he had never sold his vote.

To my mind, the person who will buy votes or sell his own vote, is the lowest type of a human being on earth. Nothing evil or unlawful is beyond them if they think they can get by with it. Sat. 10-26-46

ROY L. THORNTON

Three Notch, Ala.

But This Is No Remedy

Few, if any, Alabamians would contend that the present situation in this state with respect to the registration of voters is wholly satisfactory.

There are very real problems in this phase of our political life. In some respects these conditions are bad.

On the one hand, there is the fear that great numbers of voters really not adequately qualified for suffrage will get on the poll lists.

On the other hand, there is the insistence that many really qualified citizens are not being admitted to registration.

This makes for tension, fear and a dangerous state of controversy.

* * *

The resignation of the Macon County registrars, followed by that last week of Dr. J. B. Vines, chairman of the Jefferson County Board of registrars, testifies to the seriousness of the situation from one angle.

Gov. Sparks, in asking Dr. Vines to reconsider, declared that he agrees that "we need to strengthen our registration laws and to give the registrars judicial authority." But the pressures and problems confronting registrars emerge, of course, from a very deep feeling among Negroes that fair and constitutional registration procedures have not been consistently followed. In his letter to Dr. Vines, Gov. Sparks declared: "It may be we have been negligent in the past in not extending gradual franchise to qualified Negroes."

* * *

Obviously there are two distinct aspects of the dissatisfaction with the present situation. The proposed Boswell amendment is no solution of the problem in either aspect.

We have no doubt that it would be declared unconstitutional. It would greatly intensify the dissatisfaction among Negroes and consequently would increase the tensions and dangers in the total situation. It would add new dangers of abuse in the exercise of the wide authority of registrars. This is no remedy at all. It would only make a bad situation worse.

But neither will rejection of the amendment meet all the problems. It would only eliminate the dangers of a bad way of dealing with those problems. Those are very real dangers, and it is very important, in our opinion, that the amendment be rejected. But if it is, there will still remain the problem of strengthening our registration system and making it more just.

The Supreme Court's decision which has aroused so much concern held that Negroes could not be barred from primaries merely because of color. Gov. Sparks speaks of "extending gradual franchise to qualified Negroes." Obviously there is nothing in the Supreme Court decision which throws open the way to registration without reference to qualifications. We believe the fears of mass registration of unqualified voters under present constitutional provisions are exaggerated. But that does not mean that we regard present provisions and procedures as satisfactory.

Indeed, the whole situation calls for thorough reexamination. Defeat of the Boswell amendment might well be followed by such a resurvey at the instance of the Legislature.

WELL, WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

Being young and inexperienced, I can not understand why my neighboring registrars are resigning from their public duties. Please help me through this trying period.

Do these resignations mean that we have lost our endurance, initiative and courage? Do they mean that we face the end of white supremacy unless changes in our laws are made? Or are they a means to an end?

Is it possible for one's courage to seep out overnight? Is it possible for the white man's leadership to crumble without cause? Do our white citizens of the Black Belt no longer have the intelligence to protect their own interests? Montgomery, Ala.

Grandma, if you would only lend me some of your serenity, foresight and acumen, so that I could better judge for myself these questions, I would be very grateful.

WARREN A. SEDBERRY.

Box 85
University, Alabama.

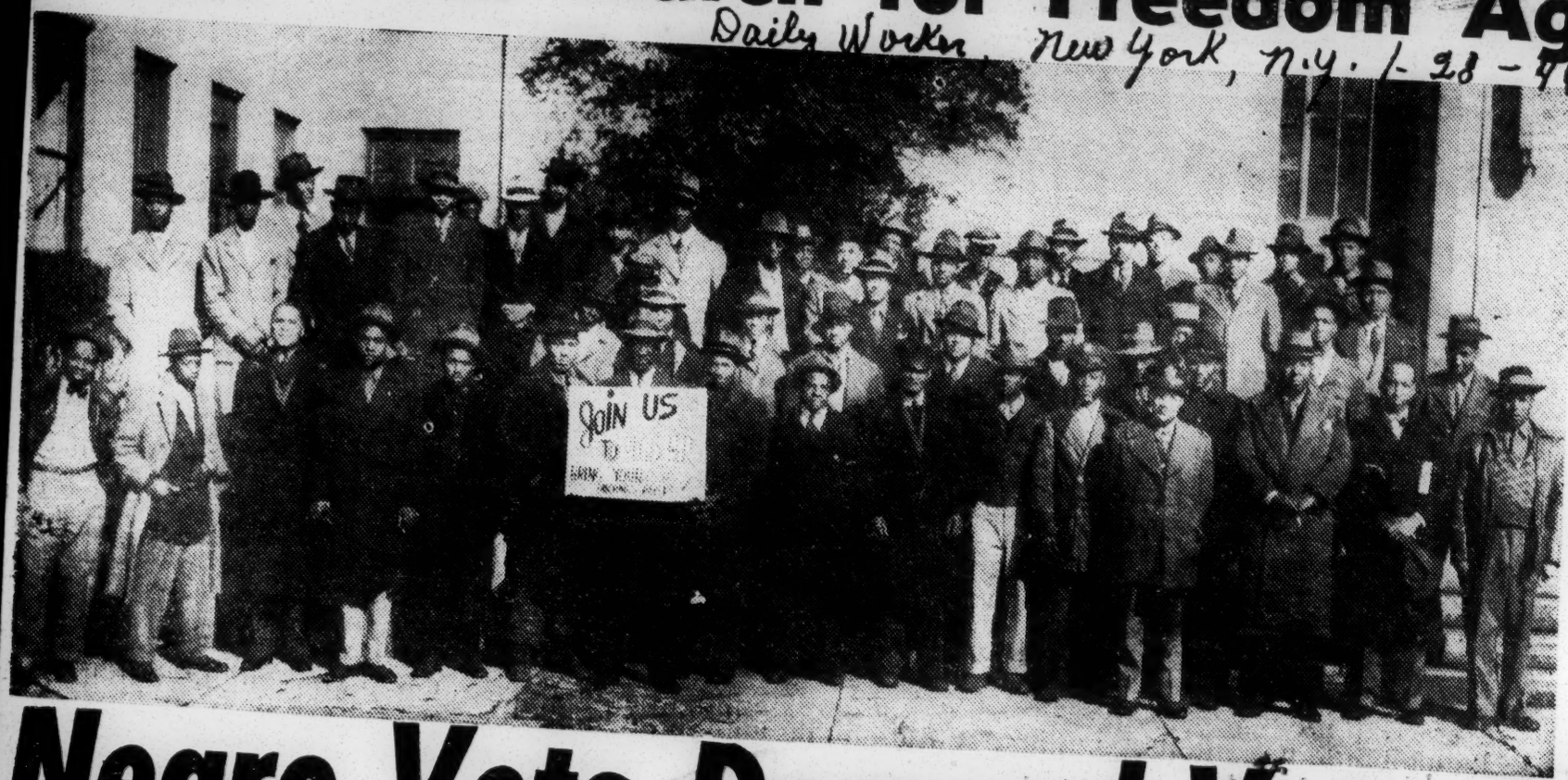
Tues. 10-29-46

45e 1946

Alabama

These Vets March for Freedom Again

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y. 1-28-46



AN HISTORIC PICTURE: Negro vets in Birmingham protest, mass on the steps of the Jefferson County Courthouse. They paraded through the main streets of Birmingham before going to the Board of Registrars to demand that they be registered as voters. The lily-white board turned them down. Second from right, front row, is Louis Burnham, organizational secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, which organized the demonstration.

Negro Vets Demand Vote in Ala.

MARCH ON BIRMINGHAM POLL BOARD

Daily Worker New York

Special to the Daily Worker

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Jan. 25. — One hundred Negro World War II veterans marched on the Jefferson County Courthouse here last Wednesday to demand that they be registered as voters.

Their demand was rejected by the Board of Registrars.

The contingent marched through the main streets of this city with large placards advertising their demands for equal rights. Heading the group were Captain H. C. Terrell, US Army chaplain on terminal leave, and Henry O. Mayfield, Southern Negro Youth Congress Veterans committee chairman. Some of the slogans were: "Veterans Join Us to Register! Bring Your Discharge Papers!"

Shortly after the group arrived at the registration place, two MP's escorted Captain Terrell to the military police station in the basement. They informed him they had received complaints that he was leading a protest political demonstration.

1-26-46

They warned the chaplain "not to use the Army uniform for any political purposes." When Capt. Terrel pointed out that the purpose of the movement was part of the 10-day registration period sponsored by the SNYC and was aimed at increasing the number of registered voters as well as to stimulate the interest of Negro veterans in government, he was released.

The treatment accorded the Negro veterans who sought to register with their discharge papers, were typical of the "white supremacy board of registrars.

Jesse L. Dennis, proud wearer of the Bronze star and Phillipine Liberation ribbon and star was asked: "What is the government?" When he answered "The government is the people" he was rejected and told to try again in April—the next registration period.

Veteran after veteran was turned down for refusal to "interpret the U. S. Constitution." Alabama law merely required ability to read or write as a condition of registration. Typical quetsions asked by the three-man board are: "What is the constitution made of? Can you read the Constitution? How does the US operate? How many departments are there in the U. S. Government? What does Congress consist of? How does a man get to be President?

Louis E. Burnham, SNYC organizational secretary, announced that the Veterans Committee will promptly file appeals in the circuit court **"for every veteran whose citizenship is being denied by the fascist-like practices of the white-supremacy board of registrants."**

He further stated: **"The question involved is whether men who fought to save this democracy shall have the right to vote in it. We expect that white veterans with whom Negroes shared the battle overseas will join us in this fight on the home front."**

1-26-46

Among the GIs who have already authorized the SNYC Vets committee to file appeals in their behalf are: John Jones, Pacific Theatre veteran with 22 months overseas service; Leonard Cook, just arrived in the US from Okinawa after 32 months in the Pacific; Fred Douglass McCray, Marine Corps veteran of the battles of Saipan and Iwo Jima; John A. Forrest with three bronz battle stars for the campaigns of Naples-Foggia, Rome, Arno and North Appenines. S. T. Jennis, a coal miner hospitalized for six months during his 22 months of service.

White employes at the county building jammed the windows and officials, including Sheriff Holt McDowell, gathered in animated groups as the veterans massed on the courthouse for a picture. Above the ex-soldiers on the facade of the building was inscribed the quotation of Thomas Jefferson **"Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion."**

As the veterans left the courthouse determined to continue the fight, one of the vets was heard to remark: **"They didn't ask us all those questions when we were drafted!"**

Accompanying the group were E. O. McKaine, field representative, and Malcolm C. Dobbs, Ala. Sec'y of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Rev. J. L. Ware, pastor of Trinity Church John W. Goodame pastor, Sixth Ave. Baptist Church and W. Wilson, Shiloh Baptist Church.

Throng Crowding Registrar's Office

Throngs crowded the office of the Montgomery County Board of Registrars Monday, in fact the largest one day crowd in the history of the Board and there were many Negroes, openly avowed CIO members, and scores of ex-soldiers, more than 250 asking for registration during the day.

In many store windows in Montgomery and in the daily newspapers and over the radio, notices have called the attention of would-be voters to the registration deadline Feb. 1. The cards in the store windows and on telephone and other poles are signed by "The Alabama Committee". That means the Alabama Committee for the Southern Welfare Conference.

It is learned that registration in Montgomery County has been very heavy, comparatively speaking, for the last thirty or more days. Most of those appearing have been avowed CIO members or ex-soldiers. Some Negroes have asked for registration.

Unless conditions change since it was announced that the May primary will be open to Negroes, the rush on the Board of Registrars is expected to continue.

If the voters of Alabama adopt the Boswell amendment in the November general election, the Board of Registrars will have to eliminate the 300 dollar property qualification for voting and will have to determine to some extent the intelligence of those applying for the certificate of registration.

Negro Registration Heavy In Mobile

Montgomery, Ala.

MOBILE, ALA., Jan. 15.—(AP) —Twelve Negroes were registered as qualified voters today as the registration seekers in that group continued to appear before the year-old specification that only white persons can vote in the party's primaries.

But at the same time the committee endorsed and urged voters to ratify an amendment to the State Constitution in the general election next November that would limit voting privileges to those who met certain "qualifications," among them the ability to read, write and interpret the registration seekers in that group moved a 75-United States Constitution. This would undoubtedly exclude many Negro voters.

The committee also endorsed a resolution setting up qualifications for candidates for State offices, but leaving out the customary "white primary" phrase.

Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey said that the resolution was made necessary by the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Texas case, holding that Negroes could not be barred from State primaries solely because of race.

Negro Voters' Ban Lifted in Alabama

ATLANTA, Jan. 12—(UP) The Alabama Democratic Executive Committee today removed a

Permit Negroes to Vote In Alabama and Georgia

By The Associated Press.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 12 —The State Democratic Executive Committee voted today to open party primaries in Alabama for the first time to qualified Negro voters.

Mobile County board of registrars in what Chairman Milton Schnell described as "unusually large" numbers. 1-16-46

The board chairman said the negroes now seeking to get their names on the list of those eligible to cast ballots in the coming state elections are school teachers and returning servicemen. Many in the latter category he asserted, were attending Negro colleges before they entered the armed forces. 1-16-46

Four of some 30 Negroes who sought to register today were rejected after taking written examinations to test their ability to read and understand the United States constitution, Schnell reported, adding that many of the group could not be reached before the office closed for the day.

Negroes who are college graduates are not required to take the examination, but any white person or Negro whose ability to read and understand the national constitution is in question must pass the test, Schnell said.

The chairman expressed the view that when Negro school tachers of the county have completed their efforts to register, only returning servicemen will remain among the group of Negroes aspiring to gain the voting privilege.

Schnell attributed the pickup in Negro registration efforts to the action of the State Democratic Executive Committee in opening its primary elections to qualified Negro voters, and also to the poll tax exemption granted ex-servicemen.

City Wonders Where Embryo Voters Will Go

This Montgomery Advertiser

4,000 New Ones Posing Large Question Mark For Primary In May

1-29-46

By ATTICUS MULLIN

An intriguing question in political circles is "What voting attitude will the approximately 4,000 new voters of Montgomery County take in the May primary?

When the Montgomery Board of Registrars closes books at 4 o'clock Thursday afternoon of this week, it is expected that somewhere around 4,000 names will have been added to the qualified voter list since the last primary in 1944.

Since the Board of Registrars started a new session after the middle of October it is believed that the records of Clerk Allen will show nearly 3,000 registrations. And courthouse officials believe that there were at least 1,000 registrations before that period.

As the writer has said on other occasions many of the people who have applied for registration openly expressed themselves as CIO adherents. These included soldiers just returned from the war as well as civilians. Five or six hundred Negroes have applied for registration. And it is learned that some of them have qualified for registration and will vote in the Democratic primary of May if they are willing to vote under the Democratic rooster and under his crowing words "White Supremacy."

A reformer won for Mayor of New Orleans by a majority of less than 5,000. There was a trifle more than 18,000 new registrants in New Orleans and it is evident that the new voters voted for the reformer by a large majority. Now, the question is "For whom will the 4,000 new voters in Montgomery cast their ballots?" That is a puzzling question for the politicians.

But whether the politicians like it or not, these 4,000 new voters may be the difference between defeat and victory for many a candidate in the forthcoming primary. And don't forget that other counties have had new registrations in the same population proportion. 1-29-46

MOBILE NEGROES SEEK SUFFRAGE

MOBILE, Ala., Jan. 14—(AP)—Chairman Milton Schnell reported today that more than 30 Negroes appeared before the Mobile County Board of Registrars here today seeking to qualify as voters.

Schnell said the number was "unusually large." He attributed the pickup to the action of the State Democratic Executive Committee Saturday in Montgomery in opening its primary elections to qualified Negro voters.

All of the applicants were given a written examination testing their ability to read and comprehend the United States Constitution and Schnell said that only one of three applicants whose papers had been graded qualified as a registered voter.

The tests require about an hour and a half, he said.

In the group of Negroes were several veterans. Under a 1945 state law, veterans are exempted from paying the state poll tax but must meet registration requirements.

Schnell said that Negroes and whites alike, who had little educational background, were given the Constitution test.

Present registration requirements in Alabama are, he said, that the applicant be able to read and understand any section of the Federal Constitution; that he reside in the county one year, in the state two years and in the ward three months; that he be 21 years old and own real or personal property valued at $300.

Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of the State Executive Committee estimated recently that only 275 of the approximately 19,000 registered voters in Mobile County were Negroes.

Feb. 1 is the registration deadline.

Negro War Veterans March On Courthouse To Register To Vote

Birmingham Herald

Birmingham, Alabama

A number of Negro war veterans, including members of a group of about 50 which marched through downtown streets to the Courthouse only to find they were unable to file voting applications because of long lines already formed there, reappeared today at the office of the Board of Registrars.

Military police yesterday took a Negro Army captain, identified as H. C. Terrell, out of the registration line. Capt. Charles Lasser, assistant provost marshal for Birmingham, said he had warned the Negro that "it was against Army regulations for anyone to use an Army uniform for any political activities." 1-16-46

Terrell was one of the leaders of the group and was identified by Capt. Lasser as an Army chaplain now on terminal leave.

As the group marched on the courthouse, he carried a placard reading: "Join Us to Register—Bring Your Discharge Papers."

The group paused on the courthouse steps to have its picture taken by a Negro photographer before joining the voting line inside the building. There was no disturbance reported as they stood in line until employes of the Board of Registrars informed them that the office was crowded to capacity and they already had more applications than they would be able to handle before the office closed at 4:30 p.m.

Separate lines were formed by white and Negro applicants.

The voting registration period opened yesterday by the board of registrars, of which J. B. Vines, is chairman, will continue through Jan. 31. Board members said that "more than a dozen" Negroes had been accepted as voters yesterday morning. 1-25-46

* * *

LEWIS BURNHAM, ANOTHER LEADER of the delegation, who is Birmingham secretary for the Southern Negro Youth Congress, estimated that "15 out of 100" Negro voting applicants were being turned down by the registrars. Burnham, himself a registered voter, said that he expected all of the group which he headed to be accepted.

The organization expects to file Circuit Court appeals, Burnham said, in those instances in which applicants have been turned down because of their inability to interpret the constitution. Burnham said that his group is opposing ratification of the Boswell amendment which would make interpretation of the constitution a requisite for voting.

NEGRO VETS ASK VOTE PRIVILEGE

Birmingham Ala.

Birmingham Age Herald

Parading through downtown streets on their way to the courthouse, a group of about 50 Negro war veterans appeared yesterday afternoon at the County Board of Registrars' office, but few of them were able to file voting registration applications before the office closed for the day because of long lines already formed there.

A Negro Army captain, who was identified as H. C. Terrell and who had been one of the leaders of the veterans' delegation, was taken into custody by military police. Later he was released by Capt. Charles Lasser, assistant provost marshal for Birmingham, who said he had warned the officer that it was "against Army regulations for anyone to use an Army uniform for any political activities."

On their way to the courthouse, the Negroes carried a placard reading: Join Us To Register — Bring Your Discharge Papers."

White and Negro voters formed separate lines as they waited to file their voting applications.

The registration period opened yesterday by the Board of Registrars will continue through Jan. 31.

Members of the board, of which J. B. Vines is chairman, reported that "a number" of Negro war veterans had been accepted as voters prior to the appearance of the group. 1-24-46

Another leader of the delegation, Lewis Burnham, who is Birmingham secretary for the Southern Negro Youth Congress, estimated that the board was rejecting "15 out of 100" Negro war veteran applicants. Burnham himself a registered voter, said that he expected all of the group which he headed to be accepted. Birmingham Ag.-Herald

Burnham said it was planned to file appeals in Circuit Court in those instances in which applicants were turned down because they could not interpret the constitution. He said that his organization is opposed to the Boswell amendment, which would require interpretation of the constitution as a voting requisite.

Mobile Negroes Seek Voting Qualification

The Birmingham News

Birmingham, Ala.

MOBILE, Ala., Jan. 15 — (AP) — More than 30 Negroes went before the Mobile County Board of Registrars yesterday seeking to qualify as voters. The number was described as "unusually large" by the board's chairman, Milton Schnell.

The applicants were given a written examination testing their ability to read and understand the United States Constitution. The tests require about one hour and a half, Schnell said. 1-15-46

Schnell explained that both Negroes and whites who had little educational background were given the tests.

Alabama Opens Primaries To Race

Journal - Guide

THE Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee, in the light of the United States Supreme Court decision, outlawing the infamous "white primary,' rendered in the notorious Texas case, last week voted to open party primaries in the state for the first time to qualified Negro voters.

At the same time, the committee unanimously endorsed a proposed amendment designed to tighten voter registration requirements by abolishing the constitutional provision that ownership of $300 worth of property qualifies a person to register, and substituting a provision that would require prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" instead of merely to read the constitution. Norfolk, Va.

In reference to state elections, the Alabama Democrats have decided to eliminate the customary phrase, "white primary," which has been so effectively used to bar Negroes from voting in the state, but to have incorporated into the constitution the phrase 'understand and explain" is a literary test which must be satisfactorily met by the prospective registrant. 9-19-46

The proposed amendment, to be voted on in the general election in November, if adopted, and there is every indication that it will be, unless surrounded by provisions which have not yet been made clear, is subject to ready employment as a vehicle to bar Negroes from voting, or at least holding the electorial strength to an insignificant minimum.

In fact the action of the committee seems to indicate that Alabama Democrats fear that with their elections no longer labeled "white primaries," the constitutional provision that ownership of $300 worth of property qualifies a person to register, would prove to be easily surmountable by the masses, hence the proposal for an "understand and explain" the constitution test.

The committee has voted to leave off the "white primary," but there is nothing in its action to convince anybody that it is converted to the idea of the moral rightness of the Supreme Court decision.

As the Journal and Guide said editorially in our issue of Dec. 22, in commenting on suffrage reforms proposed for Virginia:

"With a reasonable and fairly administered literacy test there can be no quarrel." But a test that places within the discretion of the registrar the determination of the correctness of one's understanding and interpretation is not exactly a fair test.

To "understand and explain" the constitution of Alabama, or any other state for that matter, would be more than a literacy test. It would be a test of legal scholarship, and one in which the most able constitutional lawyers are perenially finding themselves at odds. Strictly administered, such a test would disfranchise more than half of Alabama's present white voters, many of whom are the individuals that would be designated to pass upon the voter's ability to understand and explain the constitution.

Montgomery, Ala.

M. E. D. NIXON, President

Sunday's editorial in Sen. The forthright editorial in Sen. tion (Feb. 3, 1946) is a masterpiece which gives a straightforward approach to a widespread and gathering problem. A harmonious approach to such problems is desired for your by all intelligent citizens. The Negro citizens have nothing to gain of the franchisement of the United States. Any inflammatory speech or ar-

FROM N.A.A.C.P.

Editor, The Advertiser: Please accept the commendation of the Montgomery Branch N.A.A.C.P. liberal stand on the franchisement Negro citizens of Alabama and the United States. 2-8-46

Alabama

AND NOW COMES ALABAMA

Atlanta (Ga.) Daily World

Since the U. S. Supreme Court opened the "white man's exclusive" Democratic primary to Negroes in Texas two years ago there has been a gradual reformation of political apathy toward Negroes in most of the southern states. 1-18-46

Perhaps much of this can be credited to the fact that when Negroes did vote as Democrats in Texas, in large numbers in Arkansas at the same time and late last year in one section of Georgia, the declaration of long standing among certain elements of white people that civil and racial strife would result was put to the lie.

In 1945 Florida and Georgia, by court suits, were compelled to temper their restrictions against Negro Democrats, bringing to four the number of southern states which have enfranchised Negroes within two years. But now comes Alabama with a plan which extends the reformation to 1946. Just now Alabama is considering opening the Democratic books and primary to Negroes provided they take the pledge to support nominees of the primary in the subsequent election - the pledge required of white party members. 1-18-46

It could be that Alabama is considering this action out of the "bigness" of her heart but it would rather seem that the series of incidents from that state in recent months make it clear that soon Negroes will crash down the walls and their voting as Democrats is inevitable. It could even be that Alabama Democrats fear the uniting and rising up against them of Negroes who would concentrate on the general election and, wtih alliances, nullify effects of the primary.

Whatever the reason,, a giant welcome is extended Alabama. Left now in an ever decreasing membership are, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana white Democrats.

Ala. Paves Way For Negro To Vote

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Georgia

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS)— In conformance with recommendations by party leaders, Alabama democrats abolished the traditional "white' primary, Saturday, paving the way for Negroes otherwise qualified by law to vote in party elections. 1-18-46

Gessner T. McCorvey, committee chairman of Mobile urged that the white primary be discontinued to meet the conditions set out in a decision of the United States Supreme Court and the executive committee went on record as favoring the adoption of more stringent requirements for registration.

The proposed amendment would require the applicant for registration to be able to understand any section of the Constitution, as well to read it as now required, and would eliminate a $300 property ownership clause.

Four candidates for governor and several others for lesser officers have filed formal declarations for the May 7 primary.

21 Negro Applicants Seek Jury Verdict On Vote Restriction

Birmingham News

Alabama

Fri 2-22-46

Alleging their registration applications had been denied by the County Board of Registrars, 21 Negro war veterans yesterday filed appeal suits in which they asked that Circuit Court juries determine whether they are qualified to vote.

Jury trials were demanded in each of the cases, which were filed by Arthur D. Shores, Negro attorney, under a section of the 1940 Alabama code which permits an appeal to Circuit Court, where "qualifications to register may be determined by a jury."

* * *

THE SUITS were directed against Dr. J. B. Vines, Mrs. Eva Whitfield and R. J. Creel as members of the Board of Registrars.

It is alleged in the complaints that the Board of Registrars denied applications of the 21 Negroes when they appeared to register on Jan. 24. The plaintiffs further allege that they are able to read and write in the English language any section of the constitution and are otherwise qualified as voters.

The applicants, according to the complaints, read sections of the constitution when they appeared before the board and presented their discharge certificates from the armed services, but the applications still were denied. Presentation of the discharge certificate permits veterans to claim a waiver of poll tax.

THE 21 PLAINTIFFS are as follows: Forrest A. Hawkins, 282 Ninth Avenue, North; Eddie Crum, 310 South 63rd Street; Cleveland Hatten, Jr., 845 North Second Street; Paul Baynes, 623 South 15th Street; Henry O. Mayfield, 618 Second Street, West; John A. Forrest, 353 16th Avenue, North; Emmett Reed, 517 North 66th Street; Lewis Tucker, 1015½ North 19th Street; Henry C. Newell, 517 Bessemer Avenue, Bessemer; S. G. Lewis, 4 Third Avenue, South; Clifford Davis, 3334 27th Avenue, North; David L. Harris, 606 Parkway, Westfield; Will Aron, 129 St. Charles Avenue; Felix Wilson, 232D North Third Street; Fred Britton, 2 South 62nd Street; Jessie L. Davis, 628 60th Street, Fairfield; Sidney S. Harris, 33 Ninth Court; Edward D. Cook, 2422 Ninth Court, South; David Danfel, 1313 Escambia Street; John Jones, 1322 Coosa Street, and Paul R. Robinson, 474 North Third Street.

Hallmarks

Montgomery Advertiser

By GROVER C. HALL, JR.

DESPITE all the public stir, debate, misgivings, apprehension and the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, this Spring's primary election will be conducted along business as usual lines.

The court ruled, on the basis of a Texas case, that a State could not conduct a "white" primary inasmuch as public funds were used to pay for such elections and that the Negro was thus excluded.

A cry went up that the White Primary in Alabama was no more. That, as far as I can discern, is not even true on a basis of what's in a name. Inquiry among Alabama leaders of the Democratic Party establishes that all who vote in the May primary will vote under the sign of the rooster and the slogan — WHITE SUPREMACY, FOR THE RIGHT (see accompanying cut). 2-17-46

As matters stand, there is, I have been told in a most emphatic fashion, no disposition to remove the label from the rooster, emblem of the Democratic Party in Alabama. In fact, it became plain as inquiries were made that nobody had ever thought about the label.

There will be one difference in this year's primary from those of the past. Because of the court decision proscribing "white" primaries, the State Democratic Executive Committee issued its call for the primary without using the word "white." It simply called for an election by Democratic electors.

* * * *

MYSTERY ROOSTER

An incidental point of interest about the chanticleer and his cry is that a diligent effort to establish his origin failed completely to reveal anything. How, when and where the rooster and the slogan came to be adopted is something, surprisingly enough, that all the king's horses and all the king's men couldn't establish.

First, I asked Gov. Sparks, who is uncommonly well-grounded in Alabama's political history.

"Say," he said with a start, "I don't believe I know. I wish you'd let me know when you find out."

Miss Agnes Baggett, chief clerk in the Secretary of State's office, was similarly stumped. Likewise Bob Goodwyn of the County Democratic Committee, who said: "You know, I'm so darn used to that thing I never thought about its origin."

I searched Fleming and Moore, two very thorough Alabama historians, and there was naught of the rooster. Thence to the State Department of Archives and History, whose officials either know everything or can tell you which tome on which rack contains the information. The quest was fruitless.

It's difficult to understand how any rooster that has crowed so long and so loud could be a mystery rooster, but that's the way it is.

Alabama law requires that:

"Each political party shall . . . adopt, prepare and file with the Secretary of State, at least 60 days before each election for State officers, by engraving or otherwise, at least 150 copies of an emblem. . . ."

Since there is such a general lack of knowledge about the natal circumstances of the rooster and his christening, one is left to guess that he broke his shell sometime after Gov. Houston drove the carpetbaggers from the capitol in the 1870's.

What I suspect (and hope) is that some elder statesman of the party or bright young student of its history is going to sit down and write us a biography of the rooster.

* * * *

POLLS POLLS 2-17-46

But as I say, the Spring elections will apparently be conducted as before. A relatively few Negroes will participate and that will be that.

It has never been disclosed before, but about two years ago Gov. Sparks sought to learn just how many Negroes there were in Alabama qualified to vote. Accordingly, he wrote the probate judges of all counties. Of the 67 counties, some 51 responded.

When Gov. Sparks totaled the figures he had a figure of something like 3,500. It should be made clear that this count is an approximate total as there was no way to establish it with complete accuracy. Although 16 counties did not give their figures, it is to reject. not believed that their tallies would add much to the total. So to be conservative, you might say that Alabama has around 5,000 Negroes privileged to vote. 2-17-46

Considering this, it is hard to appreciate the apprehension some of our party leaders feel about a growing Negro vote. Nevertheless, at the meeting here of the State Democratic Executive Committee, party leaders adopted without debate a resolution urging adoption of the Boswell Amendment. This amendment provides that, to qualify to vote, an applicant must be able to "understand" the U. S. Constitution. This amendment is offered and endorsed with the frank and clearly expressed motive of making it easier for registrars to reject applications they wish which would make it increasingly difficult for Negroes to register.

The action was taken, largely through necessity, as the state committee formally designated May 7 as date for the 1946 state and local primaries and June 4 as the run-off date, and was followed by the formal entry of three candidates for governor. 1-13-46

'Qualified' Negroes Get Vote In State Democratic Primaries

Birmingham News

Birmingham

Three Put Hats In Ring For Governor's Seat; Voting Requisites Meanwhile May Be Stiffened

1-13-46

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 12—Alabama Democratic Executive Committee members, with but one outspoken dissenter in the group, Judge Elbert Boozer filed their today removed traditional barriers against "qualified" Negroes voting declarations of candidacy with the same time unanimously urged State Chairman Gessner McCorvey, of Mobile, at the conclusion of the Boswell constitutional amendment

Lt. Gov. L. N. (Handy) Ellis, Agriculture Commissioner Joe N. Poole and Calhoun County Probate

of the state committee meeting.

Alabama Public Service Commission President Gordon Persons announced that he would mail his papers to the state chairman immediately. 1-13-46

* * *

A POSSIBLE FIFTH CANDIDATE for governor, James E. (Big Jim) Folsom, of Cullman, did not qualify and continued largely noncommittal regarding his candidacy plans.

By its action today the executive committee departed with apparent reluctance, from the long established custom of permitting only white persons to vote in Democratic primaries. State Chairman McCorvey recommended the step as a means of complying with a recent U. S. Supreme Court ruling that Negroes cannot be barred from voting in Democratic primaries when the cost is paid from public funds. 1-13-46

Despite McCorvey's explanation that the action was necessary if Democrats are to continue to conduct primaries for the nomination of candidates and his assurance that the Boswell amendment would guarantee continued control of party affairs by white people, T. H. Maxwell, veteran committee member from Tuscaloosa dissented.

Maxwell said he approved the resolution designating May 7 as the primary date and fixing qualifications of voters and candidates but added that he objected to removal of the word white in describing the Democratic primary.

We can't defy the U. S. Supreme Court, McCorvey replied.

A moment later McCorvey put the question and the resolution was adopted. 1-13-46

Previously McCorvey had explained the court ruling and its effect upon Democratic primaries in Alabama and added that we should go ahead and bow to the law as constructed by the Supreme Court. Even if we do permit qualified Negroes to vote, he added, "it won't amount to a row of pins. In come counties there are only two or three registered Negro voters and in Mobile County there are about 200 Negro voters against 19,000 white voters. The white people are going to run things. They always have and always will."

The Boswell amendment, he added, gives county boards of registrars enlarged powers to grant or deny applications by Negroes to become registered voters.

While Maxwell and one or two others voted "no" on a voice vote when the primary resolution was adopted, the state committee apparently voted unanimously in adopting a resolution calling on voters to support ratification of the Boswell resolution next November.

County Delegation Pushes Move For Negro Vote In Primaries

A majority of the Jefferson County members of the State Democratic Executive Committee will support the state chairman's recommendation, at a meeting of the state body in Montgomery next Saturday, that the word "white" be stricken from the regulations on qualifying voters, thereby giving Negro voters the right to participate in the Democratic party primary elections next May.

Six of the county's eight members of the state committee held a caucus at Hooper's Cafe last night and agreed to support recommendations of Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, that all voters believing in Democratic party principles and agreeing to support party nominees be allowed to vote in the primaries.

Voting to support the recommendation were H. M. Abercrombie, chairman of the county's delegation to the state committee; Clarence Pinson, Albert Boutwell, Bob Bell and Roy Phipps. Lawson Gambill attended the caucus, but reserved his vote on the matter until Chairman McCorvey's resolution comes before the entire state committee at next Saturday's meeting at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery.

* * *

TWO DELEGATION MEMBERS were absent—J. B. Aird, on account of illness, and Talbot Ellis, who was out of the city.

The six county delegation members were unanimous in agreeing to support a resolution, expected to be offered at the state committee meeting next Saturday, endorsing the Boswell amendment to the State Constitution. The proposed amendment would change qualifications for vote registration, removing the clause allowing any person with $300 in assessed property to register. The amendment gives boards of registrars in all counties more authority in qualifying voters.

State Chairman McCorvey has circularized all county delegations urging repeal of primary regulations restricting voting to "white electors." He said the U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Texas case—known as the Smith versus Allwright case—made it imperative that Alabama's primary regulations be changed.

* * *

YESTERDAY'S CAUCUS ALSO adopted a resolution to allow all service men, whether in or out of the United States now, to qualify to run for public office, if they so desire.

It was pointed out that, although definite dates will not be set until the state meeting next Saturday, the state committee is expected to set March 1 as the final qualifying date, May 7 as the primary date and June 4 for the run-off date.

The county delegation, actually the Ninth District's representatives, agreed to renew that section of the rules for qualifying candidates for public office which requires that a person qualifying to run for a judicial position must be a lawyer and also in good standing with the State Bar Association.

The meeting also adopted a resolution allocating to the Jefferson County Democratic Executive Committee a pro rata share of the qualification fees of circuit judges and circuit solicitors.

Mr. Phipps succeeds A. D. Maddox, who died two years ago, as a member of the county's delegation to the state committee.

MAN IS ACCUSED IN VOTE DISPUTE

Birmingham Ala. Age Herald

MOBILE, Ala., Feb. 1—(AP)—The Mobile County Board of Registrars today followed up criticism of a Negro postal employe by filing a complaint with the postmaster and United States attorney accusing him of violating federal and civil service regulations in aiding Negro vote registrants. 2-2-46

The complaints, signed by Board Chairman J. Milton Schnell, said that J. L. LeFlore who also is executive secretary of the Mobile branch of the citizens committee, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had engaged in "unusual political activity."

Schnell said yesterday LeFlore "has persistently insisted upon entering the board of registrars' office for purpose of coaching other Negroes who were being examined by board members as to their fitness to become registered voters."

He reported that the Mobile branch of the NAACP had filed a complaint with the Department of Justice that the Board of Registrars was discriminating against Negro vote registrants.

The board has reported a big pickup in the number of Negro vote registrants since the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee opened its primary elections to qualified Negro voters last month.

'Constitution Test' Stumps 2 Out Of 3

MOBILE, ALA., Jan. 14.—(AP)—Chairman Milton Schnell reported today that more than 30 Negroes appeared before the Mobile County Board of Registrars here today seeking to qualify as voters.

Schnell said the number was "unusually large." He attributed the pickup to the action of the State Democratic Executive Committee Saturday in Montgomery in opening its primary elections to qualified Negro voters.

All of the applicants were given a written examination testing their ability to read and comprehend the United States Constitution and Schnell said that only one of three applicants whose papers had been graded qualified as a registered voter.

The tests require about an hour and a half, he said.

In the group of Negroes were several veterans. Under a 1945 State law, veterans are exempted from paying the State poll tax but must meet registration requirements. 1-13-46

Schnell said that Negroes and whites alike, who had little educational background, were given the Constitution test.

Present registration requirements in Alabama are, he said, that the applicant be able to read and understand any section of the Federal Constitution; that he reside in the county one year, in the State two years and in the ward three months; that he be 21 years old, and own real or personal property valued at $300.

Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of the State executive committee, estimated recently that only 275 of the approximately 19,000 registered voters in Mobile County were Negroes.

Feb. 1 is the registration deadline.

NAACP IN MOBILE ENTERS PROTEST

Birmingham, Ala. Age Herald

MOBILE, Ala., Jan. 31—(AP)—An official of the Mobile Branch of the National Association for the advancement of Colored People said tonight the Mobile group had filed a complaint with the Department of Justice that the Mobile County Board of Registrars was discriminating against Negro vote registrants.

J. L. LeFore, Negro postal employe and executive secretary of the Mobile Branch of the Citizens Committee of the NAACP, declared, "our organization has called the attention of the federal authorities to the dilatory tactics of the Mobile County Board of Registrars" in examining Negro registrants.

He made the statement after Milton Schnell, chairman of the Mobile County Board of Registrats, announced he was protesting to Postmaster William B. Taylor against alleged political activity by LeFore in connection with registering of Negro voters. 2-1-46

"LeFore has persistly insisted upon entering the Board of Registrars office for the purpose of coaching other Negroes who were being examined by board members as to their fitness to become registered voters," Schnell said.

Schnell denied that there was any discrimination against Negroes and said that written examinations to test ability to read and understand the United States Constitution were given uneducated whites as well as Negroes.

The board chairman said that since the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee opened its primary elections to qualified Negro voters last month, a record number of Negroes had sought to register. He estimated that "about 500" Negroes, most of them returning service men and school teachers, had sought to qualify during the present registration period, ending tomorrow. 2-1-46

"I have appeared before the Board of Registrars as a voucher and witness for several colored persons whom I have known for a long time," LeFore said. "I deny that I have violated the Hatch Act or federal civic service rules in any manner."

The Ballot in Birmingham

Mon. 3-11-46

Apocryphal though it was, the story had wide circulation in Birmingham, Ala., last week: A Negro college graduate, taking a voters' registration test, fully explained an intricate section of the Constitution, translated on sight a difficult passage in French, and then read from a Greek newspaper. "It says here that niggers can't vote in Alabama." Whereupon the registrar said, "You sure have caught on, son," and slammed down the window. Newsweek

But the story was not without its origins. Last month from the heart of Birmingham's Negro business district, scene of Octavus Roy Cohen's Florian Slappey stories, 60 Negro war veterans marched to the Jefferson County Courthouse. Patiently they took registration tests; patiently they received the news that they could not register. Last week the veterans had high hopes that their march might still accomplish something: 21 of them filed suit in Circuit Court, alleging not racial discrimination but an illegal act by the County Board of Registrars in denying applications to qualified citizens.

New York, N.Y. 3-11-46 mor.

Birmingham Ala. News

NEGRO VOTERS

To the Editor of The News:

I am a young voter and for the past several days I have been reading in magazines where Negroes of this state are not receiving fair treatment in becoming registered voters.

I have read under the Alabama law where a person may qualify to vote if he can either show that he holds a certain minimum amount of personal or real property or if he can read and write. pm. 3-12-46

In one magazine I read where the Board of Registers is trying to discourage qualified Negroes in Mobile from becoming registered voters. I have also read where Negroes who went to the Board of Registers must spend hours, where his white fellow citizen stays only a few minutes.

In Birmingham, Capt. H. C. Terell, head of the veterans' voter registration committee of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, is trying to get as many as 15,000 Negroes, who have served time in the war, to pay poll tax, with the aid of his associates, although he knows that under the Alabama law veterans are not required to pay poll taxes.

As for my opinion, I think these polls should be opened to everyone, so that we all can live up to the laws and that this country can have a true democracy.

Talladega, Ala. WALTER L. PHILLIPS.

Tell It To Old Grandma

"BURY IT DEEP"

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

Will Alabama on Nov. 5 vote into its Constitution an amendment of deception, and falsehood to mislead and corrupt its future citizens? Montgomery, Ala.

How can we have an honest and truthful people if our fundamental law carries a ruse, a subterfuge which pretends to be for one purpose, when in fact, it is for an entirely different purpose? How can we develop good will and peaceable relations with an amendment that is based on hate and prejudices? Sun. 11-3-46

The adoption of the Boswell Amendment would destroy all democratic freedom in Alabama and make this the most corrupt State in the Union, politically. A good woman told me she was refused the privilege of voting years ago, when it was known she had voted against Al Smith. The same prejudice would have included me as well as the most God-fearing people in America.

If I were one of the big bosses, under such an amendment, I would ask Mr. Boswell, and other Democratic committee members to "explain the due process of law" clause in the Federal Constitution, and most of them would go home without voting. It is not meant as a general voting qualification, and therein lies its mendacious character, which makes it unworthy of any serious consideration. It is unthinkable that the people will resort to such an insincere, indirect and evasive scheme to reach an unworthy end.

The present law has not sent the State to the "dimnition" bow wows, and if it needs strengthening, let us do it in an honest, constructive manner, and not clothe ward heelers and corrupt politicians with authority to exclude everybody from the polls who may have offended their totalitarian highness.

One advocate of this nefarious amendment says in the Grandma Column: "It is imperative to understand that the uninformed self-conscious masses, responding to pressure groups — will never spell out representative government."

Oh, Yes, the "uninformed, self-conscious masses" can't be trusted. That is what demagogues and ward heelers have always said. We have had some politicians who could not trust the masses. It turned out that the masses did not trust them. It will be so again next Tuesday. The "uninformed self-conscious masses" can go to war, fight our battles, till our soil, run our factories, work our mines, but it never would do for them to vote; so a board of three lordly commissioners must have authority to decide who are the "uninformed, self-conscious masses" that should not vote. The people will not be fooled by this cry of corrupt politics. They said that about Thomas Jefferson's democracy, but the people won and they will win again.

To demand that voters shall explain constitutions about which Supreme courts constantly disagree is too absurd for serious consideration. I know the spirit of Alabama people, among whom I have gone for twenty years, pretty well, and I am banking on their sober, honest judgement to reassert their political freedom next Tuesday. This wail from political bossism cannot turn back the tide of progress and scuttle the rights of the people. They will bury that amendment too deep for resurrection.

L. E. BARTON

STATEMENT FROM JOE N. POOLE

Editor, The Advertiser:

In your issue of October 29, 1946, you accused me of making an improper use of the state's money. Specifically, you found fault with me for using the front page of The Alabama Farmer's Market Bulletin to tell its readers why I am for the Boswell Amendment and why I think they, too, should support it. In your editorial you did not indicate how much of the state's money I used. To make the record complete, let me say that the amount involved was $163.14. The front pages of two issues of The Bulletin were used and the cost of one page is $81.57.

I have no apology to offer. I am just as much in favor of the Boswell Amendment today as I was yesterday and if I deem the Boswell Amendment's passage important to the welfare of the farmers of Alabama, whom I am commissioned to serve, and elect to say so on the front page of The Bulletin, it is strictly a matter to be decided by myself. I made the decision and that is that.

It is true, as you went on to point out in the same editorial, that I am a defeated candidate for Governor of Alabama. The fact causes me less in regret than it appears to afford you in satisfaction. I was not the only candidate defeated in the gubernatorial primary; but that is beside the point. I am getting at something else and it causes me more grief and more concern than any reverses in a party primary can cause. This is what grieves me:

I came up in a day when many of us in Alabama looked to the editorial page of The Advertiser for wise counsel and guidance. are intelligent men who think for themselves.

ELLIS C. STEWART

605 Boyce
Montgomery, Ala.

Then it seemed that good and strong hands steered it through the issues that arose. Major Screws, Captain Sheehan, Mr. Hall seemed like giants to many of us. Sometimes we disagreed with them but they never let us down. It was like a difference of opinion as between gentlemen. I think perhaps that was because they did not gloat when they won a victory and did not complain when they lost.

My skin is as thick as another's and criticism does not hurt me. Brickbats turn out to be roses before they hit their mark, some times. I am just disappointed and feel like something has been lost to the state when editorials in The Advertiser are degraded with personal thrusts and gloating references, that the gentlemen who used to write them would no more think of using than they would think of using obscenities.

I think, too, that The Advertiser is becoming somewhat intolerant, although it has for as many years as I can remember, preached tolerance. It has lately taken up the practice of picking to pieces the motives of men who do not agree with it. I know little about a newspaper, but this is a practice I had never associated with a gentleman.

Now, the Advertiser's editorial page talks piously about a misuse of state's funds. I can remember the time when some members of The Advertiser's reportorial staff accepted handouts from various of the state's departments in the form of remuneration for writing articles for those departments and having them printed in The Advertiser.

In those days The Advertiser's management was not as opulent as it is today. Furthermore, it was doing a good job for the State and some of us who did not consider this form of subsidy exactly proper were content to let it go on. We felt that it was the State's way of helping The Advertiser get out a good paper by helping its reporters to enjoy a living salary. I always understood that the management was aware of the practice. If that be true, I do not see how The Advertiser's editorial writers can now raise complaints when other publications carry articles with which they disagree. The pot never had much ground to stand on when it called the kettle black.

I am what I am and the present-day editorial writers of The Advertiser will never change me very much. I repeat, though, that I feel a sense of loss, since the once-fine editorial writers of this century-old newspaper, have adopted new and lower standards than those observed by the giants of the editor's chair who made it what it was a decade ago.

JOE N. POOLE
Commissioner of Agriculture.

* * * *

FEARS POLITICAL MACHINE

Editor, The Advertiser:

In the discussion of the proposed Amendment No. 4 — the Boswell Amendment — on which we are to vote Tuesday, there has been little said, publicly, at least, of the possibilities should the Amendment be ratified, of the building up of a political machine second to nothing we have seen in Alabama. The fact that the so-called politicians of the State appear to be solidly behind the Amendment, and the apparent liberal use of funds by the Democratic Executive Committee (if we may believe the statements in the press), seems to indicate to the writer that there may be more to the Amendment than appears on the surface.

It could easily be that the attempted control of the Negro vote is only a smokescreen to hide the real purpose. Should the Amendment carry it will be entirely possible for "the powers that be" to build up a political machine, giving a strangle-hold on the State.

The language of the Amendment is quite clear. Under no circumstances would I voluntarily place myself in a position where the whims of a registration board, or those controlling it, could legally deny me the right to cast my ballot. I have yet to learn of an instance where the vast majority of professional politicians in any State seriously exercised themselves for the sole benefit of John Q. Public.

ROBERT E. TROY
807-8 First National Bank Bldg.
Montgomery, Ala.

* * * *

PRAISES MINISTERS

Editor, The Advertiser:

I was pleased to read in The Advertiser the public statement of 80 clergymen against Amendment No. 4.

It is a very healthy thing for ministers, who are also citizens, to express their views on public affairs, particularly on a matter as vital to Alabama's future as Amendment Number 4. One editor has criticized the clergymen for taking a stand against the amendment, but what kind of religion is it that would try to ignore the problems of the day and avoid taking any stand on controversial issues? These clergymen are to be commended, not criticized, for their outspoken statement of opposition to Amendment No. 4.

Any suggestion that anybody is using these ministers is of course absurd. They

WHAT KIND OF VOTERS?

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

Forty years ago a great statesman said there were three hindrances to good citizenship in the United States. He called them indolence, private self-interest, and party spirit. Montgomery, Ala.

The opponents of the B-A are mistaken when it is stated that too much authority is given to the County Registrars. The opposite is true. It is imperative to understand that uninformed self-conscious masses, responding to pressure groups, under leaders who aspire to office for self only, and merely by reason of promise to satisfy their special self-interest, will never spell out REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

Care must be exercised not to over-politicalize our government. While it is more than a policeman, it is much less than a philanthropist. The pioneers who cut this civilization out of a wilderness, risking their lives in the task, were urged onward by a purpose and a spirit entirely different from that of those who today look upon this government, a blood-bought treasure, merely for what it may advance to them as a common right, and without any thought of the cost and the sacrifice implied; which at some future time, they — the would-be voter — may be called upon to pay in full and at the supreme cost.

If this form of government is to be preserved in its strength, the voters of tomorrow must have more than the example of our honest labor and civic sacrifice. The right of suffrage should be predicted on personal virtue and individual intelligence and Christian behavior. Tri. 11-1-46

Like Saint Peter who will refuse many applying at the Pearly Gates for admittance; so I, as a Registrar, Boswell Amendment or no amendment, would be most careful to keep unstained the membership of my party. Of course this would leave out the Hinky Dinkys, the Kellys, the Hagues, and the Pendergasts.

Late Captain, 13 Brigade, Etranger.
Veteran World Wars I and II.
CHARLES E. WARD
Snowdoun, Ala.

(Editor,s Note: If the Boswell Amendment provided for the qualification of "personal virtue and individual intelligence and Christian behavior," The Advertiser would be for it. Instead, it is a mandate for fraud and corruption.)

WANTS PEOPLE TO SPEAK OUT

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

I have read with a great deal of interest your debate with Dixon, editorials, and letters in the Montgomery Advertiser, concerning the Boswell Amendment. I especially enjoyed letters by two Methodist ministers and heartily agree with every word they said. I feel that it is high time that we have some red-blooded citizens, who are not afraid to speak out loud in the interest of "liberty and justice for all," against "discrimination because of race, creed, or color," and against disfranchising those, whose cultural opportunities have been limited. Montgomery, Ala.

My text is: "Love thy neighbor, as thyself," "Be ye kind one to another," and "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." These are Christ's own Commandments to us. How can we expect to prosper and be happy if we do otherwise?

RESENTS COL. AYERS' REMARKS

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

Being an old line Democrat of reconstruction days, and knowing what I am talking about, I resent the remarks made by Mr. Harry Ayers of Anniston (Advertiser of Oct. 30). I was here, when Anniston was Mr. Ayers' souls in saving Alabama from the rule of man's rule, Alabama would probably be in Scallawags, Carpetbaggers and ignorant negroes. If they had not defended white-NOT the RED up to this day. Mr. Ayers' remarks will add many votes for the 4th Amendment in the Black Belt counties.

Selma, Ala. Montgomery, Ala. S. C. GRAYSON Sun. 11-2-46

Dixon, Dobbins Argue On Boswell Amendment

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Fri. 10-18-46

ATHENS, Ala., Oct. 18—(AP)—The proposed Boswell amendment, a restrictive vote registration measure upon which the people of Alabama will ballot on Nov. 5, was both lauded and pilloried in a debate here last night between a former governor and a newspaper editor.

Frank Dixon, of Birmingham, the ex-governor, said the amendment was needed to forestall abolishment of segregation laws, and to prevent Negroes from being elected to the State Legislature and other public offices.

Charles G. Dobbins, editor of The Montgomery Advertiser, argued on the other hand that adoption of the amendment would bring "shame to the white race," and would invite "harsh federal legislation."

* * *

THE AMENDMENT would make registration requirements more stringent by requiring that each registrant be of "good moral character," and be able to "understand and explain" any section of the U. S. Constitution.

"It is my firm belief," said Dixon, "that we face the elimination of our segregation laws, of our zoning laws; that we will see our children in mixed schools of whites and Negroes, our Legislature with strong Negro minorities, our juries of mixed races; many of our city and county governments either manned by Negroes or largely dominated by them, should we fail to pass the Boswell amendment."

If the amendment fails to win adoption, he continued, the state will witness the "mass registration of 200,000 unqualified electors, capable only of being willing tools in the hands of unscrupulous men."

* * *

DOBBINS, IN CALLING for the amendment's defeat, said passage of the measure would give "every radical and unfriendly group in the nation" a prop upon which to "condemn us and to use us as an object lesson in demanding legislation such as the FEPC or a bill freeing voters from state restrictions in federal elections."

"That, my friends, would be hard to handle," he added, "but if we permit passage of this amendment . . . then we really are asking for trouble."

He argued that present safeguards are fully adequate to prevent wholesale registration of unfit voters.

Some 300 persons heard the debate, which was sponsored by the Athens Rotary Club. There were no debate judges, and no winner was chosen.

Age-Herald

POOLE SUPPORTS BOSWELL PLAN

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 8—(AP)—Agriculture Commissioner Joe Poole appealed to Alabama voters today to support the Boswell amendment — Amendment No. 4 in the array of amendments that will be voted upon in next Tuesday's general election—he replied: 10-31-46-Thurs.

"I am for the Boswell amendment because I don't want my great-grandfather, who drove the Carpetbaggers and Negroes out of the State Capitol in Montgomery, to be ashamed of me."

Edward Asbury O'Neal, according to Thomas M. Owen's History of Alabama, returned from the War Between the States with the rank of brigadier general, with an enviable military record, resumed his practice of law in Florence, taking a great interest in politics, and "devoted all his energies, in 1874, to the fight which restored the Democratic party to ascendency and the white race to supremacy in Alabama."

Sun. 10-31-46

The Reconstruction Governor, elected from the Tennessee Valley, was known as the "Bald Eagle of Alabama." His great-grandson still votes in Florence, where his absentee ballot was mailed today. Montgomery, Ala.

Advertiser

Poole appealed to Alabama voters today to support the Boswell amendment. Advertiser

Mr. O'Neal is here for the Alabama Farm Bureau convention. It will be recalled that he headed the Alabama organization before being called out of his home State to direct the destinies of the American Farm Bureau Federation. Montgomery, Ala.

Asked if he cared to comment on his reason for voting for the Boswell amendment, he replied:

"I am for the Boswell amendment because I don't want my great-grandfather, who drove the Carpetbaggers and Negroes out of the State Capitol in Montgomery, to be ashamed of me."

Writing in the current issue of Alabama Farmers, a publication of the Agriculture Department, Poole declared in part:

"I am for the Boswell Amendment because if we adopt the amendment, we . . . through our boards of registrars will be able to determine who will vote in our primaries."

But if it fails, he added, the boards will be compelled by a U. S. Supreme Court decision to register "practically everyone who applies." He referred to a ruling that Negroes cannot be barred from voting in a party primary solely because of their race.

The Boswell plan, which will be decided upon in the Nov. 5 general election, would require prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" any section of the U. S. Constitution to the registrar instead of merely reading and writing it.

In addition, it would repeal the present provision which gives the right of ballot to anyone who owns $300 worth of property.

The agriculture commissioner emphasized that "I am not a Negro baiter and I am not a Negro hater," but that he did not think it would be "to the best interest" of the Negro to be given a blanket franchise.

He insisted, however, that "all citizens who appreciate the Negro for his real worth should see to it that the best Negroes are allowed to register and vote with their good white folks."

"Otherwise," he declared, "we will force all the good Negroes away from their white folks into a party sponsored by Republicans, renegades, a few well-meaning but misguided people and a lot of left-wing intellectuals.

"This in my opinion would prove a calamity for Alabama."

BILOXI, MISS., Oct. 30.—(Special)—Edward O'Neal, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation and great-grandson of the Alabama Reconstruction Governor who drove the Carpetbaggers out of the State Capitol, today cast an absentee ballot in behalf of the Boswell amendment.

Alabama Voters To Determine Fate Of Nominees, Controversial Issues

The News Birmingham, Ala. Sun. 11-3-46
Age-Herald

Democratic, Republican Candidates Matched In Interest By 'Boswell Amendment,' Others

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 2—Besides expressing their choice between Democratic and Republican nominees, Alabama voters Tuesday will decide the fate of nine proposed amendments to the constitution, including the much debated and controversial "Boswell amendment" and three other proposals of statewide importance.

One of the three would lengthen legislative sessions by substituting 36 "legislative day" sessions for the present 60 "calendar day" biennial sessions. Another would permit the state in cooperation with counties and cities to build and operate hospitals and the third would permit the state to build and operate airports.

The five other amendments on Tuesday's ballot are largely of local importance and non-controversial.

Topping the list of amendments, from the standpoint of public interest, is the Boswell proposal which appears as "Proposed Amendment No. 4" on Tuesday's ballot.

* * *

HERE IS THE WAY the amendment is phrased on the ballot:

"Proposed Amendment No. 4. Shall Sec. 181 of the Constitution of Alabama be amended to read as follows?

"Sec. 181. After the first day of January, 1903, the following persons and no others, who, if their place of residence remain unchanged, will have, at the date of the next general election, the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Sec. 178 of this Article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under Sec. 182 of this constitution; Those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who are physically unable to work and those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business or occupation, trade or calling for the greater part of the 12 months next preceding the time they offer to register, including those who are unable to read and write if such inability is due solely to physical disability; provided, however, no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a Republican form of government."

* * *

SEC. 181 as it now stands is as follows:

"Sec. 181. After the first day of January, 1903, the following persons, and no others, who, if their place of residence shall remain unchanged, will have, at the date of the next general election, the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Sec. 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors; provided the shall not be disqualified under Sec. 182 of this Constitution.

"First. Those who can read and write an article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language, and who are phsically unable to work; and those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language, and who have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business or occupation, trade or calling, for the greater part of the 12 months next preceding the time they offer to register; and those who are unable to read and write, if such inability is due solely to physical disability; or,

"SECOND—The owner in good faith in his own right, or the husband of a woman who is the owner in good faith, in her own right, of 40 acres of land situated in this state, upon which they reside; or, the owner in good faith in his own

Folsom will make his first address from Montgomery at 6:45 p.m., then at 8:30 will speak again along with Richard T. Rives, Montgomery attorney; A. A. Carmichael, Democratic nominee for attorney general, and Editor Charles G. Dobbins, of The Montgomery Advertiser.

January, 1903, the following persons and no others, who, if their place of residence remain unchanged, will have, at the date of the next general election, the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Sec. 178 of this Article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under Sec. 182 of this constitution; Those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who are physically unable to work and those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business or occupation, trade or calling for the greater part of the 12 months next preceding the time they offer to register, includ-

FOLSOM AGAINST NO. 4—

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 2—(AP)—Gov.-Designate James E. Folsom will make two statewide radio broadcasts in opposition to the Boswell amendment Monday night, the Citizens' Committee Against the Amendment announced Saturday.

A Critical Decision For Alabama

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sun

The Advertiser, from the outset, has attempted to oppose Amendment Number 4, the so-called Boswell Amendment, entirely on the basis of calm judgement and established fact. If, after the emotional tensions of six years of war the peoples of the world are unwilling so to base their decisions, then there is little hope for the preservation of our civilization.

Some will say we err in viewing this suffrage battle in Alabama from a broad world perspective. But no man who has served in the late war, and viewed first-hand the misery and privation wrought by fear and suspicion among the nations, can fail to see that all the frauds, the compromises with decency for the sake of temporary advantage, the willingness to sacrifice "just a little" of democracy's integrity for the benefit of special interests—all add up to the certainty of final catastrophe for the American way of life.

This vote in Alabama on Tuesday is significant not just for Alabama—it is one of the symptoms that tell whether in the world's greatest democracy we are bolstering our defenses against attacks from Communism and other competing philosophies of government, or whether, instead, we are in fact steadily eroding our democracy, permitting a gradual weakening of democratic principle that in the end will make us an easy prey to our enemies.

Here Is The Document

A number of readers have asked that we publish the actual Amendment Number 4, in order that they may study it objectively as a legal document. Here is the Amendment, with black type used to show those portions of the law which would be added by a "Yes" vote on Tuesday:

The Advertiser

Section 181. After the first day of January, nineteen hundred and three, the following persons, and no others, who, if their place of residence shall remain unchanged, will have, at the date of the next general election, the qualifications as to residence prescribed in section 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under section 182 of this constitution: those who can read and write, **understand and explain** any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who are physically unable to work and those who can read and write, **understand and explain** any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business, or occupation, trade, or calling for the greater part of the twelve months next preceding the time they offer to register, including those who are unable to read and write if such inability is due solely to physical disability; **provided however, no persons, shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government.**

(In addition, the Amendment would eliminate the right to register by reason of the ownership of property, as provided in Section 181 of the present Constitution.)

Offers Faulty Qualifications

We oppose passage of this Amendment Number 4 on the principle that the right to vote in Alabama or in any other state should be regulated by honest, measurable qualifications. We submit that the qualifications here added—two of them in particular—are not subject to accurate appraisal by Boards of Registrars, no matter how able or how fair they may be.

One of these added qualifications is that an applicant must "understand and explain" any article of the Constitution of the United States. Obviously this requirement is subject to abuse. No two lawyers in Alabama would agree precisely on an interpretation of law. Clearly the intent here is to give Registrars arbitrary power to approve or disapprove any applicant. The same opportunity is provided in the requirement that a man must be of "good character," for the law offers no standards for the evalution of "good character."

The clear intent of the proposed Amendment is revealed by the various claims of its supporters. Mr. Horace Wilkinson, of Birmingham, says if he were a Registrar under this law he would simply look at a man and decide by his color whether the man could, or could not, qualify to vote. Mr. Gessner McCorvey, of Mobile, says the Amendment would give the Registrars "discretion." Mr. Joe Poole says "adoption of the Boswell Amendment will simply mean a continuation of what we are doing at present."

From these three statements it is obvious that in effect the registration law of Alabama, under the Boswell Amendment, would mean whatever the dominant political faction in the state desired it to mean. This would not mean democracy in Alabama, but totalitarian power for a few men.

The potential evils in such a system of registration are several. The contributor of a letter on this page sees in it the invitation to machine domination. Albert A. Carmichael, Attorney-General-nominate of Alabama, sees in it an adroit maneuver to hold back in small, easily controlled numbers, the white electorate of Alabama, of whom there are under present laws more than 500,000 disqualified men and women of voting age. These are valid contentions which must give pause to any thoughtful voter.

Good People On Both Sides

Yet The Advertiser is not disposed to impugn the motives of all the proponents of Amendment Number 4. There are many citizens of decent spirit and honest conviction who support the proposal. They are persuaded that the imminent dangers of violent upheaval in Alabama justify a "Yes" vote even on a law which many of them admit is crude and vulnerable.

To them we say it is better to stand by a law that has served us well since 1903 than to adopt a carelessly phrased law that holds multiple dangers.

To them we say once again what every informed Alabamian knows — that this State is not in danger of Negro domination. This is not to deny that with the slow education and economic advance of the Negro, and with the strong Federal support of fair opportunities for all, there is likely to be a gradual increase in the number of Negro voters all over the South. That is inevitable, regardless of whether or not Alabama throws up a hasty temporary iron wall—a wall obviously vulnerable before the Supreme Court of the United States. But the increase under present law will be slow, it will be under provisions that have stood the test of time and the U. S. Supreme Court, and it will make possible the recognition of those Negroes who, by their educational attainments and their correct deportment, have earned their right to full citizenship.

Some say the Amendment is aimed only at Negroes; some say it is aimed only at the low-income white people; still others say it is aimed at both groups. This newspaper cares not whether the target is either or both groups. We oppose the arbitrary infringement of suffrage rights for any group of good, qualified citizens whether white or black, Protestant or Catholic, Democratic or Republican, rich or poor. This is fundamental American principle, and it is this newspaper's confident expectation that no matter how much money is spent, or how many scare stories are told, the people of Alabama will stand on that principle Tuesday by voting "No" on Amendment Number 4.

A Former School Teacher Speaks Out

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

When John Hancock signed the Declaration of Independence, he wrote in large, bold script so that George III could read it without spectacles. In like manner, lest Mr. McCorvey and Committee think this be "whispering," I am expressing my views over the loudspeaker of Grandma Advertiser. Perhaps it is because Mr. McCorvey is as hard of hearing as he is of understanding the principles of democratic government that he thinks the shouts of protest from those who oppose him are whispers.

If the Boswell Amendment passes, practically unlimited power will be delegated to boards of registrars, which, as you know, are appointed by the Governor, the Auditor, and the Commissioner of Agriculture and Industries (Mr. Joe Poole, present incumbent). This power to appoint gives the governor and board far-reaching power. In fact, it gives them, through those they appoint, virtual power to say who can vote and who cannot. These registrars determine not only what new voters can register, but they also decide every two years whose names shall remain on the poll lists and whose names shall be purged. Both of these are necessary functions, but with the arbitrary power that the Boswell Amendment will give them, or require of them, our boards of registrars can become so many Star Chambers and Courts of Inquisition.

From what I know of some of the present boards of registrars—those who recently resigned in Macon County, for example—I feel no more inclined to accept their interpretation of the Constitution of the United States or their judgement as to what constitutes "good character" and the "duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government" than I feel inclined to accept Cotton Mather's interpretation of the nature of Divinity, Michael Wigglesworth's views on infant damnation, or Judge Sewall's verdicts in the Witchcraft Trials. One is about as out of date as the other. Montgomery, Ala.

Would Make Task More Difficult

This is not a blanket indictment of all registrars, but I must say that I do not share Governor Sparks' blind "faith in the people of Alabama who will be selected as registrars, that they will be fair and honest." The Boswell Amendment will make it more difficult for them to be fair and honest. It is perfectly obvious that interpretations of the Constitution vary radically. Opinions as to what constitutes a "state of grace" in good citizenship vary even more widely. Conceivably there are some among us who might at some time be registrars who could not under their oath allow for instance, Horace Wilkinson or Frank Dixon to vote under the "duties and obligations of good citizenship." Since the Boswell Amendment will substitute the "elected" from the "damned" when it comes to the ballot. I ask you, Grandma, and sentiments they have expressed recently. In his speech before the Athens Rotary Club, Dixon sounded dangerously like Bilbo. I, for one, do not consider that we are committing the power of choosing government for these pertinent facts: Who are our registrars in Montgomery County? How long have they served as such? I wonder what their special qualifications are. Perhaps

Sat. 10-26-46

they are admirable, but I believe that in general we need to raise the qualifications of our registrars. Perhaps they should be Constitutional lawyers, sociologists, anthropologists—real anthropologists, too, complete with college degrees, not the spurious self-styled variety we hear so much from—to say nothing of their being men and women of good will. We will want to be very sure that they themselves understand "the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government."

The Call For Heflin

As for the threatened mass resignation of boards of registrars, I see nothing alarming in that. I do not know, but I am asking the question: Could it be that this is part of the scare strategy being used by Mr. McCorvey and the Democratic Committee? Any cause that is desperate enough to call on Heflin to beat his tom-toms is desperate enough to resort to just such a device. But whether these resignations are spontaneous or part of a larger plan, I believe that Alabama could not only survive, but stands to profit by more resignations.

At this point I cannot help observing that I have never heard of a member of a draft board resigning because he had to draft a Negro; I have never heard of a tax collector resigning because he had to collect money from a disfranchised Negro citizen.

Alabama is passing through a great crisis. She stands on the eve of what can be an era of great progress and prosperity—and I do not mean in the material sense alone. We will soon have two liberal United States Senators and a liberal Governor, the first time we have had all three liberal in many years—perhaps ever. We can go forward with Hill, Sparkman, and Folsom in our domestic policy, or we can go back into the night of feudalism and Bourbonism with the McCorveys, Wilkinsons, Bonners, Sandersons, Pooles, Dixons, and Heflins. We can follow these reactionary men—and one of the strongest arguments against the Boswell Amendment is a roll call of its supporters—and take our place right there beside Mississippi and become more and more provincial, backward, and oppressive in our government and in our economic and social philosophy. Or we can listen to the wiser, more reasonable, more moderate counsel of such men as Lister Hill, Jesse Hearin, Charles Dobbins, Col. Rives, John B. Nichols, and others who oppose this oppressive legislation.

Object Lesson In Democracy

With all the statesmanship, with all the sense of responsibility and social consciousness of mice playing with matches, the members of the 1945 Legislature set off this conflagration of the Boswell Amendment. But I believe good will come of it in spite of them. The whole affair will serve as a powerful object lesson in getting down to the grass roots of democracy. It will make us realize the importance of selecting with greater care the state senators and legislators, our Democratic Committee, our Commissioner of Agriculture and Industries, as well as our officials holding "bigger" offices.

Above all, the issues involved in the Boswell Amendment have called for a showing of hands as nothing else has in Alabama for years. We have examined our own consciences. We know better where we stand; and we know who stands for what. Never has there been a more clear-cut division between the progressive and the reactionary elements in the State.

If Mr. McCorvey thinks I'm whispering, I suggest he borrow some of those funds of the State Democratic Committee while he still has access to them and go out and buy himself an ear trumpet.

Boswell Plan Changes Cited By McLendon

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sun. 11-3-46

Registration Provision Held Similar To Code For Judges

Differences in the wording of Section 181, State Constitution, as now written and as it would appear should be Boswell amendment be adopted were explained yesterday by Clyde F. McLendon, member of the teaching profession and student of constitutional law.

If the amendment should be adopted, he said, differences in the wording following, as indicated by parentheses:

"Section 181.—After the first day of January, 1903, the following persons, and no others, who, if their place of residence shall remain unchanged, will have, at the date of the next general election, the qualifications as to residence prescribed in section 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors, provided they shall not be disqualified under section 182 of this Constitution: those who can read and write, (understand and explain), any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who are physically unable to work, and those who can read and write, (understand and explain), any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language, and who have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business, or occupation, trade or calling for the greater part of the twelve months next preceding the time they offer to register (including) those who are unable to read or write if such inability is due solely to physical disability; (provided, however, no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those of good character and who understands the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government").

Part Omitted

Also the following part of said section 181 as it now appears in the Constitution will be left out, to-wit:

"or, second, the owner in good faith in his own right, or the husband of a woman who is the owner in good faith, in her own right, of forty acres of land situate in this State, upon which they reside; or the owner in good faith, in his own right, or the husband of a woman who is the owner in good faith, in her own right, of real estate situate in this State, assessed for taxation at the value of three hundred dollars or more, or the owner in good faith, in his own right, or the husband of a woman who is the owner, in her own right, of personal property in this State assessed for taxation at three hundred dollars or more; provided, that the taxes due upon such real or personal property for the year next preceding the year in which he offers to register shall have been paid, unless the assessment shall have been legally contested and is undetermined."

Now, if the Boswell proposed amendment be not adopted, all the provisions set out above, except those enclosed within the parentheses, will remain as Section 181 of the Constitution, with the word "and" in place of "including" in the third pair of parenthesis; and also the provisions regarding property set out next above.

It will readily and clearly be seen that, if the Boswell proposed amendment be adopted, its provisions for registering will be quite similar, in a number of respects, to the qualifications thought necessary and wise by the United States Congress when those two bodies enacted the following, a few years ago, to-wit:

"No person shall be naturalized . . . unless such petitioner . . . is a person of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United State, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States."—8 U. S. C. A., sec. 707.

Rains, Fifth and Pete Jarman, Sixth, will go back for new terms without opponents.

Rep. Sam Hobbs of the Fourth District is opposed by Roger S. Bingham, (R); Carter Manasco's GOP rival in the Seventh District is M. H. Woodard, and Laurie C. Battle, (D), and J. C. Bass, (R), and the Ninth District nominees.

The Republicans have a slate although Democratic nomination is tantamount to election.

The voters also will elect hundreds of county officials and 141 members of the state legislature.

The Amendments

Here, in the order in which they appear on the ballot, are the nine proposed constitutional amendments to be voted on in Tuesday's general election:

No. 1—To permit the cities of Decatur and Cullman to levy a special tax for educational purposes and permit Morgan County to impose a special tax for hospital purposes.

No. 2—To authorize the state to build, operate and maintain hospitals to get around present constitutional prohibition against state engaging in works of internal improvement.

No. 3—To authorize the city of Haleyville to increase ad valorem taxes.

No. 4—Boswell

No. 4—The Boswell Amendment. Would require prospective registrants to be able to "understand and explain" instead of merely to read and write any section of the U. S. Constitution, and would remove present provision which gives right of ballot to anyone who owns $300 worth of property.

No. 5—Would authorize an increase up to 1 1-4 per cent in the ad valorem tax rate of any municipality whose tax-levying powers are limited below that amount.

No. 6—Would put the state legislature back on a 36-legislative day basis instead of the present 60 calendar day limitation, and would give members an expense allowance in addition to their $10 a day salary.

No. 7—Would authorize the state to build, equip and maintain airports, and offer end for same reason as amendment No 2 for hospitals.

No. 8—Would require the governing body of any county except Mobile and Montgomery to call an election on petition of 100 or more voters to decide whether to levy a tax to build a county hospital. The tax could not exceed 10 mills in each $100 valuation of property.

No. 9—Would give Mobile County the right to extend its present constitutional debt limit for construction of public buildings, roads and bridges.

Unopposed for the late John H. Bankhead's Senate seat is the Democratic-nominee, House Majority Whip John Sparkman.

A light vote of not more than 175,000 is anticipated in the off-year election. Montgomery, Ala.

Newest development in the battle of words over the Boswell Amendment came yesterday in a charge that advocates of the proposal had violated the State Corrupt Practice Act.

Richard T. Rives, Montgomery attorney and leader in the citizen's committee against the Amendment, said his group had filed a financial statement in accordance with the law but that none had come from any committee on the other side.

The Secretary of State's office confirmed that. Sun. 11-3-46

The Boswell plan is one of nine proposed changes in the state constitution which will be voted on in Tuesday's election. The others would permit the state to build and operate hospitals and airports; would give members of the state legislature more time in which to meet and more money; and would make changes in local government financing.

The Candidates

Here are the candidates for major state offices:

Governor—Folsom, Democrat, and Ward, Republican.

Lieutenant Governor—J. C. Inzer, (D), and W. J. Kennamer, (R).

Attorney General—A. A. Carmichael, (D), and Jere Murphy, (R).

State Auditor—Dan Thomas, (D), and Charles H. Hembree, (R).

Secretary of State—Sibyl Pool, (D), and Cyrus Kitches, (R).

Superintendent of Education—A. R. Meadows, (D), and Fred Allen, (R).

Agriculture Commissioner—Haygood Paterson, (D), and James N. Dennis, (R).

Public Service Commission Place No. 1—Jimmy Hitchcock, (D), and A. L. Isbell, (R).

Public Service Commission No. 2—C. C. Owen, (D), and H. J. Horton, (R).

Unopposed, all Democrats, are Chief Justice N. Lucien D. Gardner and Associate Justices A. B. Foster, J. Ed Livingston and Davis Stakely of the State Supreme Court, and Judges Charles R. Bricken, Robert B. Carr and Robert B. Harwood on the court of appeals.

Although Sparkman is without opposition for the Senate seat, he has an opponent for reelection to the Eighth District House seat which he plans to resign after his election to the House, is Arthur South.

Frank Boykin of the First District; George Grant, Second, George Andrews, Third, Albert

Sparks Defends Boswell Plan

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 22—(AP) — Predicting passage of the Boswell amendement at the polls now on Nov. 5, Gov. Chauncey Sparks insisted today that it would not endanger the franchise of persons registered in Alabama since 1903.

Opponents of the plan to tighten up on voter registration requirements have contended it would be retroactive to 1903 and that anyone who has become an elector since that time could be compelled to re-register under the new law.

The amendment, which advocates say is designed primarily to prevent a flood of negro balloting, would require prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" any section of the U. S. constitution.

The opening words of the amendment are the same as those in the present section of 181 of the state constitution, "after the first day of January, 1903, . . . ". The requirements for voting are set out following that.

Opponents claim that because of the wording, the amendment would go back to 1903 and would affect anyone registering after that date. Gov. Sparks, however, told reporters today that in his opinion the legislature has established safeguards against forcing re-registration, and that the constitution as amended would be no more retroactive than it is now.

He cited a legislative act which provides for a biennial purge of the voting list to remove only the names of persons who have changed their place of residence, those who have died, and those who have been convicted of a vote not crime or committed to a mental institution.

Although he said he believed the amendment would pass, the governor predicted the margin would be "slight," and the total vote would not be more than 150,000 or 175,000.

The Nine Amendments

The News BY J. F. ROTHERMEL Birmingham

The attention paid to the Boswell amendment has tended to obscure the fact that the amendment is only one of nine proposed changes in the Alabama Constitution which are to be voted on in the general election Nov. 5. Six of the amendments are statewide in their application. All nine amendments were passed at the 1945 session of the Legislature, but were not submitted to the electorate in the election of that Fall in order to permit voters to give undivided attention that year to the question of disposition of the surplus in the state income tax. It was considered inadvisable to link that matter with other issues, which might fail or succeed because of the attitude toward the income tax question. Ala.

A similar situation may prevail now, however, as a result of which the widespread opposition to the Boswell amendment may jeopardize other amendments, most of which are unquestionably sound. Voters should differentiate clearly between the amendments, however, and not cast negative votes on all amendments simply because they feel the Legislature erred in submitting the Boswell amendment. Fri. 10-18-46

* * *

Amendment No. 1 applies only to Morgan County, the city of Decatur and the city of Cullman. It provides that elections shall be held to determine whether the voters in the local governments affected want additional taxes to be used for educational and hospital purposes. The amendment imposes no new taxes. It merely gives the communities named the right to vote more taxes if they wish. Voters of Alabama almost without exception have approved of similar permissive amendments.

* * *

Amendment No. 2 would permit Alabama to participate in a federally supported public hospital program. Congress has approved a $378,000,000 expenditure for a study of hospital and health needs and construction of facilities designed to assure all persons of hospital services regardless of financial position. It has authorized an expenditure of $75,000,000 the first year. Of this amount, Alabama will get $2,888,700, plus $62,422 for survey and planning. State and local communities must cooperate in this program to benefit by it. The matching formula adopted takes into consideration the financial condition of the states as well as their populations. On that basis, Alabama is highly favored in the size of the federal assistance, ranking sixth from the top in per capita aid.

But the Alabama state government and Alabama local governments cannot avail themselves of this assistance under the existing law. The proposed amendment would grant this authority. The amendment appropriates no money. It, too, is merely permissive.

* * *

Amendment No. 3 would permit the city of Haleyville to impose an additional tax for local purposes. The amendment is purely local in effect and only permissive.

* * *

Amendment No. 4 is the so-called Boswell amendment (named for the Coffee County legislator who introduced it in the Legislature, but largely authored by Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee). The amendment would require all applicants for registration as voters to be able to "read and write, understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution, and to be of good character and understand the duties of citizenship under a republican form of government. Objections to this amendment and opposition to it are widespread. Many of the state's leading Democrats, including Gov.-Nominate Folsom and the senior U. S. senator, Lister Hill, are opposed to it as dangerous and unnecessary.

Amendment No. 5 provides that any municipality in the state whose annual ad valorem tax rate is now limited to less than 1¼ per cent of the value as assessed for taxes may increase the rate up to but not exceeding 1¼ per cent, provided its voters authorize the increase. It is also provided that any local election on the subject must specify the purposes for which the increase in taxes will be spent. Approval of this amendment means no more taxes except in communities which vote for them.

Amendment No. 6 calls for a change in the time and length of legislative sessions. It would provide for a short session of 10 consecutive calendar days in January after the election in November, for purposes of organization, appointment of committees, and providing for inauguration of other state officials. It shall then recess until the first Tuesday in May, when it will meet to remain in session for 36 legislative days. A biennial session, as now, is provided.

The present system provides for the short organization session and then in May a session of 60 calendar days. The calendar system was an innovation of the Dixon administration, and was adopted because it was believed that the legislators would accomplish more and save the taxpayers money by a calendar-day basis. Previously, under the old system, legislators had strung out their sessions for four or five months, holding sessions only twice a week and giving over the rest of the week to committee meetings and other affairs.

Opposition to the calendar-day system was strong in both legislative sessions held under it. The lawmakers felt that the system gave them no leisure for consideration of measures, that it compelled them to act in haste on many measures, with nothing to guide them but statements by the authors of the bills, and that the money saved in expenses was lost in ill-considered legislation. Inasmuch as the calendar-day system was given a trial by two sessions, and in both cases found unsatisfactory, there is a strong argument for a change back to the legislative-day basis.

* * *

Amendment No. 7 would permit the state to engage in the construction, improvement, repairs and maintenance, and operation of public airports when so authorized by the Legislature, with funds derived from a tax on aviation gasoline. The amendment is necessary to permit Alabama to participate in the $500,000,000 federal-aid airport program approved by Congress last May. The amendment places no burden on the state; it merely removes a barrier which now bars the state from participating in airport construction and operation. Proponents of the amendment point out that the people of Alabama in times past have approved amendments which made possible construction of highways and the improvement of the port of Mobile. Similar concern for air facilities, they argue, is called for.

* * *

Amendment No. 8 would permit all counties, except Mobile and Montgomery, to hold special elections on an additional tax to be used for acquisition, construction, operation and maintenance of county hospitals. The election can be called only on a petition by voters, and the vote of the people in each county will determine whether the additional tax is imposed. This is a companion measure to Amendment No. 2. Under both amendments, local communities may avail themselves of state and federal funds for construction and maintenance of hospitals.

* * *

Amendment No. 9 applies only to Mobile County. As explained by Mobile County Attorney William V. McDermitt, the amendment would do two things: (1) Clarify the existing county debt limit; (2) authorize a sort of revolving bond issue by permitting the county to have a total amount of outstanding bonds issued continuously equal to 6½ per cent of the total assessments in property. The changes could not take effect, however, until the voters of Mobile County had had a chance to pass upon them. The generally accepted practice of courtesy in local matters called for approval by the state of this amendment.

To sum up: Amendments 1, 3 and 9 are entirely local in character.

Amendment 5, while general in application, provides only for more taxes when locally approved.

Amendments 2, 7 and 8 would permit state and local governments to participate in federal-aid hospital and airport programs.

Amendment 4 is the Boswell amendment.

Amendment 6 changes Legislature sessions from a calendar to a legislative-day basis.

The Wrong Remedy

Often human beings, facing difficult and pressing problems, turn more or less desperately, to unsound methods of remedy. It seems that way with advocates of the Boswell amendment. Now that decision on the issue is near at hand in the election Tuesday, the amendment advocates, in the long discussion, have established only this—that they have *not* put forward the right answer to the problem of registration which concerns them so much.

Many of these advocates have often appeared to be near to recognizing as much themselves—particularly in admissions that they do not regard their plan as "perfect." What human plans are perfect? What they really may have come to realize is that their plan is not a good plan. Far from being a good remedy for any existing problems, its adoption would make conditions worse.

* * *

The fundamental and very great weakness of the proposal is that it is in profound conflict with the Constitution of the United States and the demands of justice. This conflict arises out of the flagrant fact that the plan looks to an effort to discriminate against a whole group of citizens.

Some supporters of the amendment have upheld it on the ground that they favor a general discrimination against Negro applicants for registration. Others, at least realizing how untenable any such position is, say they favor registering some Negroes. State Democratic Chairman McCorvey was quoted as saying last week that his idea was "that any intelligent Negro or any intelligent white person would be registered without question." If that is his attitude, why has he been so ardently supporting the amendment? There was nothing in the Supreme Court decision in the Texas case making it easier for "unintelligent" persons to register. It merely held that Negroes could not be barred from voting in Democratic primaries simply on account of color.

Mr. McCorvey specifically disavows any intent to bar all Negroes from registration. He doubtless would say that he believes boards of registrars should have wider latitude in passing on "intelligence" than they now possess.

But, in the first place, relatively few Negroes have been registered under present requirements, which set forth as tests ability to "read and write any article of the constitution," unless inability to do so is due solely to physical disability, and a recognized occupation.

In the second place, is a test of ability to "understand and explain" the constitution necessary in order to pass on the "intelligence" of an applicant?

* * *

Of course an intelligence test is itself a matter about which there might be widely different ideas. A loose provision of that kind would not be satisfactory. What is needed in the law are more specific standards, which lend themselves more readily to uniform application.

It is uniform application which is one of the essentials of a fair registration system. It is because the Boswell amendment would so readily lend itself to misuse, to arbitrary control of registration, that it is so dangerous.

Besides involving a power which many would obviously favor using in arbirtrary and unconstitutional discrimination against a whole category of citizens, it would present positive dangers of abuse and control affecting other citizens.

Able lawyers have even presented the contention that the registration of all citizens since 1903 might be subject to reexamination under this broad provision.

* * *

It may fairly be said in summary, *The News-Age-Herald* believes, that no impressive reasons have been advanced in behalf of adoption of the amendment, while strong reasons have been advanced against its approval.

That is the substance of the issue as we see it.

We believe that Alabamians have increasingly come to this same general view. We have been heartened by the expressions of opposition indicating a deep and growing sentiment against this unsound, essentially unconstitutional device.

* * *

There is, of course, a registration problem. It is not exactly that described by the Boswell amendment. We do not believe Alabama is greater danger.

The way to cure disease is not with the wrong method. That can be a way of killing the patient. The way to solve registration problems is not by wrong methods in basic conflict with the Constitution of the United States.

That way lies the tled by sheer repression. We many extremist supporters of amendment. Unless there fundamental rights to Negro citizens, there can be hope for an orderly, gradual settlement of the whole problem in time. It will not be set-

States.

The system that has prevailed is not satisfactory. The standards set forth are not specific enough. The $300 property qualification, though it apparently is seldom used, should be eliminated.

The whole matter should be subject to a thorough reexamination in a fair-minded study of the many aspects of the problem. That study should be firmly grounded on the principle of registration for all reasonably qualified voters and uniform application of standards to all applicants.

The rejection of this amendment would clear the way for a wiser and sounder dealing with registration problems.

The alternative is further confusion in the whole situation, intensification of racial tensions and, we feel sure, the ultimate rejection of the amendment by the Supreme Court.

Facing these choices, it should not be difficult for Alabamians to decide how to vote on this issue. Fair play, a due regard for American principles and sound judgment and foresight should overwhelmingly repudiate this misconceived and highly dangerous proposal.

DEMOCRATS MUST JOIN RANKS

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

The people of Alabama have approved the Boswell Amendment by some 80,000 "yes" votes as against some 70,000 "no" votes. The margin of victory for the amendment is convincing, though the very substantial opposition vote is evidence of the people's doubts concerning the wisdom of this change in the Constitution of Alabama. Sun. 11-10-46

The Advertiser concedes defeat without bitterness or regrets. We opposed the amendment on principle, being convinced that its adoption instead of solving problems, would compound them. We believe the future will prove the soundness of this position.

Now that the issue has been settled at the polls, however, it is time for Democrats to join ranks again and work as a united party. The smashing Republican victory in national elections portends many problems for the Democrats both on the State and national level. The national defeat may well bring about greater Democratic unity. Such a unity would be enhanced if, during the Republican trend some of Alabama's Republican-spirited Democrats would go over to the Republicans and vote their real convictions.

The chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, Gessner T. McCrovey, of Mobile, is to be commended on his call for renewed Democratic unity in Alabama, and for a fair administration of Alabama's newly adopted suffrage law.

Mr. McCrovey has sent the following message to Alabama's next Governor, James E. Folsom:

Congratulations and all good wishes to our new Governor on his sweeping victory. We must not permit any honest differences of opinion among loyal Democrats on such issues as the Boswell Amendment to cause any rift in our party ranks. I know that you will find all Alabama Democrats anxious to do everything in their power to make your administration one of the finest that Alabama ever had. All of us feel absolutely confident that you and our good friends, Haygood Paterson and Dan Thomas, in selecting our new Boards of Registrars, with the added discretionary powers now conferred on such boards, will use splendid judgment and only appoint to these all-important positions men and women of judicial temperament who will be fair, honorable, upright, just and reasonable in the consideration of the applications of those seeking to register, to the end that no injustice be done to any of our citizens, whether they be white or colored. Alabama will then continue to have an electorate of which we all may well be proud. I sincerely believe that our new registration provisions, when some minor objections have been ironed out, will give Alabama the most workable and satisfactory suffrage laws of any Southern State, and that we will be the envy of our neighbors, with no race friction, bitterness or hatred and with all classes of our citizen realizing that the privilege of the ballot will be extended to them just as soon as they have qualified themselves to vote intelligently. Best regards.

This statement from Mr. McCorvey is wise and in fine spirit. It is good that he admits "some minor objections" to the new law which should be ironed out. All citizens of Alabama will back him up in the suggestion that Boards of Registrars should be composed of men and women of unimpeachable character. Without such officials, justice cannot prevail in the administration of even the best of laws.

Montgomery Attorney Believes Measure Constitutional

Albert J. Pickett, Montgomery lawyer and author of the widely used and authoritative legal treatise on "The Wife as Surety for the Husband," is opposed to the Boswell Amendment but unlike most of the opponents of the amendment, he believes that it would stand a test in court on its constitutionality.

Mr. Pickett was asked by The Advertiser some time ago to write an article analyzing the arguments of speakers on both sides of the question and he finds some reasonable argument on both sides. He believes that instead of the Boswell amendment, the State ought to go about the matter of white supremacy like South Carolina has done, viz: by divorcing the primary from State control in any manner. His article follows:

Rarely has an issue not involving personalities aroused more interest among the electorate of Alabama than has proposed Constitutional Amendment No. 4, popularly known as the Boswell Amendment. The fact is especially astonishing because so little fanfare attended its passage by the Legislature in 1945.

To begin by detailing the words of the Boswell Amendment would be to lay emphasis on form rather than substance. What does not meet the eye is more important than what does; that which is unexpressed is vital and that which is expressed is incidental. The Boswell Amendment itself, the history of what preceded it, and the arguments on both sides are all studies in indirection. So confused have become the issues that it is common now to see contentions advanced by one of the opposing sides which might more appropriately be expected from the other.

In 1944 the Supreme Court of the United States decided the case of Smith vs. Allwright. The gist of that decision is that a Federal statute (8 United States Code, section 31) which provided that "All citizens of the United States . . . . qualified by law to vote at any election shall be entitled and allowed to vote at all such elections, without distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude" applied to a Democratic party pgrimary in Texas in view of the manner in which party primaries were held and regarded by Texas law. A nine-year-old decision to the contrary (Grovey vs. Townsend, also arising in Texas) was over-ruled. The sudden reversal caused Justice Roberts to dissent in Smith vs. Allwright, and it was in this case that he used his famous expression that adjudications of the Supreme Court had come to be regarded as in "the same class as a restricted railroad ticket, good for this day and train only." But he was alone.

Closely Regulated

Although in Texas the State paid no part of the expense of holding a party primary, the cost being assessed against the candidates, the manner of holding primaries was regulated closely by law and was so tied in with the operation of the general election laws as to make the primary system part of a unitary scheme for the selection of officers. Hence, said the Supreme Court, a primary was an election within the meaning of the Federal statute quoted, and no qualified voter, including the Negro, could be excluded from voting therein.

The Legislature of Alabama met the situation thus presented not by altering its primary laws but by proposing an amendment designed to alter the qualifications of electors at all elections. For 43 years section 181 of the Constitution (together with sections 178 and 182, mentioned in section 181) had prescribed the qualifications of electors. The Boswell amendment would change those requirements with the purpose not alone of excluding certain persons from voting in Democratic primaries, an end therefore deemed sufficient, but from voting in general elections as well. This result it was deemed necessary to accomplish in order that those whose vote was not desired in a Democratic our present laws will permit," he declared.

"May I ask that you withdraw your resignation in the interest of continued and orderly administration of our law for your action might be contagious and cause resignations throughout the State," Gov. Sparks wrote Vines.

In the letter to the Chief Executive, Vines said: Sun The Advertiser

"Life is too short for me to contend with the situation as it now exists. I know of no solution that can be given under the present law." Montgomery, Ala.

Negro Vote Is Top Issue In Alabama

The Courier-Journal

State to Decide On Plan For Testing Eligibility

Louisville, Ky.

Montgomery, Ala., Nov. 2 (AP)—A referendum on a constitutional amendment admittedly designed to make it more difficult for Negroes to vote will be a red-hot Alabama issue in Tuesday's general election. Sun. 11-3-46

Alabama voters will express their choice for a Governor, U. S. senator, nine representatives, and scores of lesser officials, but little interest centers in this balloting. The candidates generally already hold the Democratic nomination —tantamount to election.

Top Ranks of Party Split.

The Negro-vote issue is another matter. It has split wide open the top ranks of the Democratic Party in the state, Governor Chauncey Sparks supporting the proposed amendment and his successor, Governor-nominate James E. "Big Jim " Folsom opposing it.

What is known as the Boswell Amendment was submitted to the people by the 1945 Legislature as a result, proponents said, of the U. S. Supreme Court ruling that Negroes cannot be barred from taking part in party primaries.

It would:

1. Require prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" instead of merely read and write any section of the U. S. Constitution and to be of "good moral character."

2. Eliminate the present provision under which anyone who owns property taxable at $300 can vote regardless of whether he can read and write.

Proposal Called Dangerous.

Backers of the amendment declare it is necessary to prevent a "flood of Negro registration," now that the Democratic Party has discarded its traditional "White-primary" label.

Opponents, however, contend the proposal is dangerous in that it gives arbitrary power to the County Boards of Registrars who would decide whether an applicant satisfactorily explains the Constitution.

They argue that the same weapon used to disfranchise the Negro could be employed to deny the right of ballot to "entire groups" of white men and women.

Sparks and other proponents say anyone regardless of race can qualify under the present requirements and that if Negroes are registered en masse it will set up a Negro against a white party.

Sparks Likes Boswell Plan For Alabama

Says Almost Everyone In State Able to Meet Standards

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 7—(AP)—Coming out publicly in favor of the Boswell amendment, Gov. Chauncey Sparks declared today that Alabama's present voting standards can be met "by almost everyone of whatever race," and must be changed.

The system in use now qualifies an applicant for registration if he can read and write the U. S. constitution or owns $300 worth of property.

The amendment, to be decided on in the Nov. 5 general election, would require prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" the constitution, and would eliminate the property ownership clause.

The present system, Gov. Sparks said in a statement, is leading to "unrestricted registration" because illiteracy has "almost disappeared in Alabama."

He cited a 1945 State Department of Education report that only 230 white persons and 434 Negroes 20 years of age in the state cannot read or write.

The governor declared that to give blanket franchise to a group "not altogether qualified" would be "just as tragic today as it was 80 years ago" when Negroes voted en masse during reconstruction days following the War Between

Alabama Chooses Progressive Governor

The Worker New York, N.Y. Sun. 10-28-46

SCARED BOSSES, LANDLORDS NOW TRYING TO TAKE AWAY RIGHT TO VOTE

By Mary Southard

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Wedged in between Talmadge in Georgia and Bilbo in Mississippi, the people of Alabama have managed to vote into office the first progressive governor since Reconstruction.

James E. Folsom, now governor-designate, stumped the state from the Gulf to the hills of north Alabama. He dug away at the grass roots with a program of peace, abolishing the polltax, repealing the Bradford anti-labor act, and breaking through the walls which have kept the majorit of the people shut from the political life of Alabama.

And Folsom got out the vote, the largest in Alabama history. With more than 330,000 ballots cast, he got 191,424.

Alarmed industrialists and big planters are striking back with an assault on the right to vote. They seek to disfranchise even further the people of Alabama, who are already in effect 80 percent voteless, and to pare the electorate down to a controllable group of political hangers-on.

Their scheme is the Boswell amendment to the Alabama Constitution, to be voted on Nov. 5.

This amendment, if passed, will give Alabama the most reactionary registration laws in the South and in the nation.

★

UNDER THE TERMS of the amendment, the county boards of registrars would have unlimited powers to determine who shall vote and how many shall vote in Alabama. A prospective voter must convince a three-man board in his country not only that he can read or write, but that he can "understand and explain" any section of the U. S. Constitution, and that he is a person of "good character."

The registrars are not elected. The offices are handed out by the governor, state auditor and commissioner of agriculture and industries.

Further, the powers conferred on registrars by the amendment are retroactive to 1903. Thus voters now on the lists are threatened if the registrars decide that the new qualifications have not been met.

The Boswell Amendment has brought out into the open the sharp political struggle going on in Alabama. The Democratic Party, held together in spite of various rifts during the Roosevelt administrations, has split publicly into two opposing camps.

★

SENATOR HILL and Governor-designate Folsom have attacked the amendment. Last month a state-wide committee of some 35 leading citizens, influential in public affairs, was organized to conduct a campaign among the voters to defeat the amendment. This committee was formed in protest against the decision of the State Democratic Executive Committee to use $3,500 of Party funds to campaign in support of the amendment.

On the other side Governor Sparks recently joined with the 72-man State Democratic Executive Committee, headed by Gessner T. McCorvey, and Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney and most shameless white supremacist in Alabama in a vicious campaign to ramrod the amendment down the throats of the voters.

Senator Hill charged publicly that three of the biggest corporations in Alabama—the Tennessee Coal Iron and Railroad Co., Republic Steel and Alabama Power—were supporting the amendment, and to date there has been no effective denial.

★

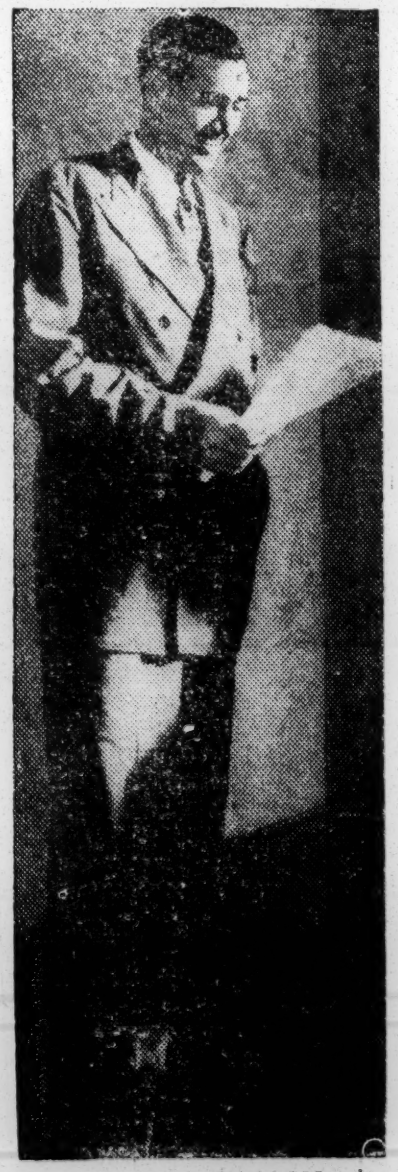
THE AMENDMENT was hatched back in the 1945 legislature as an effective way to throttle the electorate in the event that the polltax should be abolished and an equally effective way to thwart the Texas white primary decision without going through the illegal farce of "removing" the primary from state control, as was done in South Carolina.

The dimensions of this political plot can be outlined in severe and simple figures. There should normally be about 520,905 Negro voters. Actually there are about 6,000 (accurate figure are not available) or 1/100 of these qualified to vote.

Yet in ten of the 67 counties, Negroes form more than 70 percent of the population; in eight, more than half; and in 12, more than one-third. In three leading cities, the steel and iron towns of Bessemer and Fairfield, and the Black Belt cotton center of Selma, they number more than half the population.

The big steel and textile companies see in the amendment a way to throttle the growing political activity of the unions. There are over 300,000 union members in Alabama. During the crucial political campaigns of the past six years, the unions, in spite of hesitations and stumblings, have moved into the state political arena as a force to be reckoned with.

If these 300,000 union men and women were registered voters, the present electorate of Alabama would be almost doubled.



JAMES E. FOLSOM
Governor-Elect

Wilkinson Gives Views On Voting Qualifications

The News Birmingham, Ala. Thurs. 10-17-46

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 17—(AP)—If he were a member of the board of registrars, says Atty. Horace Wilkinson, he "would not ask any question of a white voter I knew possessed the (voting) qualifications prescribed by law."

The Birmingham lawyer said, on the other hand, that if a Negro sought to register and "I did not know the Negro possessed the qualifications prescribed by law, I would ask any question necessary to demonstrate that he was not qualified to register."

Wilkinson's views came in response to a query from Columnist Grover C. Hall, Jr., of The Alabama Journal. Hall asked him what type of questions he would propound to a prospective voter if the Boswell amendment became law.

The amendment, which Wilkinson is supporting, would require applicants for registration to be able to "understand and explain" any section of the U. S. Constitution.

State Legislator Says He Will Vote Against Boswell Amendment

News-Age-Herald Birmingham, Ala. Sun. 10-20-46

"I'm going to vote against the Boswell amendment because I think it is a bad approach to the problem they are trying to solve," declared John B. Weaver, of Double Springs only Republican member of the Alabama House of Representatives.

Interviewed while on a visit to Birmingham Friday, Judge Weaver as he is familiarly known in Winston County where he was probate judge for 12 years, is now serving a two-year unexpired term in the Legislature, to which he was elected after the resignation of Judge Frank M. Johnson.

* * *

A CANDIDATE FOR REELECTION and nominated by the Republican Party without opposition, Judge Weaver said he felt confident that he would be returned to office. "I've never been defeated in a county election," he said, "and I was defeated for public office only once, when I ran for Congress against William B. Bankhead in 1936."

He would not elaborate a great deal concerning his opposition to the Boswell amendment except to say that he thought "it will disenfranchise thousands, and the preset constitutional law on voting is all right. I'm for no change until we get a new constitution, which I believe will be within four or five years."

* * *

DISCOUNTING HIS TWO opponents for the House seat in the November election, Judge Weaver said he would support Folsom's program for the most part.

He wrote an outline of his platform as follows:

1. Old-age pensions of $40 a month for all 65 years old or over who do not have an income of that amount or more.
2. One hundred fifty dollars a month and up for teachers.
3. Reapportionment as required by the constitution.
4. Let the poll tax remain until a new constitution is adopted.
5. Favors local self-government in all counties and cities.
6. Agrees that sales tax tokens should be abolished.
7. For every aid to veterans of World Wars I and II.

He said also that he favored increasing the pay of election officers and jurors to $5 a day.

Judge Weaver had five sons in the service during the war.

He is a farmer.

Boswell Fight Becomes Dirty

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Alabamans Drag In Intermarriage Issue

Sat. 9-28-46

MOBILE, Ala.—As the intermarriage bugaboo was being used to drum up support for the Boswell amendment at the forthcoming November 5 elections, one of the state's big guns sounded off in opposition to the proposal that would disfranchise thousands of Negro voters and endanger the votes of many whites.

The big gun was liberal U. S. Senator Lister Hill, who speaking last week in Arley, charged that several big corporations in the state were major advocates of the proposed amendment.

The senator pointed out that the Boswell amendment would prohibit voting by those whom the big mules do not approve." The power of such companies would be increased, he forecast, to the extent that they would control Alabama elections.

Cites Fear of Vets

Hill further intimated that reactionary political dictators are using the Negro issue as a smoke screen to curb the growing political power of war veterans and labor.

If the amendment is approved by the electorate at the usually tame general elections in November, registrars will have arbitrary power to deny the ballot to any prospective voter who in their judgment is not qualified.

Meanwhile advocates of the amendment, hitting below the belt and making an appeal for backwoods support, are making capital of the fear of intermarriage.

Their opponents, they say, "want to whiten their skin—and with the

McCorvey Probed in 1944

In 1944 McCorvey was questioned by the Department of Justice for denying Negroes the right to vote in the Democratic primary of that year. It was also reported at that time that Attorney General Francis Biddle had planned bringing criminal action against McCorvey and other Democratic leaders in the state, but that the action was dropped as result of an "understanding" that there would be no further interference

note that they hope to obtain political and social equality and force intermarriages between white and black races, the privilege for Negro men to marry white women is their ultimate goal . . ."

Chief advocate of the amendment, who publicly admits that its purpose is to circumvent the U. S. Supreme Court decision opening the Democratic primaries in the South to all voters, is Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the state Democratic executive committee.

Some Democratic leaders who with rights of Negroes to vote, favored the amendment, have since shifted because of the type of propaganda being used to put it over.

A Black Belt Minister Speaks Out

Editor, The Advertiser: *The Advertiser*

I have followed with considerable interest editorials and letters in two of Alabama's leading newspapers during the discussion of the Boswell Act. And just yesterday the State Democratic Committee wasted enough money to send me propaganda favoring proposed Amendment Four. *Montgomery, Ala*

I could write briefly to say I consider the Boswell Act undemocratic, unfair, unreasonable and un-Christian, all of which I believe it to be, and stop with that. However, like most preachers, I feel the urge to amplify my feelings, and must preach for a moment. And, as preachers usually do, I need to make a few observations before getting around to the real point this letter hopes to establish.

Nothing Communist About It

The issue of communism has been dragged into this discussion by those who favor proposed Amendment Four. The use of the word Communist as an epithet to apply to opponents of the Boswell Act is silly and childish. To designate a man who disagrees with you as a Communist has come to the point now where it has lost its meaning. I know many persons who oppose the Act fervently, and there is not a "meanie" among them. They are good solid citizens of this State. They are persons who are proud of Alabama's progressivism and its sensible political decisions in the past few years, and they want to see Alabama continue its leadership in representing the best the South can offer. *Tues. 10-22-46*

Several days ago the first page of the Montgomery Advertiser carried news articles which contained candid admissions of political leaders in two great Southern states, in which they openly confessed that they fully intended to keep the colored population of their state in a political ghetto. If we did not know the situation to be sadly true, one would think he were witnessing a Gilbert and Sullivan "take-off" on American democracy. It would be amusing if it were not pure tragedy. For such leaders, the word is written with a capital first letter: Democracy, not democracy. It is not the rule of the people that interests them, but the rule of a hand-picked group of individuals. They insist that they are trying to preserve "supremacy." We might do better to seek superiority. Superiority cannot be legislated. Superiority is not a matter of law; it either exists or it does not, and if it exists it does so without having attention drawn to it or laws thrown around it like a coffee-dam. The Nazis were supreme, but definitely not superior.

If the Boswell Act should become law, who is going to examine the registrars to see if THEY are fit to serve their office? I gathered enough first-hand experience when my wife and I were being registered as voters to question seriously the fitness of some registrars to handle matters on which the nine justices of the Supreme Court seldom agree. The registrar who asked us the routine questions about birthdays, etc., was not even able to copy correctly in his scarcely legible hand data that he had written himself but one minute previously. Anyhow, however good their intentions or education may be, it is not right that several hundred Alabamians should control the franchise of hundreds of thousands of their fellow-citizens.

Would Favor the Well-to-Do

If fair educational benefits had always been enjoyed by all Alabamians, city and rural and white and black, if economic benefits had been distributed more equitably, thus making higher education available to more people, then to put such a registration law into effect might be justified; but until economic and educational opportunities have been provided on a wider scale than they have been until this time, such a law will disfranchise those whose cultural opportunities have been limited. The law, enacted, will favor the well-to-do, the aristocracy of Alabama. It is class legislation as well as a race legislation, and both are sinister.

It is obivious that the lines are drawn between those who believe in extending political democracy in Alabama and those who wish to continue the political oligarchy we have had. Those who favor abolition of the poll tax, and who favor staying in the Union that operates under the Constitution of the United States are distinguished from those Alabamians who, seeing inevitable abolition of the poll tax and federal insistence on giving the vote to the people, are casting about to find means to keep the electorate small in order that it may be controlled as easily as heretofore.

The main effect of the Boswell Act, if it should pass, would not be racial, but would be accentuation of class distinction in the state. We already seethe inside when the backwardness of the South is mentioned, but a large measure of the retardation of the South is the direct consequence of our own pronounced intention to retard the political and economic development of large fractions of our population. Booker Washington was on the beam when he said that if the white man wants to keep the Negro in the ditch he must stick close by to see that he stays down. The same holds true of the prosperous white man's attitude toward the poor white man. The progress of the whole South will be in direct proportion to the progress of the disinherited white and the large colored segment of our population. Economically, politically, physiologically—our corporate progress will be determined by that meted out to the underpriviliged whites and all the colored population.

Should Read Emerson

Supporters of the Boswell Amendment should read, before voting, Ralph Emerson's "Essay on Compensation." Quoting briefly from several points, we get the theme of the essay: "I shall attempt . . . to record some facts which indicate the path of the law of Compensation. Polarity, or action and reaction, we meet in every part of nature . . . Nature hates monopolies and exceptions. This law writes the laws of cities and nations. It is in vain to build or plot or combine against it. Things refuse to be mismanaged long. Though no checks to a new evil appear, the checks exist, and will appear. While thus the world will be whole, and refuses to be disparted, we seek to act partially, to sunder, to appropriate . . . All infractions of love and equity in our social relations are speedily punished. They are punished with fear. Whilst I stand in simple relations to my fellow-man, I have no displeasure in meeting him. But as soon as there is any departure from simplicity, and attempt at halfness, or good for me that is not good for him, . . . there is war between us, there is hate in him and fear in me. There is a third silent partner to all bargains."

The Boswell Act, or proposed Amendment Four, by confession of its promoters, is an expedient, a policy designed to block extension of the ballot to the whole voting population of the state. Henry Thoreau once made some pertinent remarks that bear recalling. He asked: "Will men never learn that policy is not morality—that it never secures any moral right, but considers merely what is expedient?" Writing on "Slavery in Massachusetts," he said: "I wish my countrymen to consider, that whatever the human law may be, neither an individual nor a nation can ever commit the least act of injustice against the obscurest individual without having to pay the penalty for it. A government which deliberately enacts injustice, and persists in it, will at length even become the laughing-stock of the world." The same may be said of ballot slavery in Alabama. *Tues. 10-22-46*

When we try to allocate political privileges on some basis other than rightness, we are tampering with the scales of Divine justice. To avowedly attempt to circumvent the law of the nation, so as to favor a particular group in society, will in the long run cause more misery than will fair treatment of all at the time that it is due. Calamity will fall upon Alabama tomorrow if we today thwart the cosmic drive toward justice and freedom for all citizens who are truly qualified.

And what is the text? "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me." Yes, a radical named Jesus said that.

Cordially,
JOHN BRANSFORD NICHOLS.
Prattville Methodist Church,
Prattville, Ala.

Demo Head Urges 'Judicial' Enforcement Of Boswell Law

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Sat. 11-9-46

With the near-complete count giving a margin of more than 11,000 votes in favor of the Boswell amendment, the State Democratic Executive Committee chairman Saturday urged that men and women of "judicial temperament" be named to enforce the newly adopted provision.

Seeking to unite Alabama Democrats who were in opposite camps during the fight over the amendment, Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, state committee chairman, dispatched a telegram to Gov.-Elect James E. Folsom suggesting such a course, and adding:

"In the consideration of the applications of those seeking to register . . . no injustice (should) be done to any of our citizens, whether they be white or colored."

As governor, Folsom will appoint one member of each county's three-member Board of Registrars. The other two will be appointed by the incoming commissioner of agriculture, Haygood Paterson, and the incoming state auditor, Dan Thomas.

McCorvey congratulated Folsom on his election last Tuesday, and said he felt certain the three appointive officials would use "splendid judgment" in establishing the new Boards of Registrars.

"I sincerely believe," the party executive told Folsom, "that our new registration provisions, when some minor objections have been ironed out, will give Alabama the most workable and satisfactory suffrage laws of any Southern state." He added:

* * *

"WE MUST NOT PERMIT any honest differences . . . on such issues as the Boswell amendment to cause a rift in our party ranks."

McCorvey supported the amendment and Folsom opposed it.

McCorvey said he had a plan which would make the state's voting laws "more workable," and would outline his views on the matter at a later date.

The proposal was designed to prevent mass registration of Negroes.

* * *

A TALLY OF 2,117 BOXES out of 2,362 showed 84,285 votes for the measure and 72,718 against it. The uncounted boxes were about evenly divided between sections for and against it.

Its opponents, including Gov.-Elect Folsom, argued it was undemocratic, and said it could be used to disqualify white persons as well as Negroes.

They also insisted that existing statutes were sufficiently broad to prevent the registration of persons unfit for the franchise.

The Boswell law repealed a provision conveying eligibility to register to persons who either owned $300 or more taxable property, or were able to "read and write" any provision of the U. S. constitution.

WINSTON DEMOCRATIC

DOUBLE SPRINGS, Ala., Nov. 9—(AP)—Winston County, usually the lone Alabama county to be found in the Republican column, broke with tradition last Tuesday by favoring James E. Folsom (D.) over Dr. Lyman Ward (R.) in the governor's race.

The official canvass showed 1,538 Winston votes for Folsom and 1,088 for Ward. Folsom also carried the other 66 Alabama counties.

Winston won the name of "The Free State of Winston" in 1861 when it seceded from the state after Alabama became a part of the Confederacy. Last Tuesday, as customary, Winston returned a full slate of Republican county officers.

Boswell Bill Still In Limelight

The News Birmingham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 9—(AP)—Although the interest was not confined to Montgomery, the top news of the week in the capital was the apparent ratification of the Boswell amendment, and observers settled back today to watch for the reaction.

Proponents of the constitutional change to tighten uu on voter qualifications in Alabama argued prior to last Tuesday's election that it was necessary to prevent a "flood of Negro registration."

Those who led the fight against the amendment, however, contended it was dangerous in that it would give "arbitrary" powers to county boards of registrars, and some of them predicted it would not survive a test in court.

Nov. 15.

The official canvass by the governor, attorney general and secretary of state must be made within 15 days after the election, but another statute requires that congressmen and senators be certified within 10 days. Both canvasses probably will be made at the same time. Of course, no suit can be filed in court over the Boswell amendment until county boards of registrars have had an opportunity to put it into effect. They meet on Nov. 18 and if the results of the election proclaimed by then anyone seeking registration will be subject to the new requirements.

* * *

PROCEEDINGS TO TEST its basic law, written into the state's basic law, that probably will come about

Sat. 11-9-46

an elector since that time could be compelled to re-register if the act passes.

Such is not the case, Governor Sparks said. The amendment which requires that registrants be able to "understand and explain" the United States Constitution, is merely a safeguard for the future, he explained.

He pointed out that the legislature had the authority to set up safeguards against forcing re-registration and that had been done. He cited a law at present on the statute books that requires a purge of voting lists every two years of names of persons who have died, changed residence, been convicted of a crime or committed to a mental institution. *The Advertiser Tues.*

Governor Sparks reiterated his advocacy of a gradual registration of qualified Negroes. Supporters of the amendment say it is designed to prevent a flood of Negro voting. *Montgomery, Ala*

McCorvey Raps Hill's Talk On Boswell Plan

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Fri. 9-13-46

MOBILE, Ala., Sept. 13—(AP)—An Alabama Democratic Party official finally has said publicly what many a Southern Democrat has discussed in private.

Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of the State Executive Committee, after rapping a statement by Sen. Lister Hill (D., Ala.), said that "the Democratic Party in the South and the Democratic Party nationally, on some propositions, are entirely different animals."

McCorvey's statement was in response to one made by Sen. Hill at Arley, Ala., in opposition to the Boswell amendment to the state constitution.

Hill said the amendment was designed to prohibit voting by those "whom the big mules do not approve."

The amendment, which will be voted on in the Nov. 5 general election, would tighten registration requirements by eliminating a provision permitting a person to vote if he or his wife can show possession of property valued at $300 and requiring a voter to interpret the U. S. constitution.

After referring to the senator's remark as "all buncombe," McCorvey observed that the Southern party and the national party "stand for entirely different principles, although we have been loyal to our party's nominees."

The state chairman also observed that "the overwhelming majority of our state committee took the position that we should be militant Democrats and continue to fight for white supremacy in our state, regardless of the position taken by some of those who stand high in the councils of our party nationally."

Colored Minister Opposes Amendment

The Advertiser Sat. 10-19-46
Montgomery, Ala.

In a ringing appeal to his fellow colored ministers of Alabama, the Rev. N. A. Troutman last night asked that all preach and work against the Boswell Amendment from now to Nov. 5.

"Wake up, you colored ministers in Alabama that are so-called race leaders," he wrote. "From now until Nov. 5, preach to your hearers and tell them what it would mean to them if the Boswell Amendment is adopted.

"I want you to tell all of the qualified (Negro) voters that can vote to go to the polls and vote 'No' with the good white people."

Troutman expressed doubt that Negroes would be elected to office in Alabama, should the Boswell Amendment be beaten, because "there are enough good white men for the high offices."

Hill Stand On Boswell Plan Said 'Buncombe' By McCorvey

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Fri. 9-13-46

MOBILE, ALA., Sept. 12.—(AP)—The Alabama Democratic Party chairman lashed out at Senator Lister Hill today for his stand on a proposed voting law amendment with the assertion that "the Democratic Party in the South and the Democratic Party nationally, on some propositions, are entirely different animals."

Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, described as "all buncombe, pure and simple" a statement by Hill that the aim of the Boswell amendment was to prohibit voting by those "whom the Big Mules do not approve."

"The overwhelming majority of our State committee took the position that we should be militant Democrats and continue to fight for white supremacy in our State, regardless of the position taken by some of those who stand high in the councils of our party nationally," McCorvey declared in a statement.

"The Democratic Party in the South and the Democratic Party nationally, on some propositions, are entirely different animals, and stand for entirely different principles, although we have been loyal to our party's nominees."

The Boswell amendment, which will be voted on in the Nov. 5 general election, would tighten registration restrictions by requiring that a voter be able to interpret the United States Constitution. It also would eliminate the provision permitting a person to vote if he can show that he or his wife possess property valued at $300.

McCorvey's statement was in response to remarks made by Hill yesterday to a group at Arley, Ala.

Recalling that the State legislature approved submission of the measure to the people by a "unanimous, or almost unanimous vote," McCorvey said in part:

"No so-called 'Big Mule' suggested to me, either directly or indirectly, or to any member of the committee, so far as I know, the advisability of having the people of Alabama adopt such an amendment to our constitution."

FOR BOSWELL AMENDMENT

To the Editor of The Age-Herald:

On Nov. 5, 1946, the Boswell amendment will be ratified, or it will be defeated. Its language and its meaning have been discussed recently so fully pro and con, that I shall not now deal with that phase of the question. I want to deal with consequences.

If it is adopted, few, very few Negroes will register. For each applicant for registration must satisfy a board of registrars that he is able to understand and explain any article of the constitution of the United States; that he is of good character, and that he understands the duties and obligations of citizenship under a Republican form of government. Admittedly, these requirements are high; but not too high, if it takes that to guarantee white supremacy. Lower them, and our plight is that of hapless Georgia where about 140,000 Negroes are now registered.

To defeat the Boswell amendment is to lower the registration level to that prescribed by Section 181 of the present constitution. Under it about 6,000 Negroes can legally register now in Wilcox County, while we have only 2,550 whites registered, and not one Negro. Defeat the Boswell amendment and Lowndes and Greene Counties can legally register four times as many Negroes as whites; Macon and Dallas twice as many; Montgomery and Barbour 40 per cent; Jefferson County 30 per cent.

We are not naive enough to believe that we in the Black Belt can continue to hold the line against an onrushing black horde without a change in our fundamental law; especially, when we realize that horde is spurred on by radicals in the North, aided and abetted by some of our leading daily newspapers, and (I blush for Alabama when I say it) a U. S. senator named Hill, Lister Hill. The man who at Arley this week sought to array class against class; the man who said, in substance, that this amendment was supported by big corporations who would "milk Alabama and give nothing in return;" the man who listed Alabama Power Co. as one of such corporations, and yet its president, Tom Martin, says he has never read it, never discussed it; therefore does not know whether he is for it or against it.

We in the Black Belt need the help today of every white person in Alabama; I plead for that help. I say to you solemnly: our only hope for white supremacy, our only hope for peace, our only protection against a race war is in the adoption of this amendment.

J. M. BONNER.

Camden, Ala., Sept., 14, 1946.

DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRACY

To the Editor of The News:

You are to be commended for your stand against the Boswell amendment. The Democratic Party has disfranchised enough good people in Alabama and the South. If this thing goes on, before long nobody can vote in Alabama but college graduates and millionaires.

I would suggest that the leaders of the party go down to Montgomery and go into the Capitol Building and turn the faces of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and Woodrow Wilson to the wall and hang crepe on the rest who called themselves Democrats. Then let the Legislature pass a resolution changing the name of the Democratic Party to something more appropriate.

As far as the colored people are concerned, any Negro who votes the Democratic ticket in any state of the Union ought to be disfranchised. In the North and East the Democrats would never think of offering any such amendment. Why? Because up there they want the Negro vote. Before any Negro in the North and East votes Democratic, he should stop and think about the treatment accorded his race in the South where we have but one party.

We have 150,000 white people in Alabama who cannot vote today because of an old, out-of-date poll tax law here. Any man who takes his gun and fights to defend this country in time of war, and at the same time pays taxes to support this government, should have the right to vote, regardless of whether he ever spent one day in school, or regardless of his race. That is democracy. J. L. ADERS.

517 North 22nd Street.

A HOAX AND A DECEPTION

To the Editor of The News: The News

The proponents of the Boswell amendment are attempting to make the public believe that its opposition is led by men who are engaged in a nationwide "leftist" plot to overthrow the government and sell the country to the Communists. They know that this is dishonest argument, but they hope the public is too ignorant to find it out. They are as aware as the opposition that the success of their campaign depends on the moral and intellectual ignorance of the electorate whose baser passions they are doing all they can to inflame in order to blind them to the lucidity of the truth. Birmingham, Ala.

Speaking of plots, the shoe belongs on the other foot. Who started this row anyway, the proponents of the Boswell amendment or the opponents? The opponents are seeking to establish nothing new. They are trying to overthrow nothing. They seek merely to maintain the rights which they, as citizens of the state, already have. The proponents are making a determined effort to destroy these rights. So who's plotting?

It's the old, old, but nevertheless despicable story of the offender trying to pass off as the defender. In order to keep our thinking straight we must remember that the one who begins aggression is the aggressor, not the one who resists it. Thurs. 10-17-46

It will be argued, of course, that in this case aggression is necessary, offense is the best defense, and that the only purpose of the Boswell amendment is to keep the mass of Negroes from voting. If the amendment is enforced, it will affect the white race more disastrously than the colored, for the white race already has the ballot and the colored does not; and it is not to be supposed that the mass of white people can understand the constitution when the Supreme Court cannot always agree on its interpretation. If the amendment is not going to be impartially enforced, then the whole thing is a hoax and a base deception—a mere legal screen for illegality. If we're going to legalize dishonesty, we'd better remember that the worm sometimes turns. CARMEL PRESLEY.

McKenzie, Ala.

* * *

DEMOCRACY OR DICTATORSHIP?

To the Editor of The News:

We hear so much both pro and con about the Boswell amendment that we hardly know what to believe, but I would like to call attention to Joe Poole's statement in The Alabama Farmers Bulletin of Oct. 15. Mr. Poole lambasts CIO-PAC, the Communists and all other left-wingers.

I would say most good Americans are against the Communists, but how Mr. Poole can see things so much different now than a few weeks ago when he supported and was all-out for this same group, is hard to understand.

Then he speaks about the Republican renegades, a few misguided people and a lot of left-wing intellectuals. The way Mr. Poole sees it, if the Boswell amendment is defeated, the Negroes and a few CIO-PACs will send a delegation to the convention and nominate Henry Wallace for president.

I wonder how many Republicans in this good state of ours would be able to read, interpret and explain the Constitution of the U. S. Consider seriously before casting your vote on Nov. 5. Do we want democracy or dictatorship? A vote for the Boswell amendment is dictatorship. L. M. DOROUGH.

Helena, Ala.

MORE VOTERS NEEDED

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Sun. 10-20-46

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

So far the advocates of the Boswell amendment have not given one single factual reason why we need the amendment. They say they don't want the Negro to vote, but the amendment doesn't say so. Neither does it say there will be no white boys and girls denied the right to vote.

We have too many loopholes in laws now. Too many laws are written like this amendment, with its real meaning and purpose camouflaged with white supremacy.

Mr. Housal, in a lengthy comment for the amendment, pleads for a superior race. Hitler did the same thing, and where is Hitler now and where is his superior race? No man, set of men, no nation can stifle the voices of the people and hope to build upon an enduring foundation. Someone has said, "Give the people light and they will find their own way." What we need in Alabama is more government by the people and less of boards and machine cliques.

The fact we have the Boswell amendment is proof that there are some cliques and machines that haven't as much power as they want and are afraid of a government of the people, for the people and by the people. Yes, they have heard a voice coming from the ranks of the great commonwealth of Alabama and they realize the end of machine politics in all political parties is near, so they camouflage their real purpose in a well-worded document called the "Boswell amendment." But they forgot that out in the hills and hollows of Alabama there are hundreds of good, honest people who are able to look beneath the

chouflage because they seek divine guidance when the cast their votes.

The great need in Alabama is not fewer voters but more voters, fewer cliques and less rottenness in elections. If we would spend as much time and money for a people's government as is spent to take the government away from the people, we would think more of ourselves and would build a greater civilization.

W. E. BRADEN.

Springville, Ala.

Voice Of The People

WHICH SHALL WE CHOOSE?

To the Editor of The News: The News

The ratification of the Boswell amendment to the state constitution would be our only hope toward survival of white supremacy in the state of Alabama. There is just one issue for consideration—white or Negro domination. Which shall we choose? Thurs. 10-17-46

Birmingham, Ala. MARTIN AVERY,
Democratic Committeeman, Election Beat 14,
Walker County, Jasper, Ala.

BOSWELL AMENDMENT, BY A NEGRO

To the Editor of The News:

Many citizens of Alabama, white and colored, thank you for uncovering the hidden aims and objectives of the much-discussed Boswell amendment to the Alabama Constitution. You, Sen. Hill, Mr. Rives, Mr. Clark Coleman, whose letter appeared in The News of Sept. 18, and all of the people who are saying no to the adoption of this undemocratic measure, are taking the proper course, and we trust that a majority of the Alabama electorate will follow you in helping to defeat this law.

The majority of the State Democratic Executive Committee claims that, through the adoption of this amendment, they seek, and will get, a more intelligent suffrage. If that is what they seek, all well and good, provided the scheme shall be applied to all citizens alike. Under this amendment all registrants are required to understand the constitution and be able to explain any paragraph to the satisfaction of the registrars. The applicants also must know and answer any historical data that the registrars care to ask them. The News says such amendment "gives the registrars sweeping power to prevent the registration of any person who may be in any way offensive to the registrars." It seems that, as this majority of the committee wants to "tighten up our registration laws," they mean to cut out or prevent the registration of such citizens as they do not want, whether such citizens be intelligent or illiterate, and vice versa if the registrars want them.

I remember quite well the year 1901, when the powers-that-be called a constitutional convention to revise the electorate (disfranchise the Negro) of Alabama. They made it very hard for any Negro in Alabama to register. However, a few came through the mill by answering hundreds of irrelevant questions (the writer was one of them). I have wondered ever since that time why those in authority in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and other states of the South don't want the Negro to vote or take any part in the government which rules over him, and do not want him to take part in any civic activities of the state. Without the ballot no one can be a full-fledged citizen of any state.

The American white man, however, never fails to call on the Negro to come and help fight the wars and keep back the enemy from our shores. The Negro never fails to go. He is always willing to go to war, and fight like the devil when he gets there. He has helped this country fight in all of its wars. He has also helped to clear the forests, build the railroads and highways, to plant and raise the crops, and hundreds of other things to prove his worthiness for complete citizenship.

The Boswell amendment, if adopted, will not strengthen but weaken the democracy of our state. It will, in the minds of many, regardless of race, lower the standard of freedom as embodied in the American Constitution.

I have voted in every election in my county and state for 56 years for the best men and best measures. I have built and for 57 years taught a helpful and outstanding school for my people in my community. I have striven to foster peace and good will between the races. So far as that bugaboo of so-called "social equality" is concerned, leading Negroes don't want it, wouldn't have it.

HENRY D. DAVIDSON,
Principal Emeritus, Bibb County Training School, Centreville, Ala.

This Evening

THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

The News Birmingham, Ala. Mon.

One of the most powerful arguments this deponent has seen against the Boswell amendment is a letter which appeared in *The News* of Sept. 22 from William D. Lanier, Jr., of Jasper. Mr. Lanier describes himself as "a small-town merchant," but he writes with a grace and cogency not to be found in the work of most professional scribblers. His brief against the amendment should be printed and circulated by opponents as the best "conservative and commonsense" statement of the case for rejection which has yet appeared. Mr. Lanier is a Southerner whose feet are on the ground but whose eyes are open to realities. As such, he riddles the pretensions of the "Boswellites," who, behind a smoke-screen of talk about "social equality" are actually engaged, wittingly or unwittingly, in trying to forge the chains of political serfdom for white Alabamians. 10-14-46

As a commentary on Mr. Lanier's definitive argument, another letter appearing in *The News* for Oct. 11 is recommended. It comes from Raymond J. Rowell, of Birmingham, and it explains why the Boswell amendment is before the voters of the state. "Black Belt politicians are disturbed by the fact that lately the increasing number of voters in North Alabama are defeating their hand-picked candidates," Mr. Rowell points out. "Preservation of certain political machines in certain areas" and "destruction of the power of organized labor's political groups" are objectives aimed at by those who are pressing for ratification of the amendment.

Anyone who has watched the line-up of forces in this fight must realize that Messrs. Lanier and Rowell are presenting the facts of the situation. Sen. Boswell speaks for the Black Belt, but his cause has been taken up by others equally solicitous about preserving a manageable electorate. This is the traditional alignment. That the "Boswellites" seem to be so well-heeled is an item not to be lost sight of. They seem to be spending more money than the $3,500 which the State Democratic Executive Committee set aside for the purpose, even though such an outlay is a shocking abuse of trusteeship.

Observe the courthouse machines as they swing into line for the amendment. Observe the county committees going through the same maneuver. These are made up of practical politicians who are mainly interested in preserving their power. They prefer a restricted electorate. They are part of that statewide sodality which thrives on such an arrangement. Does anyone think that "Boswellites" in Birmingham, for instance, are really worried about the Negro as a voter? There are only 1,600 to 1,700 Negroes in a total of about 65,000 registered in Jefferson County. Is this the threat to "white supremacy" in our community? Has anything happened here or elsewhere in the state which invalidates the significance of Richard Rives' assertion that under our present law "although Negroes compose one-third of our population 21 years of age or over, they form less than one-hundredth of our population qualified to vote"?

Not a few intelligent Alabamians are sincerely worried about Negro militancy. They are disquieted by the knowledge that primaries are now open to Negro voters. They see what has happened in Georgia where in the recent election a much larger number of Negroes cast their ballots than in past primaries. Our "Boswellites" point to that in justification of their scare tactics. But what they fail to mention is that Georgia has no poll tax, while Alabama retains it. No inundation of Negro registrants, no inundation of white registrants, is conceivable so long as the poll tax barrier stands. Our racialists and passion-tearers can't get around that towering fact.

It is merely meeting proponents of the Boswell amendment on their own ground to quote this passage from Mr. Lanier's letter: "If the Boswellites have not yet learned that Alabama is part of the United States and that supremacy of the national will, whether we like it or not, was established permanently and irrevocably in 1865, they should at least understand that their proposal, far from helping, would prove a very great disservice to the cause of white supremacy. It would be a red flag to the PAC bull. It would outrage liberals everywhere, it would provide a 'cause' for the parlor pinks, and it would bring down on us a veritable avalanche of crusaders determined to save us from our sins and convince us of our iniquities. It would, in short, produce the damndest nuisance since Sherman."

That is the opinion of a man born and raised in the briar patch. He pictures what is bound to be the consequence of the ratification of the amendment. Do we have to invite bedevilment of this sort, do we have to risk the undermining of our franchise system, do we have to approve a dishonest and undemocratic constitutional provision, merely to satisfy the prejudice of some people and the greed of others? And do we have to do this not because we face a threat to white supremacy but because machine politicians face a threat to their hold upon the political life of Alabama?

Hallmarks

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Boswell Amendment Can Operate Two-Tone

Sun. 10-6-46

By GROVER C. HALL, JR.

EVERY citizen who is trying to make up his mind whether to vote for or against the Boswell Amendment would do well to reach his decision with some consideration of what took place in 1901.

That was the year of the last constitutional convention and the year in which Alabama decided to purge Negroes from the voting list in the wake of the Reconstruction debauch. What must be remembered is, it was not only the Negroes the party elders were trying to disfranchise. It was also the poor whites they were after. These men believed that property and franchise should be hyphenated. They feared the masses, in the worst Bourbon way.

There can be no question that the poor whites were a target. Gov. Samford, who had just been nominated, opposed—either on grounds of expediency or conviction—making suffrage reform a plank in the convention platform. To mollify Gov. Samford, the leaders agreed aforetime that no changes would be made in the Constitution that would disqualify white persons from voting.

These leaders were the philosophical kin of the men who now urge adoption of the Boswell Amendment.

The convention met during the days of Booker T. Washington. His speech before the convention is well worth reading in terms of the present. Washington, born in a Virginia slave quarter, told the convention that the Negro had learned his lesson and that he was now entitled "to some humble share in choosing those who shall rule over him." Then Washington argued:

"The Negro youth must have some incentive for right and useful living held out to him. Let the Negro youth feel that no matter how intelligent or useful he makes himself, that there is no hope of reward held out before him, and there is danger that he will become a beast, reveling in crime, and a body of death about the neck of the State."

A TIME FOR GREATNESS

To the Editor of The News: The News

I am no prophet. I am one of the millions of Americans lost in the wilderness of time seeking a way out. I stand at the crossroads. One road leads to peace, the other leads to war. I want to go down the road that leads to peace, but it isn't marked, and I am afraid. My forefathers marked the road to peace—for me and for others; but enemies have sneaked up in the darkness and have taken the signposts away. I must rely upon my own self, or I am eternally lost.

I know that down the road that leads to war are the things my forefathers warned me against. Grandfather said some day the free, common man would get tired of being pushed around by the man whose power was money earned by scheming and crushing those who got in his way, and would rise up against this evil power. Birmingham, Ala.

My father said some day the ignorant masses of both white and colored people would be swayed into open war by cunning radical leaders of both races who would come out of the war without a scratch. Of course, the leaders would eventually end up on the dangling end of a rope, but there would be thousands of innocent, ignorant masses in both races who would dangle on the end of that rope—before it finally tightened on the leaders. If you do not agree, look at Germany today. Tues. 10-15-46

The ignorant masses of the German people have gone down the wrong road, only to find themselves to be "the goats" instead of supermen. The leaders who told them what they would find at the end of that road were either shot or hanged before they could sway the ignorant masses to the right road. Some of these leaders escaped and are trying to show the American people which road to take—and they won't listen.

The Boswell amendment is on that road that leads to war. The free man is on the march, whether he is black or white. You can't preach freedom and democracy to the rest of the world and imply in what you do and say that you are not democratic in your own country.

My mother told me that some day the good elements of the world would rise up against the bad; but I've always asked, "Why some day? Why not now?" The good man is on the march—whether he is white or colored. You can't preach Christ to the heathen world and crucify Him in the land where the heathen believes His spirit guides all men.

D. GRUSENDORF.

Carmichael Denies Boswell Amendment Aimed At Negro

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 11-3-46

Charging that the Boswell Amendment is aimed directily and squarely at and against the white democracy of this State, Albert A. Carmichael, attorney general nominate, said yesterday that the "real forces" behind the plan had chosen a thoroughly discredited argument to gain their purposes.

"Differences of opinion among fellow Democrats," he said usually bring forth helpful argument. I concede honesty and sincerity in this matter to all with whom I find myself in disagreement. I find myself in disagreement with those fellow Democrats who favor the adoption of the Boswell Amendment, or Amendment No. 4.

"I do not now, nor have I ever thought the proposed Amendment is directed against the Negro, qualified or not qualified, except in a small way. The fact that a few qualified Negroes would be caught in the drag-net, does not make the proposal an anti-Negro proposal, any more than the inclusion of a rabbit, in a sandwich made of one rabbit and one elephant, would make that sandwich a rabbit sandwich. Amendment No. 4 is aimed squarely and directly at and against the white democracy of this State, in the same way the German 88's were aimed at and against the American Army tanks in the battle of the Bulge.

"Discredited Plan"

With considerable skill, the real forces in charge of placing this noose around the neck of the Democracy of Alabama, have chosen that thoroughly discredited and entirely worn-out battle-field known as the "run, nigger, run" battle-field. This argument is supposed and expected to absolutely paralyze. I shall not be surprised to yet see the "Pope" brought into this campaign, and then the picture will be complete—both the "Pope" and the Negro will be after all of us. It is presumed by the real leadership (or force) seeking the adoption of this Amendment, that the use of the words "Nigger," "Pope" "Rooster," and "White Supremacy" will throw a spell over the voters from which they can't possibly recover until after they awake and find this noose around their necks, as it assuredly will be if this amendment is adopted.

Presents a False Issue

Do you think for a minute that the "away down deep under" forces championing this proposed amendment, fear in the slightest the mass registeration of Negroes under our present system? Not at all. The real forces behind this amendment do not think along these lines, except for the purpose of attempting to have this matter decided on the basis of a false issue. The Advertiser

Since when did these forces become so solicitous about the welfare of the Democracy of Alabama as to assume its protection in any way? I wish to assure you that their theory of protection is not the same as mine. These chosen leaders directing this scrap for the adoption of this amendment, know that the white vote in Alabama is always on the increase, and this increase is terrifying to them.

They know that in the not distant future many additional white Democrats are likely to be enfranchised, and the mortal fear of this has driven these forces to seek to try to off-set this likely increase of white voters, by procuring for themselves a certain and definite measure of control over the entire democracy of Alabama. The relatively small number of qualified Negro voters who might be caught in this drag-net is purely incidental to the main effort. These forces fear the open, free and unfetterd expression of the white democracy of Alabama. Montgomery, Ala.

Direct Conflict

And why, may I inquire, do the ultra-reactionary forces in Alabama fear this free expression from the white democracy of Alabama? The question almost answers itself. Sun. 11-3-46

The reason is that if the white folks in Alabama were allowed to vote freely, they would vote for their own self interest and this interest is in direct conflict with the interests of this small but very powerful force seeking the adoption of this amendment. There, my fellow Democrats, is the real issue, and in this issue we don't find the Negro, the "Pope," a "Rooster" or "white supremacy." We do find here the issue of the supremacy of the democracy of Alabama, and if the issue, the real issue, may be stated a little differently, it might be expressed this way: Shall the democracy of Alabama shake loose from all shackles and vote its full strength—free, open and unfettered—or shall the democracy of Alabama not only retain its present shackles and fetters, but increase the weight of these shackles by the adoption of this amendment? No, my fellow Democrats, this proposal is distinctly anti-white folks.

Playing For High Stakes

The forces behind the proposed amendment are not dealing in "chicken feed." This is no penny-ante game they are playing but a game for table stakes, and all of my fellow Democrats who believe that these forces have placed only $3,500 in this game have been pretty badly misled in my judgment. This proposal is perhaps the most high-handed, open and brazen attempt to gain a definite measure of selfish control, under the protection of law, over the entire Democratic electorate of an entire State, ever attempted in this State, and, perhaps in several States.

There is nothing lacking in boldness in this proposal. It's a "one fell swoop" proposal, and the most insidious part is that the proposal asks the democracy to throttle itself and to place these shackles and this control in the organic law of the State, where no future Legislature may remove it by mere repeal. Talk about convention days in Alabama when, it's said, a few men carried the vote of the convention around in their vest pockets—those fellows were pikers compared with the new version of "mass production" control provided in this amendment.

The central idea behind the proposed amendment is **control,** and the suggestion that this control is to be applied only against the Negro is, in my judgement, wholly erroneous. Certainly nine-tenths of the control could be exercised against the white voter. The power to push around the entire white electorate of an entire state is no mean power I assure you.

Then, why do these forces drag the anti-Negro cry into this matter? The answer is this: They seek to captalize on what is believed to be great bitterness on the part of the white man against the Negro. As a white man, my fellow Democrats, I wish to state that I fear we white folks have about as many sins chalked up against us as the Negro. The key word in this matter is "control," though certain forces would have us believe the key words are: "whites against blacks."

Offers Rule Of The Few

If the theory of government urged by the real forces supporting the adoption of this amendment is reduced to an absurdity, it would result in ordinary, garden variety of dictatorship. This is so because this amendment seeks to whittle down the number of people who may participate in an election. If this whittling down process, conducted along "assembly line" and "mass production" methods, is carried on and on, at some point down the line democracy vanishes and we have left the vote ot that ratified group who seem to believe that democracy is not really democracy, but rule of the select few.

It's the ancient fight of self-interest—yes, self interest on the part of the masses as against self interest on the part of those who would make a rush for the almighty dollar the dominant and key-note motif of all government.

I cannot accept the construction that the proposed amendment would affect only those who seek registration after its adoption. Even if this were true, its enforcement against the Negro would be altogether insignificant when compared with its application or enforcement against white persons. If this amendment is adopted and the power and authority therein is used, it could conceivably be enforced against a very large segment of the present and future white population of this state.

Would Disqualify White Voters

We are told that the proposed amendment, if adopted, would be enforced in such a way as to direct its application solely against one segment of the population, but we all know that this could not be done. Plain, unambigious words in the organic law of the State must be given the meaning those words clearly and unquestionably convey. In other words, this amendment, if adopted, would apply to white folks just as it would apply to Negroes. And the number of white folks it might or could be enforced against is many times larger than the number of Negroes it may be enforced against. The suggestion that all of these troubles would be cured by its enforcement by 67 different boards of registrars is wholly unsound.

The forces behind this amendment, in effect, say: "It's not too good, but go ahead and pass it—we'll have it enforced in a way that will cure all defects." I doubt if the people of this State will accept any such explanation.

While the noose is being carefully placed around the neck of the white Democracy of Alabama by these "mass control" methods in order that the voters may become oblivious to what is about to happen, the Democracy of Alabama is asked to open its mouth and take a Mickie Finn potion made of: "The Pope is after us," the "Rooster is crowing," and "Democracy is about to be raped by the Negro." And, mind you, my fellow Democrats, the Democracy of Alabama is asked to do this thing to itself, and to bring it all within the frame-work of the laws of this State.

In other words, these forces say to the Democracy of Alabama: Take this potion, go to sleep and have night-mares about the Negroes. And while you sleep we'll draw off enough of the red blood of the Democracy of Alabama to insure its walking with a cane for the next fifty years at least." Indeed, these forces remind me of the boy talking to the fish he was getting ready to scale, clean and fry: "Be still fish, I ain't gonna do nuthin to ya, 'cept gut you a little."

Democracy Is On The March

Now, let's sum up just a bit: Alabama's Democracy, it's white Democracy, is on the march. In numbers it's increasing. It is fairly certain that in the not distant future this natural increase will be augmented by the inclusion of an appreciable number of additional white voters. This out-look throws a dark shadow across the path of the small but powerful reactionary element of the Democracy of Alabama.

Indeed, they foresee for the first time in Alabama's history, a free, open and unfettered expression of the entire white Democracy of this State, and it's extremely frightening to them. They know it's much easier to deal with a small electorate than with large numbers, and they set about to fight this course of events—to off-set what they believe is about to happen—by placing in the organic law of this State a section which they believe will be useful in preventing these feared events from happening; that is, these forces seek not only the power to cut down the present number of white voters, but to prepare for that day of "horrors" when present shackles may be removed and many additional white voters may seek resignation.

The essence of their plan for doing this is to place the Con- which will empower certain stitution of the State a provision boards to require applicants for registration to explain any given provision or provisions of the U. S. Constitution. They know full well that these provisions might be used against whites as well as against blacks, and they know if used against both, the number of whites it could be applied to greatly exceeds the number of blacks it might be applied to.

They said: "It's not too good, but go ahead and pass it and we'll have it amended later." They say, in effect, (presuming to speak for 67 different boards). "We'll enforce it in such a way as to be inoffensive to the whites."

That's about it, my fellow Democrats. It's an unsafe proposal and should be defeated in my judgment. We may need some changes in our laws governing qualifications and registration and many Democrats believe we do, but the proposed amendment is not the answer. It places too much authority and power in the hands of the several boards. If I were a member of one of these boards operating under this amendment, I am frank to state I would not know how to enforce its provisions. Though I have practiced law many years, I would not feel myself qualified to apply its provisions.

Folsom To Give Talks Against Amendment 4

Gov. Designate James E. Folsom will make two statewide radio broadcasts in opposition to the Boswell amendment Monday night, the citizens' committee against the amendment announced.

Folsom will make his first address from Montgomery at 6:45 p.m., then at 8:30 will speak again along with Richard T. Rives, Montgomery attorney; A. A. Carmichael, Democratic nominee for attorney general, and Editor Charles G. Dobbins of The Montgomery Advertiser.

A Textile Worker Speaks Out

Editor, Advertiser: The Advertiser

After the recent political drubbing I received in our Senatorial race, perhaps I should go hide my head in the sand and seal my lips forever . . . But . . . I'm just not built that way. During that late lamented (By Whom? Me, of course) campaign, I was asked how I stood on the Boswell Amendment. My honest answer to that question was that I did not know. I want to clarify that situation now. Montgomery, Ala.

I am against the Boswell Amendment. I am against the Boswell Amendment because of the patent dishonesty of it. The dishonesty of the Boswell Amendment is so flagrantly dishonest, "it stinks," to use the vernacular. Fri. 11-1-46

I am not bringing charges of dishonesty against those who speak out for this amendment, as a whole, because I know that some very fine men have let themselves be persuaded to come out for it. But, among the honest ones will be found the men that go wild when the racial question comes up. These men have racial prejudices, so strong, they would sacrifice our American Liberties to an American Hitler (or should I say, an American counter-part of Hitler), to vent their spleen against the Negro.

But . . . and now we come to the actual crux of the matter . . . there is in each, and every, one of the 67 counties of Alabama, a certain little clique of men that attempt to dominate the politics of that county. These are the men that I consider the "Vote Sellers." Perhaps I should be more polite and call them the "Vote Merchandisers," because they, very often, have to buy votes to elect the man who is buying his election from them. While they buy the votes that they need with a fifty cent piece and a drink of whisky, up to a five dollar bill, they sell these votes for appointments for themselves, or members of their families. Or special privileges and exemptions from the law, as it applies to the common man in the street and fields. These are the men that can invest their money in Roadhouses, Honkey Tonks, and slot machines and feel perfectly sure the Sheriff will close one eye when he drives by their place.

Also they can feel perfectly certain that some small farmer, with a section of his farm along the highway, can't set himself up a place in competition with them, (or at least the man that has been acting as a front for them). If he, the small farmer with a section along the highway, soon finds himself in the county Hoose-gow, he then realizes that he had tried to give competition to the wrong folks. If these county machines are powerful enough to reach into state elections they are free from danger from state law enforcement agents. If these county machines, overlap into adjoining counties, and they get their filthy tenacles hooked into Congressional and Senatorial nominees, then they are free from danger, even from the activities of Federal agents, because of the fact that the top appointees of these agents owe their jobs to the man that these machines elected.

These machines make it almost an impossibility for an honest man to be elected to any office. I use the words "almost an impossibility" because, on rare occasions, a man seeks public office who has enough natural leadership and personality to sway a majority of the electors, even though he is not connected with, or obligated to, the local political machines. But . . . I can assure you, when this does happen, our little special privilege-holding cliques become very highly peeved. To use the language of the street, they are "Burnt Up." They are not only "Burnt Up," at the man elected but also at the voters who elected him. To be exact, they are really more angry at the electors than the elected. They feel that the voters of their counties have been guilty of treason against them personally when they refuse to take orders and vote for the man the machine was backing. Let a very flagrant case like this occur and these machine posses want to disfranchise every voter in their county that could not be persuaded, bribed or commanded to vote with the machine.

As every one knows, there has been such a flagrant case, very recently, in which a man was elected to a public office, in the face of the opposition of almost every county and city machine in the state. I think the Montgomery Advertiser is to be commended for one of the greatest acts of pure sportsmanship that has ever occurred in Alabama, because, while she, too, was on the losing side in this election, yet she refuses to be a party to sponsoring an act that is without doubt intended to aid those that would like an instrument to use in a Witch Hunt against those that wilfully disregarded the wishes of their local political bosses.

The sponsors of this bill are shouting "Nigger, Nigger, Nigger!" because they are striving for the aid of those that they are really seeking to disfranchise. They are shouting the desperate plight of us white people here in the Black Belt. Yes, I'll admit that we have a few upstart Negroes here in the Black Belt, but who is afraid of them? We, the white people hold the purse strings. We, the white people, do the hiring and the firing. We have to furnish the paydays that buy the groceries, the shoes, the clothes and pay the rent. We can refuse to give employment to any Negro that puts his name on a poll list. We can refuse to give employment to any Negro that spends his money with any Negro merchant that has his name on a poll list. We can refuse to give employment to any Negro that is a patient of any Negro Doctor or contribute to the support of any Negro preacher that has his name on a poll list. We can refuse to buy the produce of any Negro farmer that owns his own farm and puts his name on a poll list.

I did not like the way that Col. H. M. Ayers phrased his statement concerning the Black Belt, of which Bullock County is included, but all I can say is: "He's d--m whistling" when he says, "they are smart. They can keep on controlling the offices in their counties." We don't need, or want, the sympathy of Col. Ayers, nor do we need the aid of the Boswell Amendment.

I know that if the Negro had complete autonomy, or self-rule, he would revert back to the stage from which our ancestors pulled him by force, but I am not going to be a fish and grab a baited hook just because some one says bite. Especially when I can see the hook so plain through the bait, and also see the fisherman on the bank that is holding the pole.

I just hope the majority of people who voted in opposition to their local county and city machines in recent elections just glance up through the water and take a look at the fisherman before they swallow the bait. If they do, when they find they have gobbled up the hook too, it will be to late for them, or at least most of them, to ever bother anymore bait.

Some of the fishers on the bank tell you that there is no hook in the bait but Mr. A. A. Carmichael, the man elected to determine such thiings for the next four years, says that there is. He says that your county board of registrars can call you back and refuse you the right to register if you can't answer questions that the Supreme Court disagrees on . . . (You might give an answer agreeing with Justice Black, while they agreed with Justice Jackson).

Unless you are absolutely certain that you are one of the fair-haired boys with your local city and county machines, when you look at Amendment Number 4 . . . YOU . . . yes YOU better sing this little song . . .

It's not My Father, nor My Mother,
Nor My Sister, nor My Brother
But it's me, O Lord . . .

And don't fool yourself that it could not be.

Union Springs, Ala. TED ALLEN.

Religion And The Amendmen.

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Two weeks ago the supporters of the Boswell amendment published a list of supporters of the proposal. A large percentage of the names listed were of officeholders professional politicians and persons on the political fringe. Few, if any, preachers were on the list. Eighty Alabama clergymen, including Protestants of many denominations, Catholics and Jews, have signed a joint statement calling for defeat of the Boswell amendment. Perhaps in these contrasting facts, one may get an indication of one dividing line the issue has produced.

There are, of course, good men and women, sincere, honest, intelligent men and women, supporting the Boswell amendment. But the fact that so many ministers of the Gospel are opposed to it, and the reasons they give for their position, would seem especially significant. Sat. 11-2-46

Consider some of the fundamental tenets of Christianity, of the teachings of Jesus. Justice, tolerance, kindness, the brotherhood of men—they all rank high in the teachings of the Man of Galilee. How do those ideals square up with the Boswell amendment? Can they be reconciled with the "arbitrary and undefined powers" the amendment would place in the hands of registrars? Do they accept the brotherhood of men who deliberately and openly proclaim that the law will be enforced one way for one set of men and another way for another group? Is that being "kind one to another"?

There is no reference to religion in the published statement by the clergymen opposing the Boswell amendment. But it is difficult to escape the feeling that their action was motivated by the mainsprings of their faiths. It has been said that democracy is religion in action in the political field. By that standard, these ministers are displaying a deep and abiding faith in genuine democracy.

The statement of these 80 ministers, priests, and rabbis, representing virtually all religious faiths in this State, as published in Friday newspapers, demonstrates that the religious leaders of America are alert to attacks against democratic fundamentals whether they come from the right or from the left. Sat. 11-2-46

Indeed no expression during the whole sad Boswell Amendment controversy has so effectively revealed the broad opposition to this ill-timed, ill-conceived amendment from people who see in it serious moral implications, as well as obvious political implications.

The Rev. C. C. Daniel, superintendent of the Montgomery District Methodist Church, nailed the most damning weakness in the amendment when he declared: "Adoption of Amendment No. 4 would set our State back for many years. We definitely need clear standards for citizenship, but such standards should be applied effectively and without discrimination to all kinds of people in our State."

Bishop Thomas J. Toolen, of the Catholic Diocese of Mobile, minced no words in condemning the proposed amendment as "unethical, un-democratic, and un-American."

When such men as Daniel, Toolen, and the other 78 speak out, it is time for men like Joe Poole, Frank Dixon and Tom Heflin to stop yelling about the "outside influences" which seek to defeat the Boswell Amendment. If they are not careful, they may make themselves look ridiculous.

In the ranks of forces against the Boswell Amendment are most Alabama preachers and teachers, housewives and businessmen, editors and farmers, professional men and office workers. There is a common bond among them all, and it is an unshakable respect for human rights, for the integrity of law, and for the American democracy which so recently cost us the lives of our loved ones.

It is to be expected that the 80 religious leaders who are unwilling to remain silent in the face of a basic attack on the honor of their State will receive some bitter criticism. They will be accused of serving as dupes, and of stepping out of their proper pulpit roles. They will pay a price for their courageous conviction.

But in the opinion of The Advertiser, the action of these 80 men of God, who dared speak out for what they see as the right, come what may, is the most heartening development in the public life of Alabama in many a day. It is convincing proof that, regardless of the Boswell Amendment's fate, a fighting democracy lives in Alabama!

EIGHTY MEN OF GOD SPEAK OUT

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

American democracy still has vitality when 80 Alabama religious leaders have the clear vision, steadfast integrity, and plain courage to speak out against Amendment No. 4—the Boswell Amendment

This Evening

By Charles N. Feidelson

This News Birmingham, Ala. Mon. 9-23-46

BACKWARD AND BETRAYING

In giving such full treatment to the Montgomery debate on the Boswell amendment last week, *The News* measured up handsomely to its journalistic duty. It gave full and even play to both sides. But, in that process, it also showed up the weakness of the pro-amendment case. The deadly parallel exposed race intolerance as the major motivation behind the amendment.

The three main objections to the Boswell amendment are that it is (a) unnecessary, (b) offensive, (c) dangerous. It is being pressed as a device to meet the U. S. Supreme Court's decision in the Texas case opening primaries to all qualified voters whatever their color. But the amendment has to do with registration, and under the state constitution, as it stands, the number of Negro voters who can participate in primaries is so small as to be negligible. Why, then, this hullabaloo in favor of doctoring regulations which have kept white supremacy unchallenged for 45 years?

The amendment substitutes for a property qualification three new tests. Registrars are to be given arbitrary authority to say whether applicants can explain and understand the federal constitution, are of good character, and know the duties of citizenship under a republican form of government. When the property qualification was set up, it was intended to keep down the Negro vote. But, in a generation or so, many Negroes have risen economically. Under this amendment, they would be penalized to an extent for being thrifty and working hard.

Participating in primaries and having the right to register are separate things. Those who are for the Boswell amendment know that, but since the "white" primary was an additional barrier to Negro suffrage and since their aim is to exclude the Negro from voting, regardless of qualification, they now undertake to erect fresh impediments. The best they could think up was a batch of vague generalities which, in the hands of the right kind of registrars, could serve the purpose of exclusion. That these restrictions could be used with the same result against white persons seemingly does not disturb them.

But, on the basis of realities, the gravest aspect of the Boswell amendment is that, if adopted, it may prove to be the source of the complete demolition of our suffrage system. For it would certainly be tested in the courts, and there is good reason, bearing in mind the trend of its recent decisions, to expect the U. S. Supreme Court to deal unfavorably with such a limitation on full citizenship. The constitution we have has run the gauntlet and is therefore secure. But if it is subjected to a fresh scrutiny in terms of this amendment, Alabama may be in for the same sort of shock which Texas had.

There are moderate supporters of the Boswell amendment who say that all they want is to make impossible a flood of Negro voters. But what they may be inviting is just that. We will have such an inundation if the Supreme Court rejects the amendment. We may even find ourselves deprived of the safeguards which we now have and which have served so well to prevent a tidal sweep of Negro voting. So sound a lawyer as Col. Richard T. Rives is of the opinion that the amendment is unconstitutional. Does anyone in his senses wish to have the Supreme Court expressly say so?

Every argument of sound judgment, good policy and good sense is opposed to the amendment. Against this logic, those who are for the amendment have nothing to offer except the emotionalism which grows out of prejudice. The race problem will not be eased, much less solved, by a resort to unbridled arrogance on the part of the white community. In spite of lapses, interracial relations have improved, as justice, fair play and human decency have made themselves felt more and more beneficially. In the light of that fact, will rational men and women wipe out the progress which has been made by approving a proposal so gratuitously backward and betraying as the Boswell amendment? Sun. 9-23-46

RULE OF FEAR—OR JUDGMENT?

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Some advocates of the Boswell Amendment are persuasive witnesses against it.

Take for example Henry Sweet, a commissioner of Jefferson County, who is reported by the Associated Press as appearing before the County Democratic Executive Committee Friday to ask that body not to take a stand on the amendment, but instead to undertake an "educational campaign" on it—whatever that means.

Mr. Sweet said that in his opinion the amendment is "too broad" in some respects, capable of leading to "an abuse of power," but he added—"I WILL VOTE FOR IT."

Now if Mr. Sweet admits the amendment is "too broad" and capable of leading to "abuse of power," just as The Advertiser has pointed out, then why should he vote to make it a part of the Constitution of Alabama, the sacred defender of the people's rights and liberties? Sun. 10-13-46

The simple answer is fear. Half the people who plan to vote for Amendment No. 4 on Nov. 5 will do so not because they are convinced of its wisdom, but because carefully planned propaganda has made them afraid to oppose anything labeled as a way to stop the Negro.

Forgotten is the war in which their sons died fighting to defend the integrity of democracy against those who spit upon the ideal of a fair ballot, and the rule of the people.

Symbols of the past like Horace Wilkinson and Tom Heflin arise and cry out, "Save White Supremacy!" and some men will close their eyes to principle and vote for the thing, no matter what it means.

But the Boswell Amendment is so crude and ill-drawn an instrument, so damning in its invitation to tyranny and abuse, that some of its own spokesmen open their mouths only half-heartedly. They fear to stand for principle and strike against the amendment, but they know in their hearts that they speak for what is rotten and a stench in the nostrils of citizens who stand for a government of laws, and not of men.

Not in many a year have the people of Alabama had such an opportunity to choose between principle, justice, and democratic integrity—and the kind of hate-filled, craven, pagan philosophy that has plagued the hopes and the peace of mankind from the beginning of time.

DISAPPOINTING DECISION

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

While the statement by Governor Chauncey Sparks endorsing the Boswell Amendment is hardly surprising, it may be said that his decision to join former Governor Frank Dixon on this question is disappointing to many friends and admirers of the present chief executive. Tues.

The Governor's statement is couched in temperate language—indeed parts of it are in language that most opponents of the Amendment would accept as argument against adoption. 10-8-46

He said, "I favor Amendment No. 4 on the regular ballot, commonly called 'The Boswell Amendment,' in the interest of continued orderly progress in the settlement of our electoral problems. I favor the gradual enlargement of our electorate, and that without creating further racial antagonisms, or a white and black party system."

But Governor Sparks ignores the serious question as to the amendment's ability to stand the test of the United States Supreme Court, and the certainty that it would invite harsh federal intervention in the election system of the South.

With this statement from Governor Sparks, the lines in Alabama politics are rather clearly drawn on the issue. Sparks and Dixon support the Amendment — Hill and Folsom condemn it. Senator-nominate John Sparkman has made no public statement.

Voice Of The People

THE CHRISTIAN ETHICS VIEWPOINT

The News Birmingham Ala. Thurs. 10-3-46

To the Editor of The News:

Apropos the proposed Amendment 4 (Boswell amendment) there seems to be an ill-founded idea in the minds of some voters that, due to a recent Supreme Court decision, some tightening of suffrage qualifications is necessary in order to prevent a flood of ignorant Negro voters. Such is not the case. The decision in the Texas case has no possible connection with registration, but could affect only such Negroes as are already established as voters. The present rather strict registration requirements of the constitution, if impartially administered, may be relied upon to exclude undesirable elements of both races. Little fault has been found in their operation during the 45 years since their adoption, and there appears no valid reason for change now.

If the object is to exclude the Negro from suffrage solely on account of his race and regardless of character and educational qualifications, it is quite safe to assert that very great difficulty will be encountered in framing an amendment which will stand the test of the courts. Amendment 4 represents not only an attempt to do this, but would empower any registration board to reject any person of either race, whatever might be the validity of his qualifications. It would be, in effect, license to "pass him if he seems likely to vote right, otherwise turn him down." It would clear the way for a crooked political super-machine to dwarf all the crooked political machines which have heretofore flourished in the history of American politics.

Many very able letters have appeared in your "Voice of the People" column on this subject, by both white and Negro writers. But there is one point of view which has not been presented, one which should receive the prayerful consideration of our people, and that is the viewpoint of Christian ethics. Our state is generously endowed with thousands of Christian churches ministering to hundreds of thousands of professing Christians, men and women who profess to follow, as closely as our faulty humanity will permit, in the foosteps of the Founder of Christianity. Among His precepts we find, "Love one another" and "Do unto others as you would that they do unto you." Did He say anything about one race being superior to another—or was that Hitler? If you vote, or influence others to vote, on a basis of hatred and prejudice, how are you going to square such action before the Great Judge on that dread occasion which Christian dogma teaches must come to all?

The sincere Christian who would emulate the Master would be well advised to ask himself, "Were Jesus in Alabama today, how would He vote on this—or any other—matter?" And having found the answer from analogy with His life and teachings, go and do likewise. 10-3-46

J. MELANCON.
4235 Fifth Avenue, South.

DEMOCRACY ON TRIAL

To the Editor of The News: The News

Below is an open letter to Attorney Richard T. Rives, Montgomery, Ala.: Birmingham, Ala.

Since democracy is now on trial before the judge and jury of the world court of public opinion, the state of Alabama is fortunate to have a citizen of your thought capacities serving them in the legal profession. There are undoubtedly many more like you in all walks of life, but do they openly express themselves? Thurs. 10-10-46

The average American wants to abide by the federal constitution regardless of his personal attitude toward race or religion, etc. Those who have returned from the battle fronts of the world are likewise determined to see justice meted out to everyone. To set up any obstacle in the path of civil rights is only to impede progress in every avenue of endeavor. Alabama or any other state in our Union can ill afford to stand in the way of its advancement. Intelligent voters will agree with your point of view and erase the stigma that the Boswell resolution would place upon a great state and a proud people.

The Birmingham News is to be congratulated for its unbiased stand in publishing all sides of every important news issue. When widely circulated publications such as The News give generously of their space to controversial matter, their readers become the recipients of the educational benefits of true journalism. Alabama and the nation need more such dissemination of fairness.

VIRDUMARUS NICKOLS.
Tuskegee, Ala.

A Grand Old Southerner Speaks Out

(This letter to Dick Rives from an honored Southerner and former resident of Montgomery is published as a valuable comment on the current issue.)

Colonel R. T. Rives, *The Advertiser*
Montgomery, Ala. *Birmingham, Ala.*
Dear Colonel: *Sun. 10-6-46*

I have just read with interest and approval your argument against the proposed Boswell Amendment to the Constitution of Alabama. To me it is sound, logical and convincing and consistent with the march of democracy and twentieth century philosophy.

You know me intimately enough to know that I have taken no part in politics for the last 14 years. I have no desire to ever take any active part in partisan politics. For the last 14 or 15 years my thought as well as my time has been given entirely to an attempt to promote the welfare of the American farmer. I have become so interested in this work as to crowd out from my mind any desire to be a part of strife or indulge in partisan politics. In this work I have dealt with men of all classes, all races, and all conditions, and have found it pleasant to try to be helpful to all persons with whom I have had contact.

I can see no earthly reason to take a revolutionary and radical step in changing our Constitution as proposed by Mr. Boswell. Conditions are not what they were in 1901 in Alabama, in America, nor in the world. We have fought two costly, cruel wars for the cause of democracy, which we interpret to mean individual liberty, a liberty franchise, and the protection of the rights of the minority. Surely we should not at the ballot box seek to bring about a result different than the objectives and results of two world wars.

I am as southern as any man who ever lived and love the traditions of the South as much as anyone and I am just as anxious to maintain the purity and supremacy of the white race as is any other man in the South, but I have really grown tired and I am fed up on this idea of waving the bloody flag and hollering about white supremacy every time any measure is discussed that would tend to strengthen our democracy, make more progressive our government, and bring about a better understanding among our entire people. If with the present underhold we have with our registration boards we still are unable to control the situation in Alabama, then it is a reflection on those of us who are fully in charge of state and county governments.

Parenthetically (if it really be a digression), I have grown tired of certain individuals and groups accusing every man of being communistic or socialistic if he happens to differ with some of those whose opinions have not changed since they heard from their fathers about their grandfathers' views on certain matters that were peculiar to the age in which the grandfathers lived and have no direct connection with the life of the present generation. You remember the old saying: "The orthodoxy of today is the heterodoxy of tomorrow, and the radicalism of today is the conservatism of tomorrow." I remember what I once read in the memoirs of Priestley: "Orthodoxy is my doxy; heterodoxy is another man's doxy." I do not agree with Disraeli when he says: "A conservative government is an organized hypocrisy"; but I do agree with him that sometimes "a precedent embalms a principle" and that "justice is truth in action"; and I also remember that he said: "It is much easier to be critical than to be correct." As I have grown older I have tried to break the chains that have bound me to foolish precedents, and to live in the present rather than try to adjust the present to a dead past. The same fundamental principles apply to my thinking now that applied years ago, but the world has changed, America has changed, Alabama has changed, and we have changed; and but for this, there would be no difference between the present and the past.

I can't keep from realizing, anyway, that the American Negro is an American citizen and we require him to pay taxes, serve in the Army, conform to our laws and customs; and it has been many years since I have been frightened because a limited number of intelligent Negroes might be given the franchise. I am more or less familiar with the political doings of several big cities. I have been in New York on election day, I have been on the South Side of Chicago on election day, I have been in Philadelphia and Baltimore on election day, and I have been in New Orleans on several election days; and as long as barroom bums and gamblers, touts and representatives of the underworld in the big cities line up at the polls as managers, clerks, watchers, and workers, and largely dominate the elections, I have no fear whatever of a limited number of quiet, well-behaved, intelligent Southern Negroes being allowed the privilege of exercising their constitutional rights. I strongly feel to further attempt to restrict the franchise in Alabama would be of no benefit to anyone but would have a tendency to destroy democracy in Alabama and make our state more backward than it is. I have no objection whatever to a reasonable requirement before a man is permitted to vote; but I sincerely believe it should apply to all people alike and I can't keep from thinking anything to the contrary is bad morals.

I am not radical in my views, I am not an extremist in my opinion, and I have not departed from the principles, the teachings and the views of a Southern Democrat; but I hope that through education and the suffering of two great wars we have learned that democracy is something with a meaning and not just a catch word, and I would like to say now what I was criticized for saying in a speech in Alabama 15 or 18 years ago, and that is that unless a larger number of the

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American people actively participate in the affairs of their government this thing we so proudly boast of as democracy will cease to exist. I feel sure that the returned soldiers and younger men of our country want a more liberal interpretation of our Constitution, including our franchise, than those of us who have become so advanced in years as to have fixed opinions that still keep us chained to the traditions of a dead past. Nothing could be more unfortunate than for those of us who are still chained to these traditions to feel that we are called upon to further restrict the franchise rather than give to the present generation a free opportunity for expression at the polls. I quite agree that the enthusiasm and ardor of youth may well be tempered by the advice and counsel of old age, but surely those of us who have grown old do not want to block the way to further development and progress of the human race. I have come to that point in life where I feel like I would like to say: *Sun. 10-6-46*

"Give me a staff of honor for mine age,
But not a scepter to control the world."

for I learn as I journey along the way that all men are made in God's image and that a true democracy gives protection to and offers benefits for all of its people.

JESSE B. HEARIN.

New Orleans, La.

"LET SLEEPING DOGS LIE".

Editor, The Advertiser: *The Advertiser*

I am nearing 86 years old. Talk of a new amendment to tighten and enlighten the voters of Alabama and control the vicious Negro from voting—if there's going to be a Democratic Government, and any sort of white primary, we had better let sleeping dogs lie. *Montgomery, Ala.*

It looks and sounds silly to me. Every Negro of voting age will be ready to answer any question the registrars can ask him. They will learn and be tutored to give the right answers that any one can ask them as to citizenship and knowledge of our constitutional right as a citizen. If the amendment passes, who is going to say no?

Trouble will come when this is made a law. Look at good old Georgia today.

Please publish this if you see fit. *Mon. 10-14-46*

DR. R. W. DOWDY

Rt. 1, Florala, Ala.

* * * *

WANTS MORE WHITE VOTERS.

Editor, The Advertiser: *The Advertiser*

As there is so much discussion concerning the Boswell Amendment, I would like to have a few words to say about it.

I don't think the Negroes should be allowed to vote in our primaries.

Why can't they appoint good responsible citizens as registrars, who will do the right thing? Let them use their good, honest judgment as to the applicant's qualification. I am in favor of the Boswell Amendment, but I think the educational part of it should be modified a little to let in a few more poor white voters. *Montgomery, Ala.*

I am 76 years old, Negroes all around me all of my life. So I think I ought to know something about them. The Negro has no originality, has no inventive power; they are imitators. They are good laborers under white supervision. I like the Negro in his place, but not social equality by any means. The white people must rule. The more rope you give the Negro the more he will take. They are prone to use any advantage they can possibly get. There are not more than one-sixth of the Negroes who are fit or worthy to vote. But we should find some way to let in more of the good poor white citizens. The Secretary of Agriculture, Joe Poole, and Mr. Tom Heflin, got out about the best argument for the Amendment that I have seen. *Mon. 10-14-46*

T. L. HARRIS

Banks, Ala.

IN RE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

The News

To the Editor of The News: *Birmingham, Ala.*

When Alabama Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, in answering Sen. Lister Hill's harange against the Boswell amendment, said, "The Democratic Party in the South and the Democratic Party nationally, on some propositions, are entirely different animals," he spoke a gospel truth. Any improvement on it might have been effected by changing "on some propositions" to "on nearly all propositions." *Thurs. 10-3-46*

Too many of our state-elected-to-office "Southern Democrats," whether nominated and elected to a state governorship or to a seat in Congress or to a seat in the U. S. Senate, hurry to Washington almost the minute it's officially announced that they've been nominated, even, and join the nationalists and internationalists in the North and East, thus cleverly and quickly changing from Southern Democrats to Washington politicians.

Note: Obviously enough, when our Southern lambs take to the pasture of Northern and Eastern animals (radical regimes, sinister groups, communistic-minded politicians, racial agitators, etc.), they usually, and deservedly, get into a heck of a muddle, if not a stack of trouble. It's like a nice lad taking to bad company. Soon afterward a saintly priest couldn't pray the strayed-away lad's sins away. (Nor could The Birmingham Age-Herald's editorial of Sept. 27 explain Sen.-Nominee John Sparkman's Wallace-muddle away. "What is done, is done." Guilt, political or otherwise, may be explained—but it can't be explained away.)

Apropos of the proposed Boswell amendment, with its pros and cons, I wish you might have read, if you didn't read, Horace Wilkinson's pro on the amendment, as published in the Sept. 18 issue of The Birmingham News.

The pen that wrote it, and the tongue that spoke it, must have been all but verily dipped in pure Southern, Anglo-Saxon blood before such a flow of expressed Southern philosophy and application could have been made to issue forth.

A Southern speech, to the last letter of the last word! Indeed, its adherence to, and advocacy of, an ever-for-keeps solidity and blood-purity of Caucasian home and family, free from ebon mixture in the Southland, were as sound as Southern granite. Its depth in Southern tradition, particularly as concerned white supremacy, was as deep as the Deep South itself.

Rank and file Alabama voters, let us ponder well before souring on the Boswell amendment, which is to be voted on in the November general election. And Southern men elected to high public office in Alabama, for the purpose of properly representing Alabama, had best do some serious thinking also before they come haranguing against the South's No. 1 tradition, namely: Keeping white supremacy supreme.

Hartselle, Ala. WESLEY CURRY.

ASKING FOR EXPLOSION.

Editor, The Advertiser: *The Advertiser*

I wonder if Wilkinson and the other proponents of the Boswell Amendment realize what they are doing?

Analysis of their reasons for favoring arbitrary restriction of voting in Alabama shows a shortsightedness that is regrettable because it is most dangerous to the people they are trying to protect. *Montgomery, Ala.*

Preventing a citizen from voting for arbitrary reasons of color (the admitted purpose of the Boswell Amendment) is as morally wrong as slavery. And as long as we remain a fundamentally democratic, logical and righteous people, such restrictions are bound to go, sooner or later—just as slavery was bound to go.

It is in face of this self-evident fact, that the shortsightedness and its danger become evident. *Tues. 10-15-46*

Even Boswellians admit that the Negro may someday be permitted to vote, but what they don't see is that by continually putting off that day the possibilities of it coming by explosion become greater.

Wilkinson said in his Kiwanis Club speech that we don't want what happened in Georgia to happen here—that of 150,000 Negroes voting in a bloc. But that is what such unjustly prohibitive measures as he advocates would finally bring about.

If, on the contrary the Negro is allowed to take his vote as it becomes his natural desire to do so, without any issue of "White Supremacy" to antagonize him into solidarity, his vote will be as distributed as that of the whites.

If you think an act of injustice will not act as a solidarizer, just consider the case of our South which, some 80 years after such an act was perpetrated on it, is still "solid." We was in power when the South was treated as a conquered territory.

GEORGE PERRY

Montgomery, Ala.

Boswell Requests Clarifying Statutes To Aid Vote Plan

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Gov. Chauncey Sparks formally proclaimed the Boswell Amendment into law yesterday and simultaneously its author advocated legislative action to aid in administering the new voting requirements. 11-15-46

Gov. Sparks issued his proclamation immediately after the results of the Nov. 5 election were certified by the canvassing board composed of himself, the Secretary of State and the Attorney General.

The official canvass showed the Boswell Amendment was ratified by 89,163 votes to 76,843, a margin of 12,320. The proposal to require prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain the U. S. Constitution carried in 41 counties and failed in 26.

The board also certified the ratification of all eight other constitutional amendments as well as the election of John Sparkman to the U. S. Senate; Laurie C. Battle as a new member of the House of Representatives from the Ninth District, and the re-election of the eight other Alabama congressmen.

The canvass of the vote for governor and other state constitutional officers, however, must await the January session of the legislature.

Meanwhile, Rep. E. C. (Bud) Boswell of Geneva, who authorized the vote registration amendment last year, expressed hope that the 1947 legislature would follow up with "clarifying statutes." 11-15-46

"To remove any doubt at all," he said while on a visit to Montgomery, "the legislature should give county boards of registrars judicial status and make other changes in registration laws which will aid in their administration."

He advocated such action to "make the State's election laws more workable," and said one of the changes should be an increase in election officials' pay.

Boswell reiterated his contention that the amendment was not violative of the U. S. Constitution, as some opponents argued during the campaign, but acknowledged that a federal question might arise if there was "discrimination" in application of the amendment's provisions.

State Voters Okeh Boswell Vote Plan

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Restrictive Measure Lead Mounts To 11,048

Sat. 11-9-46

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Nov. 8.—(AP)—Alabama voters wrote into the State Constitution a provision requiring all would-be voters to be able to "read and explain" any provision of the Federal Constitution, belated returns from Tuesday's general election revealed today.

The measure, known as the Boswell Amendment, was frankly aimed at preventing mass registration of Negroes in the State. Its advocates stressed this feature in pre-election speeches.

With 2,012 of the State's 2,362 boxes tabulated, the vote for the amendment was 280,836, with 69,788 against.

The missing boxes, divided between counties favoring and voting against the amendment, were not expected to change the proportionate totals.

The campaign, despite its racial angles, generated little interest and almost none of the usual campaign heat in Alabama. So scant was the curiosity over the outcome that many counties kept no unofficial count of the votes, and were little concerned with the outcome.

Advertiser

The amendment repeals a provision of Alabama law which made any citizen eligible to vote who possesed $300 or more of taxable property.

Montgomery, Ala.

Gov. Chauncey Sparks, ex-Gov. Frank M. Dixon and State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey favored adoption.

Sat. 11-9-46

Gov.-elect James F. Folsom, whose nomination was ratified by the usual overwhelming Democratic majority in Tuesday's balloting, opposed the Boswell amendment as undemocratic.

Seeks Harmony

GESSNER M'CORVEY

Move To Heal Wounds Made By McCorvey

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Sat. 11-9-46

Party's Chairman Urges Leaders Unite, Make Amendment 4 Work

MOBILE, ALA., Nov. 8.—(AP)—Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey made a move tonight to restore harmony to Alabama Democratic ranks split by dissension over the Boswell Amendment and urged political leaders to unite to make the amendment work.

McCorvey released a telegram to Governor-Designate James E. Folsom advancing the suggestions after an Associated Press count showed the measure, aimed at preventing mass registration of Negroes, had been adopted in Tuesday's general election.

"We must not permit any honest differences of opinion among loyal Democrats on such issues as the Boswell Amendment to cause any rift in our party ranks," the party chairman said in his telegram congratulating Folsom on his election.

Folsom was one of the leaders in opposition to the proposal.

"All of us feel absolutely confident that you and our good friends, Haygood Paterson and Dan Thomas, in selecting our new boards of registrars, with the added discretionary powers now conferred on such boards, will use splendid judgment and only appoint to these all-important positions men and women of judicial temperament who will be fair, honorable, upright, just and reasonable in the consideration of the applications of those seeking to register, to the end that no injustice be done to any of our citizens, whether they are white or colored.

"Alabama will then continue to have an electorate of which we may all well be proud. I sincerely believe that our new registration provisions, when some minor objections have been ironed out, will give Alabama the most workable and satisfactory suffrage laws of any Southern state, and that we will be the envy of our neighbors, with no racial friction, bitterness or hatred and with all classes of our citizens realizing that the privileges of the ballot will be extended to them just as soon as they have qualified themselves to vote intelligently."

McCorvey said he would outline later a plan which he said would make the Boswell Amendment and the state's voting laws more workable.

Boswell Plan Behind Here By 828 Votes

County Approves Other Eight Amendments; Final Count Given

Official vote in Montgomery County in the Nov. 5 general election, as released by the county vote canvassers, follows:

Governor — James E. Folsom (D), 6,142; Dr. Lyman Ward (R), 132.

Lieutenant Governor — J. C. Inzer (D), 5,947; W. J. Kennamer (R), 149.

Secretary of State — Sibyl Pool (D), 5,912; Cyrus Kitchens (R), 134.

State Auditor — Dan Thomas (D), 5,850; Charles H. Hembree (R), 112.

State Treasurer — John Brandon (D), 5,871; I. R. Ensey (R), 120.

Superintendent of Education — A. R. Meadows (D), 5,865; Fred Allen (R), 122.

Commissioner of Agriculture and Industries — Haygood Paterson (D), 5,962; James N. Dennis (R), 113.

Attorney General — Albert A. Carmichael (D), 5,937; Jere Murphy (R), 114.

United States Senator — John Sparkman (D), 6,029.

Associate Member of Public Service Commission, Place No. 1 —Jimmy Hitchcock (D), 5,883; A. L. Isbell (R), 106.

Associate Member of Public Service Commission, Place No. 2 —C. C. Owen (D), 5,832; H. J. Horton (R), 112.

The following unopposed Democratic party candidates, unopposed, each received 5,831 votes:

Supreme Court

Chief Justice State Supreme Court, Lucien D. Gardner; Associate Justice State Supreme Court, Place No. 1—A. B. Foster; Associate Justice State Supreme Court, Place No. 2—J. Ed Livingston; Associate Justice State Supreme Court, Place No. 3 — Davis F. Stakely; Judges of the Alabama Court of Appeals, Place 1, 2 and 3, Charles R. Bricken, Robert B. Carr and Robert B. Harwood.

Representative from Second Congressional District, George M. Grant; Judges of the 15th Judicial Circuit, Place 1 and 2, Walter B. Jones and Eugene W. Carter; Solicitor of 15th Judicial Circuit, William T. Seibels; State Senator from 28th Senatorial District, Silas D. Carter.

Members State House of Representatives, Place 1, 2, 3 and 4, S. B. Sightler, Hubert E. Busby, Luther Ingalls and Charles M. Pinkston; Judge of Probate, William W. Hill; Clerk of Circuit Court, John R. Matthews; Sheriff, G. A. Mosley; Coroner, M. B. Kirkpatrick; Members County Board of Education, Places 4, 5 and 6, R. F. Hudson, Harris P. Dawson, Md., and A. D. Cowles.

Amendments

Amendment No. 1—For, 3,122; against, 932.

Amendment No. 2—For, 3,450; against, 910.

Amendment No. 3—For, 2,983; against, 807.

Amendment No. 4 (Boswell)—For, 2,605; against, 3,443.

Amendment No. 5—For, 2,880; against, 903.

Amendment No. 6—For, 2,789; against, 1,193.

Amendment No. 7—For, 3,008; against, 767.

Amendment No. 8—For, 2,965; against, 749.

Amendment No. 9—For, 2,844; against, 752.

Action Looms To Fulfill Edict Of State Vote

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Supporters Of Boswell's Amendment To Present Supporting Measures

By LYNNE BRANNEN
Associated Press Writer

Boswell Amendment backers, flushed with victory in this week's general election, are girding forces to consolidate the position they have won at the polls.

While no announcement to this effect has been made, it is generally conceded that the victors hope to follow up their constitutional decision with bills in next year's Legislature to assist county board of registrars in its application.

Sat. 11-10-46

Gov. Chauncey Sparks interpreted the successful carriage of the measure as a refuting of the "hysteria" so prevalent in America today and an indication that it cannot move the people "to do a foolish thing or refuse to do an indispensable thing."

"Realistic Way"

"My confidence has been strengthened and refreshed," he said. "We have determined to continue a progresisve settlement of our local problems in an orderly, careful, tolerant, but realistic way. It is a wholesome sign in Alabama's political life."

The Governor's statement came shortly after unofficial Associated Press tabulations from 2,278 of the State's boxes showed the amendment approved by a substantial margin of 88,131 to 76,712 votes.

Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of the State Democratic Executive Committee, one of the leading supporters of the amendment which makes more rigid the registration provisions, when some minor objections have been ironed out, will give Alabama the most workable and satisfactory suffrage laws of any southern state."

Opponents of the measure who waged a vigorous fight against its adoption have been mostly silent since the election.

However, Richard T. Rives, Montgomery attorney and State chairman of an anti-Boswell Amendment committee, observed that if "properly administered" the measure should not cause any great conflict or harm to any group.

Sun. 11-10-46

No Surrender

In Dothan, Representative E. C. Boswell of Geneva, author of the controversial amendment, described results of the election as "conclusive" that the American people and the voters of Alabama would not surrender their State and the measure should not cause any conflict or harm to any radical groups."

"I sincerely believe," McCorvey told Folsom, "that our new registration provisions, when some minor objections have been ironed out, will give Alabama the most workable and satisfac- nation to the CIO-PAC and other

Real Factor

"The administration of this measure," he said, "is the real factor now involved. If the registrars are fair and impartial, and I am confident they will be during the Folsom administration, there should be no trouble."

Rives said he has heard of no movement to make a court test of the amendment's legality.

Advertiser

"If any such attempt is made," he said, "I am sure that it will not come from within the group which led the campaign against the amendment's passage."

Montgomery, Ala.

The Boswell Amendment will become effective when Gov. Sparks officially proclaims the election results, which is expected about Nov. 15.

Sun. 11-10-46

The official canvass by the Governor, attorney general and secretary of State must be made within 15 days after the election, but another statute requires the certificates of election be issued for congressmen and senators within 10 days.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
November 12, 1946

Reassurance For Alabama

What opponents feared so much about the now adopted Boswell amendment was that the very wide discretionary authority it grants might some day be used unjustly against members of minority groups. That danger is still there. The power to reject an applicant for registration on the ground that he does not, according to the registrars, "understand and explain" the constitution of the United States satisfactorily, is an exceedingly broad power. It is a power subject to misuse. But mere approval of the amendment in itself does not automatically make certain such misuse. Everything depends, in this connection, in the fairness and intelligence with which the registrars exercise their power.

The tremendous vote against the amendment, which came so close to defeating the proposal, will be a powerful influence against abuse of the authority granted by the amendment. If there had been only a small vote in opposition, the danger would have been much greater.

It is to be remembered, of course, that many sincere citizens who voted for the Boswell plan are themselves strongly opposed to unjust discrimination against Negroes or members of any other minority group. There is, therefore, a vast expression coming from both sides in this particular controversy, but speaking in behalf of moderation.

* * *

It may be said, we think, that each side voted against the kind of extremism it feared.

Advocates of the amendment feared there would be indiscriminate registration of unqualified citizens. But it is to be borne in mind also that opponents of the amendment themselves did not favor indiscriminate registration of all applicants, regardless of qualifications. They, too, desired reasonable action in this respect. What they opposed was arbitrary rejection of applicants on unjustifiable grounds. They voted against extremism of that kind.

* * *

Expressions of leaders of the opposing sides give support to the hope that there will be moderation and fairness in application of the amendment.

In a message to Gov.-Elect Folsom, Gessner T. McCorvey, State Democratic Executive Committee chairman, expressed confidence that the new boards to be appointed by the governor, the secretary of agriculture and the auditor in the new state administration "will be fair, honorable, upright, just and reasonable in the consideration of the applications of those seeking to register, to the end that no injustice be done to any of our citizens, whether they be white or colored."

Richard T. Rives, Montgomery attorney and leader of the fight against the amendment, asserted that he is confident the new registrars will be fair and impartial and that if they are, "there should be no trouble."

It is the will of the people that finally rules in America. That will is for justice and fairness in using the power of the Boswell amendment. That being so, there can be reassurance for the future.

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser

NOW THAT IT HAS PASSED

Editor, The Advertiser:

It is not surprising that many of the opponents of the Boswell Amendment are shocked at the wide margin by which the amendment was ratified. By and large, those in Alabama who opposed the Boswell Amendment are comprised of elements which, if they have nothing else in common, are at least moved by a mutual revulsion against an attempt to legalize within this State a type of demagoguery which was a distinctive feature of the development of totalitarian governments in Europe. It is natural, then, that the opponents of the bill, having in inherent faith in the integrity of a common background, and a conviction of mutual devotion to democratic ideals, should evidence some consternation at the revelation of such widely divergent principles among their fellow Alabamians.

Montgomery, Ala.

Blatantly advertised by its protagonists as a means of preventing registration of Negroes, and their consequent assumption of public offices in many sections of Alabama, the Boswell Amendment had a tremendous appeal to those people who became convinced that such consequences would naturally follow the defeat of this bill. The fact is that mass registration of Negroes in Alabama has always been so unlikely that it was never even worth considering. There is no logic and no legitimate reason for creating a law to prevent something which would never have happened in the first place. What it does do is set up machinery for depriving citizens of this State of rights granted to them by the Constitution of the United States. It places in the hands of appointed individuals an authority inconsistent with the tenets of government by which the United States has become the emblem of liberty and justice to all the world.

Wed. 11-13-46

At present the effort is being made to create an impression that the Boswell Amendment will operate to improve the qualifications for exercising the franchise. There is a certain merit in the theory invoked. Pointing to the attributes of trust and responsibility that devolve upon the individual in the employment of his vote, there is something to be said in favor of establishing some minimum standards of qualifications for the privilege. In attaching this significance to the Boswell Amendment, an impression of legitimacy is created. However, it is pure camouflage. Some of the chief proponents of this law have left little doubt in any one's mind as to its true significance—all protestations of good faith and fair administration to the contrary.

Unquestionably most of the voters who supported the Boswell Amendment at the polls on Nov. 5 would be incensed at the suggestion that their efforts could contribute to a situation in Alabama which might be compared with the plight that people found themselves in under authoritarian regimes in Europe. It is unlikely that there are many people in Alabama who would subscribe to the sort of ranting engaged in by Horace Wilkinson on the occasion of his debate with R. T. Rives a short time ago in Montgomery. What is more probable is that many sincere minded and honest men and women went to the polls with the true import of the issue obscured to an extent where they were unaware of the type of political philosophy supported with their votes. Fortunately such an error of judgment is not without remedy in this country. Fortunately there are men in this state who will make every effort to insure that the remedy is not too long in coming.

ALBERT C. PERSONS.

622 Woodley Road,

Gov. Sparks Proclaims Boswell Measure Law

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Fri. 11-15-46

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 15—Hope that the 1947 Legislature would pass "clarifying statutes" to aid in administering the Boswell amendment was voiced today by Rep. E. C. Boswell, Geneva, author of the measure, as Gov. Sparks proclaimed the amendment into law.

Boswell repeated his belief that the amendment, requiring prospective voters to "understand and explain" thhe U. S. Constitution, does not violate the constitution.

The official canvass showed the amendment was ratified by 89,163 votes to 76,843, a margin of 12,320. The proposal carried in 41 counties and failed in 26.

The official canvass also certified the ratification of all eight other constitutional amendments as well as the election of John Sparkman to the U. S. Senate and of Laurie C. Battle to the House of Representatives from the Ninth Congressional District.

The canvass of the vote for governor and other state constitutional officers must await the January session of the Legislature.

A Discriminatory Law

Memphis, Tenn. Jan. 11-12-47

In last Tuesday's election Alabama adopted by a small majority vote a law that is clearly and admittedly aimed at disfranchising Negro voters. It is called the "Boswell Amendment" which gives the registrars discretionary and dictatorial power in deciding who shall and who shall not have the right to vote.

This new law gives the registrars who are political appointees the authority to inquire if a voter is "of good character, understands the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government." It also requires that a citizen "understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States." It obviously intends to try to deny what the Constitution guarantees in the 15th Amendment.

Furthermore, we can imagine how many Negroes could explain and interpret the Constitution to the satisfaction of registrars who are hostile to the Negro voting. Even Supereme Court judges differ in their interpretation of the Constitution.

Already in Alabama Negroes have found it necessary to appeal to the Federal Courts on several occasions to get an opportunity to register. And now, with the fortification of this Boswell law, it is believed they will experience more difficulty. But let us hope the Negroes will not be discouraged by it but meet the issue with more courage determination.

Despite the heroic efforts put forth by the Alabama Negro leadership and the liberal whites against it, the Boswell bill passed largely because, we are told, its sponsors told the prejudiced white voters it will not be used on them. It's one of those laws for Negroes only!

We believe this bill will immediately prove to be so obnoxious and intolerable to the Negroes of Alabama that it will soon be challenged in the courts. Considering the spirit and motives behind it, we hope so, anyway.

The right to vote is the one right we in the south must stand ready at all times to defend to the utmost of our strength and resources. It's our best bet for defense and security. Without it, we have about concluded there is little hope in our future.

So-Called "Boswell Bill" May Be Used Against Race

The Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta Ga.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.— (SNS) The Birmingham WORLD today is able to publish the so-called "Boswell Bill" which proposes to amend the constitution to require that prospective voters be able to "understand and explain" the constitution of the United States.

Voters will pass upon the bill on Tuesday, November 5, in the general election.

Klan-inspired, it is believed, an analysis of the bill reveals that it is a handy weapon that could be used against, racial, religious, labor and other unpopular groups. It would make legal practices regularly used by board of registrars to bar Negro voting. 1-22-46

To the credulous reader the bill may appear harmless, but it is not. Try to explain something so simple as the comics to a friendly person, and you will get the point. You never could explain so complicated a document as the constitution to a hostile, prejudiced, narrow-minded board of registrars. This goes for white as well as black citizens.

HERE IS THE BILL:

To propose an amendment to Section 181 of the Constitution of Alabama and to order thereon an election for the qualified electors of the State of Alabama at the general election next succeeding the 1945 regular session of the Legislature.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of Alabama: 1-22-46

Section 1. An amendment is hereby proposed to revise Section 181 of the Constitution of Alabama to read as follows: "Section 181. After the first day of January, nineteen hundred and three, the following persons and others who, if their place of residence shall remain unchanged, will have, at the date of the next general election, the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Section 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors; provided they shall not be disqualified under Section 182 of this Constitution: those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who are physically unable to work and those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States, and who have worked or have been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business, or occupation, trade, or calling for the greater part of the twelve months next preceding the time they offer to register, including those who are unable to read and write, if such inability is due solely to physical disability; provided, however, no persons shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a Republican form of government. 'Yes.... No...." 1-22-46

The choice of each elector shall be indicated by a cross mark made by him opposite the work explaining his desire.

Section 4. The officials for the election shall be appointed and the election shall be held in all ways in accordance with laws governing general elections. Vote upon the amendment cast at the election shall be canvassed and tabulated and the returns thereof shall be made to the Secretary of State and counted in the same manner as in election upon the amendment voted Legislature; an if it shall thereupon appear that a majority of the qualified electors who voted at the election pon the amendment voted in favor of it, the amendment shall be valid to all intents and purposed as a part of the Constitution of the State of Alabama. The result of the election shall be made known by a proclamation of the governor.

Passed by the House of Representatives June 13, 1945

Passed by the Senate, June 27, 1945.

The Birmingham Age-Herald

VOTING QUALIFICATIONS

To the Editor of The Age-Herald:

An editorial headed "The Boswell Amendment" in The Age-Herald of Jan. 18 was well done. It deserves circulation throughout the South. 1-28-46

Rep. Boswell, of Geneva, would amend the State Constitution so as to make the right of a citizen to participate in Alabama elections measurably dependent upon the personal leanings and prejudices of county registration boards, composed of persons of varying degrees of intelligence, education, judgment, scrupulousness and devotion to democratic ideals. Birmingham, Ala.

I take it that The Age-Herald views with more than a little disfavor the Boswell plan to further reduce the number of men and women permitted to vote, and that the paper definitely does not recommend adoption of the offered amendment.

* * *

Since the instant when, some weeks ago, I first read of the Boswell scheme, I have regarded it as fit, for emphatic rejection.

Reflection upon one of the scheme's generally understood objectives, that of making more secure the disfranchisement of a certain minority group, should cause conscience-owning Alabamians to experience a feeling akin to shame!

My information is that Rep. Boswell's proposed amendment provides that, failure on the part of an applicant for the voting privilege to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution (or parts of it) to the satisfaction of the registrars would be lawful cause for denying the application. Some of the ugly possibilities present in this understand-and-explain-the-constitution provision are readily envisioned. 1-28-46

Acceptance of the Boswell amendment could and probably would lead to the denial of suffrage to unnumbered persons of good repute, normal strength of mind, ability to read and sense the meaning of "ordinary" English, and adequate comprehension of and willingness to perform a citizen's duties. In this category would be members of the race classed as fundamentally "superior" by some of our presumptuous gentry, whose competency to decide so debatable an issue is highly questionable.

Should the state demand that its enfranchised men and women possess specified qualifications? Most assuredly—these qualifications:

1. Moral character conforming approximately to rules of conduct supposed to govern in decent society.

2. Mentality of not less than average power and stability; but final authority to determine this should not reside in registration boards.

3. Demonstrated literacy at least elementary in extent.

4. Ability to understand what is meant by the term, citizen, and a disposition to discharge the obligations citizenship imposes. 1-28-46

5. Minimum age, 20 years, except for younger persons required by law to do military duty during emergency periods.

W. C. KELLEY.

4032 Clairmont, Jan., 1946.

THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

To the Editor of The Age-Herald:

The principal function of the registrars is to prevent men from voting. Our political anemia is not caused by an excess of enfranchised citizens but by a shortage of them. The ideal state is one in which every adult is a voter by right of citizenship, excluding only criminals and the insane. 1-30-46

To make the registrars judges of the intelligence and education of voters places a power in their hands which they are well qualified to exercise if they are psychiatrists and educational experts.

To ask a voter to explain the Constitution of the United States is spoken of as if that is a very simple task. As a matter of fact, in our 130,000,000 or 140,000,000 of people we have not been able to find nine men who can render unanimous decisions on every point in which the meaning of the United States Constitution is involved. They have been known even to reverse themselves. Yet these are men of high character and intelligence who have made a life-long study of constitutional law.

If the applicant for registration gives a perfectly correct solution to a constitutional problem, we can be sure that the registrars would instantly recognize its correctness. Otherwise, they would not be the equals of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. The possibility of the applicant knowing more than the registrars is beyond belief. If he disagrees with them, he must be disfranchised.

The whole plan of requiring voters to prove their fitness is inequitable. In our courts the accused is entitled to the presumption of innocence. His guilt must be proved before he is convicted. In our political affairs, let us follow a similar procedure, and assume that every applicant for registration as a voter is competent to cast a ballot, until the reverse is proved. Why disfranchise a citizen without giving him a fair trial in open court? 1-30-46

ARCHIBALD LEISHMAN.

2718 16th Ct., N., Birmingham, Jan. 26.

THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

In many cases, it is not the law which is unjust, but the application of it.

The proposed Boswell amendment to the Alabama constitution, providing that a prospective voter must be able to read and understand any clause in the United States Constitution to qualify, offers a possibility of such a case. Birmingham News

Who is to judge whether the applicant understands the clause or not? The Supreme Court has been disagreeing for many years over the meaning of the constitution.

Interpretation itself, however, is beside the point. A general idea of what the clause deals with should be enough to qualify a voter.

The difficulty is that the official who qualifies or disqualifies under this requirement may do so at will, if he is corrupt. If he is a victim of racial prejudice, he may bar Negroes from the vote. If he knows and disapproves of the political views of the applicant, he may deny them expression through the ballot.

The only protection of the public against corruption in this case would be some means of keeping the identity and color of the applicant secret from the examiner: a screen, for instance, between the two, like the curtains which surround the ballot box at well-conducted polls. Ala. 1-24-46

With such a precaution provided, the Boswell amendment could do much to promote more enlightened voting in Alabama. Maybe the buyers of votes, when faced with the problem of explaining the entire constitution to the ignorant folk whom they corrupt every election year, would give up and try honest ways of winning.—Huntsville Times.

LAWYER ASSAILS BOSWELL RIDER

Birmingham, Ala. Age Herald

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 19 (AP)—The Boswell amendment to tighten voter qualifications in Alabama would "encourage Negroes to go to court to enforce their right to vote," says Richard T. Rives, Montgomery lawyer and former president of the Alabama Bar Association.

The amendment, sponsored in the 1945 Legislature by Rep. E. Boswell, Geneva, would eliminate the $300 property ownership clause from the State Constitution and would require prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" any section of the federal basic law.

At present they only are required to read the Constitution.

The proposed change would give too much authority to boards of registrars, Rives said, adding:

"If we were to retain a government of laws and not of men, we should retain our present simple and definite tests of voting qualifications, and should not vest such arbitrary power in any group of men."

Under the amendment, it would be up to the registrars to determine whether an applicant successfully explains the Constitution.

Asserting that in his belief such legislation would promote court action, the attorney said that procedure "inevitably breeds bad feeling between the races." Sat 4-20-46

He added that adoption of the amendment would constitute discrimination in the state law and thus enable federal courts to decide voter registration suits.

Delegates Blast Boswell Minority Rule Amendment

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.— (SNS) — Jan 13— Condemning the proposed Boswell Amendment as a device to maintain minority rule in Alabama politics, over 100 delegates to an emergency conference on jobs and security who met here yesterday called for defeat of the measure when it is voted on in November.

Called by the Committee for Alabama of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, progressive leaders from every part of the State and from all branches of organized labor met here to discuss the problems of reconversion and the social security legislation now pending on Congress. 1-15-46

Predicting that widespread mechanization would displace three million people from the farms of the South within the next five years, Gould Beech, editor of the Southern Farmer, declared that only rapid industrialization can prevent a large and growing number of unemployed in Alabama.

W. O. Hare, state secretary of the Alabama Federation of Labor, stated that the proposal to appoint fact-finding boards in industrial disputes offers little hope of eliminating labor - management strife. "After a life long experience with fact-finding boards," Mr. Hare declared, "the only thing I know about them is that they never find any facts.'" In Alabama," he continued, "if a board were appointed today the first man named would be Emmett Brooks; the second would be Frank Dixon and the third would be a degraded and corrupt labor leader."

Speaking for the United Mine Workers, District President Bill Mitch, condemned the action of Congress in granting tax refunds to corporations. "The tax refunds were supposed to be used by business to help in the problems of reconversion, but actually," he declared, "the giant corporations are using them as a slush fund to fight labor." 1-15-46

"In the coming elections," Mr. Mitch continued, "labor may pick a loser but labor will back a man who will support its program." Criticizing Congressman Carter Manasco for blocking passage of a real full employment bill, Mr. Mitch stated that the miners in Walker county will vote for any candidate who runs against Manasco in the coming Congressional race.

Defending the Fair Employment Practices Commission, Mr. Mitch asserted that it was the policy of his organization to insist on equal pay for equal work. "You can't keep another fellow in the ditch as far as labor is concerned," he declared "without getting down with him."

Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World, described the Boswell bill as the political twin of the Bradford Act which prohibits the closed shop. "These two bills," he stated, "make up the two-edge sword the enemies of trade unions, working under the smokescreen of 'white supremacy,' intend to use in trying to crush the labor movement in Alabama."

Carey Haigler, president of the Alabama State Industrial Union Council, stated that "Congress has been engaged in a sit-down strike against meeting the needs of the American people. In the months ahead, Mr. Haigler concluded, the progressive-minded citizens in Alabama must stand together work together and vote together if we are to prevent a depression worst than of 1929.

Speaking of the Medical needs of Alabama, Dr. John Newdrop, regional medical officer of the Farm Security Administration, asserted that "low income and poor health are closely related." He added, that "we cannot hope to materially raise the health standards in Alabama without first raising the income of the great majority of our pepole."

The Rev. Andrew Turnipseed, pastor of the Dexter Avenue Methodist Church, Montgomery, served as chairman of the afternoon session of the conference which was held at Plumbers and Fitters Hall. He was introduced by Sam J. Hall, of Talladega, chairman of the Committee for Alabama.

STAB IN THE BACK.

The News, Birmingham, Ala.

To the Editor of The News:

The proposed Boswell amendment has all of the aspects of the infamous attack on Pearl Harbor. It is a stab in the back of democracy. If Mr. McCorvey thinks that only well-educated people should be allowed to vote, then does it not follow that only well-educated people should be made to pay taxes? Otherwise he is advocating taxation without representation. England tried such a form of government on the American people in the 18th century. Mr. McCorvey is trying it in the 20th. Everyone knows what we did about England. What are we going to do about Mr. McCorvey? Thurs 9-12-46

GROVER C. SMITH.
8106 Sixth Avenue, North.

The Boswell Amendment

Birmingham Age-Herald

Alabama voters will be called upon this year to consider making an important change in their State Constitution. The proposal touches fundamental concepts of representative government, and the election upon it will be a test of the concern of Alabama voters in democracy. Alabama

The proposed amendment, known as the Boswell amendment because of its sponsorship by Rep. E. C. Boswell, of Geneva, would give county registrars wider discretion in approving applicants for voting registration. It would enable them to set up educational qualifications, including the ability to understand the federal constitution.

The question of qualifications for voting has never been an easy one. For that reason, any change in the basis of qualifying should be taken only after full consideration of all the factors involved. The principles used in determining the right of a person to vote should be scrutinized anew when any change in the qualifying procedure is under consideration. 1-18-46

* * *

It is, of course, generally recognized that the right to vote is always to some extent limited.

No country can enfranchise all its people. No country should. Children should not be permitted to vote, although the age at which a person is considered mature enough to cast an intelligent ballot ranges from 17 in Mexico to 25 in some of the Scandinavian countries. The insane are never given the right to vote. In most countries, also, the franchise is taken away from all persons convicted of major crimes. Pauperism and illiteracy are also considered in some places as natural bars to voting.

These exclusions are justified on the ground that participation of such persons in voting would not be to the advantage of the people as a whole and that certain individuals are not qualified for voting.

Any proposal of change in suffrage qualifications involves the question of the common good. Will the change benefit the whole people? Should this or that group be barred from the polls because the general welfare, including the welfare of the group, demands it?

However, the common good is often confused with political expediency. The group that has the franchise is apt to look through selfish glasses. This narrow view ignores the danger that the class which has the suffrage exclusively will fall into the error of thinking that its interests are the same as those of the states. 1-19-46

Selfishness and greed for political power are never the paths to progress, however. Suffrage exercised in a class spirit is not the most enlightened suffrage. A better approach lies through the question of whether a denial of the franchise to any group would not do greater harm, in the long run, than giving it the franchise. 1-18-46

* * *

Exclusion of a group from voting may help the state, provided the group excluded is barred by a general rule that is applied equally and impartially. But arbitrary exclusion, applied unevenly according to the whims or prejudices of an individual or a group, leads to injustices and consequent resentments. In the long run, it harms the state.

These are basic considerations that should not be overlooked in the campaign for or against the Boswell amendment. Certainly there is need for keeping close to them as Alabamians consider a change which affects the fundamental democracy of the state.

OBJECTIONS TO BOSWELL AMENDMENT

Montgomery Ala. Advertiser

There are several amendments to the State Constitution to be considered by the Alabama electorate next fall. One of them is the Boswell Amendment. That amendment was frankly designed to make it more difficult for voters to register. The present registration law requires, among other things, that the prospective voter be able to "read the Constitution of Alabama." The proposed amendment would require that a prospective voter be able to both "understand and explain" the Constitution.

In early January a resolution was passed, unanimously if memory serves, by the State Democratic Executive Committee endorsing the Boswell amendment. This was done following action of the Committee to eliminate the specification, "white" in the call for the present primary, a move designed to make Alabama's primary conform to a decision of the Supreme Court.

Richard T. Rives, an able and respected member of the Alabama bar, recently took a hard and long look at the Boswell amendment and decided that upon close inspection it did not look so good. He urged its defeat next Fall. Sat. 4-20-46

Next Fall is a long time off but it still would be a good idea for Alabama's political leaders and thoughtful citizens to take another look at the Boswell amendment and carefully weigh some of the points made by Mr. Rives.

These are the major objections to the amendment as seen by Mr. Rives:

First, the amendment would give to the board of registrars virtually unlimited right to refuse to qualify any prospective voter who did not please them. (Who is to say what a proper "explanation" of the Constitution might be?)

Second, because the obvious intent of the amendment is to keep Negroes unfranchised, then the way would be opened for endless court actions of a most sensitive sort. It would serve to keep feelings on both sides rubbed raw and would inevitably serve as a weapon in the hands of unscrupulous registrars to further their own political purposes by denying registration to any and all who did not suit their political taste.

To those The Advertiser could add several objections of its own, but for the moment perhaps it will serve if Alabama's voters and political leaders give thought to those carefully reasoned objections raised by Mr. Rives. Sat. 4-20-46

It is a long time until next Fall but before the voting time comes, this issue will be much more thoroughly aired here and elsewhere.

Fifth, even though the amendment was designed primarily to make it difficult for Negroes to register, it could become a weapon in the hands of unscrupulous registrars to further their own political purposes by denying registration to any and all who did not suit their political taste.

Third, it would open the way for taking these certain-to-come court actions directly to the Federal Courts because of the discriminatory intent of the amendment. (Who is At present all court actions concerning the registration of primary voters must first pass through the State Courts.

Fourth, due to the certainty of such actions and the fact that individual registrars would be responsible for any damages awarded, it would soon become difficult if not impossible to get responsible citizens to serve as registrars.

BOSWELL AMENDMENT IN RIGHT DIRECTION

Below we carry a letter to the Alabama Journal and its editorial reply thereto. The language is a little strong in that it cannot see the viewpoint of those who oppose this amendment.

"I have just been reconsidering your editorial in which you call on the teachers of Alabama to show their appreciation of the kindness of Governor Sparks to them by voting for the Boswell Amendment. Surely you don't mean to suggest slanting a vote vecause of courtesies received, or that our teachers would be capable of block voting rather than intelligent and individual thinking.

Speaking frankly, the editor of the Journal does not regard a vote against the Boswell amendment as convincing evidence of intelligent voting in this year 1946.

On the other hand we regard such voting as abject surrender to dictation from outside the state.

We regard such vote as disloyal to the heritage of our fathers, and to the sacrifices they made to preserve a pure electorate.

We regard such vote as thoughtless, and undmindful of the history of suffrage in Alabama for the past 45 years.

We regard such vote as yielding to certain pressure groups which want to change our whole way of life in Alabama.

We prefer to think charitably that any school teacher who deserts Governor Sparks' leadership and votes against this amendment does so under some kind of pressure, internal or external, which prevents clear thinking.—Alabama Journal.

We do not profess to know whether the Boswell amendment, if passed, will be enough to stop a very determined drive to break down all Southern customs in regard to racial segregation. We do believe that in light of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas case that to pass this amendment is very necessary to prevent wholesale registration of negroes, and their assuming control of some of the Blackbelt counties.

From Bad To Worse?

The News

Opposition to the Boswell amendment may be expressed at times in ways that seem to imply a failure to recognize that any real problem exists in connection with the registration of voters and a sort of general approval of things as they are.

Of course opposition to the amendment, which would give such sweeping authority to registrars and which admittedly is an expedient to control the registration of Negroes, does not necessarily mean either of these things. Birmingham, Ala.

The News recognizes that there are very real, difficult and pressing problems in connection with registration.

It long has felt that our whole present system was in need of reexamination and revision. Wed. 10-23-46

* * *

The Supreme Court decision in the famous Texas case, holding that Negroes cannot be barred from primaries merely on account of their color, is not the great menace that many advocates of the amendment seem to regard it as being. It does not affect qualifications for registration. Many amendment supporters have declared that they favor gradual registration of qualified Negroes. If they are in favor of that, just how does the Supreme Court decision affect the situation? Have masses of Negroes, qualified to vote, been denied participation in primaries? The main control, it seems obvious, has been at the registration offices.

But it is true that more Negroes are seeking registration. The court decision, in effect upholding the basic right of suffrage for qualified Negroes, was, in a sense, an encouragement to seek registration though it did not have anything to do with qualifications for registration. Other factors, including, of course, wartime conditions, have also accelerated and broadened the aspirations of Negroes for the ballot. That does present a problem, of course. In some counties it is an especially difficult problem.

We do not believe that there is basis for some of the more extravagant fears. We believe that controls that have operated in the past to limit registration will continue to be substantially effective. But this is not to be taken as a blanket approval of present requirements and procedures in the matter of registration.

* * *

Our opposition to the Boswell amendment is grounded not in the belief that present conditions are entirely satisfactory, but in the deep conviction that approval of the amendment would only make matters much worse. It would, we think, certainly be declared unconstitutional. That prospect would make for confusion and trouble of many sorts.

It would intensify racial tensions.

Disease is not cured by the wrong treatment. That can make matters much worse. That is why the Boswell amendment should be defeated.

Its defeat still would leave us with the problem of establishing fair, constitutional and dependable registration requirements and processes. Even Boswell amendment supporters regard it as only a stop-gap and expedient.

Whatever the outcome of the election, the Legislature might well authorize a comprehensive study of the whole problem.

THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

To the Editor of The News: The News

Who started all this hullabaloo about Negro mass registering and Negro voting? We, the opposition, never heard of such a ghastly disturbance until the wily seers, past politicos, astounded us with this frightful expose.

Just how many Negroes would vote if the Boswell amendment carries or loses, if the law is rigidly enforced? I believe a majority of the Negro race who are qualified to register under the present law would vote the Democratic ticket and, as in the past, for the candidates their boss man, employer or the white men who have befriended them asked them to, and surely not by calling them CIO-PACs. Most of them, in my opinion, would think they were being called ugly names and of course would resent it. Birmingham, Ala

L. M. Dorough, in The News of Oct. 17, called attention to Joe Poole's statement in The Alabama Farmers Bulletin of Oct. 15. Poole gave the entire front cover page to elaborate on why we the people should vote for the Boswell amendment. It reads quite differently to the speeches he was making a few months ago. He, like other would-bes and has-beens, is waving the danger flag, but, boys, let's keep up the good work and retire more of these trouble-shooters. You know to whom I refer without calling them by name.

Our government, it is said, is for and by all the people. Not enough people vote now as it is to really have representative government. So judge for yourself whether we should have more or fewer voters. Why shouldn't we, the opposition, have a back page to defend our side of the question, Mr. Poole?

Wed. 10-30-46 FRANK LARKIN.
644 Maple Street, Roebuck Springs.

* * *

CONSTITUTION EASILY "UNDERSTOOD"

To the Editor of The News: The News

Please permit me to say through your columns that I favor the proposed Boswell amendment for the reason that it stipulates literacy as a qualification of suffrage. The authors of this amendment showed acumen and foresight in selecting the Constitution of the United States as a sample of lucid English. It requires no great erudition to read and to understand the constitution. The language is simple, the meaning is crystal clear. Any person who can read current English can understand the language and ideas of the constitution. He may not be able to understand certain technical phases of the constitution on which members of the Supreme Court disagree, but he is able to understand its basic ideas and the broad implications.

Suffrage is a grave responsibility. It is nothing less than active participation in the affairs of the commonwealth. Suffrage should not be accepted lightly or be bestowed indiscriminately. The voter charts the course of the ship of state. Should the person who is too mentally indolent to acquire a reading knowledge of his native speech be entrusted with so serious a responsibility? The ability to read current English is not an exceptional intellectual accomplishment. Foreigners who come to our country readily learn to read our language. Native Americans who have not had the advantages of formal schooling can, if they will, learn to read a language they have heard spoken all their lives. Willful illiteracy is a menace to democracy. Birmingham, Ala.

The Boswell amendment is not a perfect document. No instrument of government ever devised by human beings is perfect. But the amendment is a move in the direction of enlightened democracy and a plea for Alabamians, whites and Negroes, to better qualify themselves for the duties of citizenship. Sun.

Greenville, Ala. 10-30-46 JOHN W. FRAZER.

SUPPORT GIVEN BOSWELL PLAN

By a vote of 46 to 4, the Jefferson County Democratic Executive Committee yesterday gave its "unqualified endorsement" to the controversial proposed Boswell amendment, and also pledged $250 of its funds to a local organization which is backing the measure.

Meeting in the courtroom of Presiding Circuit Judge J. Russell McElroy, the committee, which had a membership of more than 200, heard both pro and con arguments on the amendment, which would make ability to understand and explain the U. S. Constitution to boards of registrars as a prerequisite for voting registration.

A proposal that the committee conduct an educational campaign on the amendment rather than take a public stand in the controversy was made at the meeting by County Commissioner Henry W. Sweet. Asserting that while he believed in white primaries and would vote for the amendment personally, Mr. Sweet said he doubted the wisdom of the committee taking an official stand.

Commissioner Sweet also said he viewed the proposal as "to broad" and that it might lead to an "abuse of power."

Arguments in favor of the amendment were made by Ben F. Ray, Thomas Huey, H. A. (Gus) Thompson, W. H. Barnard, George Vandiver and Leon Nolen, while those opposing it included A. M. Romeo and W. H. Propst.

The resolution, pledging the committee's support was introduced by Mr. Huey and stated that the amendment would "continue the form of government which was handed down to us by our fathers."

In his argument, Mr. Ray struck at Republicans as major opponents of the measure, and asked: "If you committee members don't carry the standards of the Democratic Party, then who will?" Mr. Ray asserted that 16,000 Negro veterans in Jefferson County and 67,000 in the state already were qualified in one respect to vote through the waiver of poll tax for all ex-service men.

"The amendment," Mr. Ray said, "keeps the spirit of the Alabama Constitution of 1901."

In opposing the measure, Mr. Romeo, a former members of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars, pointed to what he called "dangers" and said that the Boswell Amendment would create more "great many more" white persons than it would Negroes.

"When you jump on a minority group," Mr. Romeo said, "that man is going to stand up and fight for his right of the ballot." He predicted that in his opinion the measure, if passed, would be declared unconstitutional.

Mr. Propst asserted that the

In Reply To Mr. Lew Sanderson

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

I have hesitated to reply to the long statement of Lew Sanderson which appeared in The Advertiser of Oct. 13, but I feel that someone should call attention to certain fallacies in his reasoning. Montgomery, Ala.

His statement opened by pointing out that, prior to 1901, the white people of Alabama "had to resort to fraudulent practices" in handling the colored vote. He appears to condemn this resort to fraud, and yet he argues for the adoption of Amendment No. 4, which would write the same sort of fraud right into the constitution of the State. If we must have fraud, is it necessary to make it a part of our constitution? Tues. 10-29-46

Supporters of Amendment No. 4 say that they intend to use it exclusively to keep Negroes from voting. I wonder. They say that those trick questions about articles of the United States Constitution, or about the duties and obligations of a citizen, would never be used to keep any white would-be voter from registering. If that is true, and they insist that it is true, then they do not wish to end the fraudulent practices which Mr. Sanderson deplored, but intend to dignify them by making this fraud part and parcel of our State Constitution.

The statement then continued, in an effort to frighten us about the alleged dangers which we face, by stating that great numbers of colored men and women in Montgomery County are now fully qualified, under the present constitution, to register and vote. If this is true, it seems strange indeed that out of 31,479 qualified voters in Montgomery County, only 425 are Negroes. It seems to me that the Negroes of this county must be far less anxious to obtain the right to vote than some profess to fear, or that the present constitution gives the registrars adequate powers to decide what applicants for registration are fit to become qualified voters.

I do not share these fears, and I wonder if supporters of Amendment No. 4 are serious when they make extravagant statements such as that Negroes "will hold a majority of the public offices in Montgomery County." There is not the remotest danger that such a situation would ever come to pass in Montgomery County.

In the first place, I cannot imagine any kind of wholesale registration of colored people which would register more than 31,000 of them to equal the white registration of them to equal the white registration in Montgomery County. In the second place, I do not believe that there are that many, or anywhere near that many, colored people who could qualify under the present constitution. I am sure that our registrars are competent to decide on the qualifications of voters, and that they have ample leeway for their decisions under the existing provisions of the constitution.

I do not believe that there exists any large group of "white scalawags" in Montgomery County or in any part of Alabama, who would join with Negroes in any attempt to gain power.

It seems to me that it is unfortunate in the extreme that the supporters of Amendment No. 4 should have to resort to such fearful threats in their efforts to get voters the Boswell act. And just a few days ago the State Democratic Committee wasted enough money to send me propaganda favoring proposed Amendment 4.

I could write briefly to say I consider the Boswell act undemocratic, unfair, unreasonable and un-Christian, all of which I believe it to be, and stop with that. However, like most preachers, I feel the urge to amplify my feelings, and must preach for a moment. And, as preachers usually do, I need to make a few observations before getting around to the real point.

The issue of communism has been dragged into this discussion by those who favor proposed Amendment 4. The use of the word Communist as an epithet to apply to opponents of the Boswell act is silly and childish. To designate a man who disagrees with you as a Communist has come to the point where it has lost its meaning. I know many persons who oppose the amendment fervently, and there is not a "meanie" among them. They are good, solid citizens of the state. They are persons who are proud of Alabama's progressivism and its sensible political decisions in the past few years, and they want to see Alabama continue its leadership in representing the best the South can offer.

Several days ago the first page of The Montgomery Advertiser contained candid admissions of political leaders in two great Southern states, in which they openly confessed that they fully intended to keep the colored population in their states in a political ghetto. If we did not know the situation to be sadly true, one would think he were witnessing a Gilbert and Sullivan "takeoff" on democracy. It would be amusing if it were not pure tragedy. For such leaders the word is written with a capital first letter: Democracy, not democracy. It is not the rule of the people that interests them, but the rule of a hand-picked group of individuals. They insist that they are trying to preserve "supremacy." We might do better to seek superiority. Superiority cannot be legislated. Superiority is not a matter of law; it either exists or it does not, and if it exists it does so without having attention drawn to it or laws thrown around it like a cofferdam. The Nazis were supreme, but definitely not superior.

If the Boswell act should become law, who is going to examine the registrars to see if they are fit to serve their office? I gathered enough first-hand experience when my wife and I were being registered as voters to question seriously the fitness of some registrars to handle matters on which the nine justices of the Supreme Court seldom agree. Anyhow, however good their intentions or education might be, it is not right that several hundred Alabamians should control the franchise of hundreds of thousands of their fellow citizens.

If fair educational benefits had always been enjoyed by all Alabamians, city and rural and white and black; if economic benefits had been distributed more equitably, thus making higher education available to more people, then to put such a registration law into effect might be justified; but until educational and economic opportunities have been provided on a wider scale than they have been until this time, such a law will disfranchise those whose cultural opportunities have been limited. The law, enacted, would favor the well-to-do, the aristocracy of Alabama. It is class legislation as well as race legislation, and both are sinister.

The main effect of the Boswell act, if it should pass, would not be racial, but would be accentuation of class distinction in the state. We already seethe inside when the backwardness of the South is mentioned, but a large measure of the retardation of the South is the direct consequence of our own pronounced intention to retard the political and economic development of large fractions of our population. Booker Washington was on the beam when he said that if the white man wants to keep the Negro in the ditch he must stick close by to see that he stays down. The same holds true of the prosperous white man's attitude toward the poor white man. The progress of the whole South will be in direct proportion to the progress of the disinherited white and the large colored segment of our population. Economically, politically, physiologically—our corporate progress will be determined by that meted out to the underprivileged whites and all the colored population.

The Boswell act, or proposed Amendment 4, by confession of its promoters, is an expedient, a policy designed to block extension of the ballot to the whole voting population of the state. Henry Thoreau once made some pertinent remarks that bear recalling. He asked: "Will men never learn that policy is not morality—that it never secures any moral right, but considers merely what is expedient?" Writing on "Slavery in Massachusetts," he said: "I wish my countrymen to consider, that whatever the human law may be, neither an individual nor a nation can ever commit the least act of injustice against the obscurest individual without having to pay the penalty for it. A government which deliberately enacts injustice, and persists in it, will at length even become the laughing-stock of the world." The same may be said of ballot slavery in Alabama.

When we try to allocate political privileges on some basis other than rightness, we are tampering with the scales of divine justice. To avowedly attempt to circumvent the law of the nation, so as to favor a particular group in society, will in the long run cause more misery than will fair treatment of all at the time that it is due. Calamity will fall upon Alabama tomorrow if we today thwart the cosmic drive toward justice and freedom for all citizens who are truly qualified.

And what is the text? "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to Me." A radical named Jesus said that.

JOHN BRANSFORD NICHOLS,
Prattville Methodist Church, Prattville, Ala.

Voice Of The People

The News Birmingham, Ala.

SINISTER LEGISLATION

To the Editor of The News: Tues. 10-29-46

I have followed with considerable interest editorials and letters in two of Alabama's leading newspapers during the discussion of

"SINISTER LEGISLATION"

To the Editor of The News: The News

The following is the copy of a letter written in reply to one which appeared in the Voice of the People: Birmingham, Ala.

Rev. Mr. John B. Nichols, 224 Wetumpka Street, Prattville, Ala.

My Dear Rev. Nichols—I have just finished reading your fine letter, "Sinister Legislation," which appeared in Tuesday's Birmingham News. There is so much to be said in complimenting you for true life on this terrible evil legislation. I don't have words in my vocabulary nor can I look up words in the encyclopedia to express my appreciation to you, but kindly let me say in my simple way I thank you for speaking out the whole truth on this matter. Fri. 11-1-46

I happen to be a Negro, born and reared in Prattville, Ala. My mother, aunts and other relatives are still in Prattville, and many of my friends, white ones at that, especially two friends, the Rev. Mr. O. S. Welch and Mrs. W. O. Stoudmire. I must mention Mr. C. E. Avery and Mr. C. L. Duffer and many other white friends that I won't mention here, but all of them know who I am from way back when I was quite a lad. I am assuming that youe are a newcomer in the city of Prattville, for you weren't there when I lived there years ago.

Our acquaintance through this letter will be what I call mutual understanding. It appears to me that when a fine white person like you goes to bat for my people they don't have the courage to say thanks and to encourage you to go on with your fine way of thinking and expressing yourself. I feel that I voice the opinion of some of the Prattville Negroes when I say that you have done a swell job in writing your letter, "Sinister Legislation." I would like to express my opinion on this same evil thinking of some men. First I want to say to you that I am sending a copy of this letter to the press (Voice of the People). I don't know if they will print it or not, but anyway, from me to you, this is the way I personally feel about this evil legislation. In 1941 there was so much propaganda about "Let's defeat Hitler, let's defeat the Axis powers, so we can have democracy for all the people in America." Then came the Four Freedoms propaganda and all the other propaganda that I am sure you know about. I, with thousands of other Negro men, was drafted into the Army, shipped thousands of miles away from home, from our friends and loved ones. We Negroes faced every danger from New York harbor to the shores of foreign lands, danger on the sea, danger on the land, danger in the air and danger all about us. I could tell you about the horrible experience that I personally went through from the day that I embarked until the day that I debarked in England. I could tell you how I laid under artillery fire from July 17, 1944, until Dec. 23, 1944. I could tell you how my Christmas Day of 1944 was spent. I shall never forget that Christmas Day. The hour was 12, the weather was cold with 12 inches of snow, but the sun was shining very bright and beautiful. We had just formed a line to go to our Christmas dinner, the Army chaplain was to pray the blessing, and things were going beautifully, and out of the clear blue sky the elements seemed to burst open with fire all around us. Yes, some of my very best friends, buddies I had known since sailing from America, some of my commanding officers who were like fathers to the men, some white, some Negroes, they are not alive any more. But I am. And those men that died that day "died for democracy." I am just putting this personal, especially to show you how I feel to come home and find somebody who has been sitting back here planning such legislation as this evil amendment, No. 4, according to an article that was published in a widely distributed magazine in the state of Alabama. I read some parts of it that states that this amendment would stop "those veterans who don't have to pay poll tax." Should I point out to you that this amendment is not just aimed at Negroes, but aimed at white veterans who are here and don't have to pay poll tax, and also poor white people who have to work for a living. It is aimed at you, Rev. Nichols, you who don't agree with them on their ideals of "democracy." If I told you the truth, this thing looks more like dictatorial communism and fascism than anything that I have ever seen in America. Before going to war I had been listening and studying the American's propaganda on nazism, how they operate and how it worked at its purpose and cause. I want you to see that the Boswell amendment, No. 4, is identical to the Nazi tracts. The veterans of Alabama defeated nazism in Europe, and I trust that the veterans of Alabama and the men behind the gun will help them to defeat the Boswell amendment Nov. 5 here at home.

CHARLES R. COLEMAN.

1630 Fourth Avenue, North.

Sen. Hill Raps Law Proposed To Bar Alabamans from Vote

The Worker New York, N.Y.
Sun. 9-22-46

By Mary Southard

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Senator Lister Hill (D-Ala) joined the ranks of Alabama progressives with a public statement against the undemocratic Boswell amendment to the state constitution.

Speaking in a small Alabama community, Sen. Hill denounced the measure, which would drastically tighten qualifications for voting registration, and charged that the "big corporations," among them Republic Steel, Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, and Alabama Power, were backing it.

The aim of the amendment, according to Hill, is to "prohibit voting by those whom the Big Mules do not approve."

The Boswell amendment has become the central issue in Alabama politics. It has caused a major split in the ranks of Democratic Party leaders. The Alabama CIO took a public stand against the Boswell amendment at its convention last September.

The Birmingham News, most influential newspaper in Alabama, has strongly denounced the Boswell amendment.

Rives Assails Boswell Plan

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Attorney Tells Civitan Club Voters' Rights Are In Danger

Sat. 9-28-46

Richard T. Rives, local attorney, addressing the Montgomery Civitan Club at the Jefferson Davis Hotel yesterday, strongly reiterated his opposition to the proposed Boswell Amendment.

Expressing his belief that the controversial proposal is "arbitrary, unnecessary, dishonest, undemocratic and dangerous," Rives added that, if the amendment were adopted, the franchise of every Alabama voter under the age of 64 would be in danger.

Rives, who is actively campaigning against adoption of the proposition by the voters at the November 5 election, pointed out that requirements under the new proposal would be as follows: (1) That the voter would have to understand and explain any portion of the Federal and State constitutions; (2) that the voter would have to be of good character, and (3) that the voter would have to understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under the republican form of government.

Stressing his belief that such an amendment would be dangerous, Rives said it would be possible for an unscrupulous administration to appoint registrars who would be sympathetic to a policy of limiting eligible voters to those favoring that administration. "It would then be possible for that administration to perpetuate itself in office," he added.

"The amendment's passage could endanger the voting privilege of an overwhelming majority of the white voters of the State," Col. Rives concluded.

David Mussafer, first vice-president, and Dr. Morris Capouya introduced the speaker.

White Business Group Lambasts Boswell's Notion

The Black-Dispatch Oklahoma City, Okla.
Sat. 8-10-46

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (ANP) — The hate-spirited "Boswell amendment" designed to achieve the purpose of the abandoned "white primary" in Alabama has met the opposition of the influential Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Authored by E. C. Boswell, state representative from Geneva county, the amendment was formulated as a device to maintain "white supremacy" in Alabama. It will be voted on in the general election Nov. 5. It would hamper large-scale Negro registration.

Copies of the resolution were mailed out to each junior chamber in the state.

The resolution attacks the proposed amendment on the grounds that it "affects the very foundations and structure of our constitutional system of government in that persns entitled to vote in any election would be selected under the terms, and . . .

"It clothes the board of registrars with arbitrary powers to register or reject electors, since under the amendment an elector must not only be able to read and write any article of the constitution of the United States, but must be able to satisfy the board of registrars that he can understand and explain any article of the constitution of the United States, even though the highest court in the land often divides on constutional questions by a vote of five to four, and . . . Black Dispatch

"Such arbitrary powers held by the board or registrars could be used to register or reject proponents of management against labor to register or reject wets against drys, to register or reject Republicans against Democrats, depending upon the political and economic leanings of the board in any hotly contested issue or election, and such pwer would greatly aid unscrupulors and scheming politicians who secured control of the board to futher plitical ambitins, and . . .

"During the entire history of our state and nation the people hove consistently opposed the placing of arbitrary powers in the hands of government officials. Sat 8-10-46

Boswell Plan Stand Hinted By Governor

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Thurs. 9-12-46

Plea For Stronger Law On Registration Cited; Hill Opposes Changes

Gov. Chauncey Sparks said yesterday he "might" make a statement soon on the Boswell amendment, whose provisions for tightening up on voter qualifications have already caused a rift in the Democratic party in Alabama.

Although he declined to say what stand he would take, the Governor reminded newsmen that he had asked the 1945 Legislature to modify the poll tax and to "strengthen" the voter registration laws. The Legislature refused to change the poll tax, but voted to submit the Boswell amendment to the people in the Nov. 5, general election.

Whether it would provide the solution, the Governor would not say. It would require prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution, and would remove the present constitutional provision which gives the right of ballot to anyone who owns $300 worth of property.

Gov. Sparks' comment came only a day after Senator Hill (D), Alabama, joined the ranks of the Boswell plan's opponents.

Speaking at Arley, Ala., Hill said big corporations which would "milk Alabama and give nothing in return" were the major advocates of the amendment. He listed the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co., a U. S. Steel subsidiary; Republic Steel and the Alabama Power Company as examples of such corporations.

The Senator declared the Boswell amendment's aim was to prohibit voting by those whom the Big Mules do not approve," and added:

"The fellows in Alabama who work for these companies are hired overseers. They are interested only in milking Alabama, and if we are going to stop them, we must fight."

Gov.-designate James E. Folsom has announced he would make his position on the amendment known this month. Thurs. 9-12-46

Opposite Views

Other party leaders have taken opposite views on the amendment, and the State Democratic executive committee is split on it.

A majority of the committee members have voted to follow Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey in endorsing the proposed voting changes, but several other members have voiced outspoken opposition. An organized move has been launched, too, in an effort to form a people's committee to fight the proposal. The Advertiser

Top officials of TCI and of Republic declined to comment on Senator Hill's assertions.

President Tom Martin, of the Alabama Power Company had this to say: Montgomery, Ala.

"I've never read the Boswell amendment. I have never discussed the Boswell amendment with any person whatsoever. I haven't the slightest idea whether I'd be for it or against it."

Black Belt Group Aids Boswell Plan

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Wed. 9-25-46

CAMDEN, ALA., Sept. 19.—(AP)—Former State Senator J. Miller Bonner announced plans today for a Black Belt citizens committee to campaign for ratification of the Boswell amendment, and declared:

"Either we adopt the amendment or we lose white supremacy, and before that's done I don't like to put in words what's going to happen."

The Boswell amendment, which would tighten up on voter qualifications in Alabama, will be voted on in the Nov. 5 general election.

Bonner said the Black Belt is "pretty desperate" and is not going to submit peacefully to the election of Negro officers," a condition he contended would result from failure of the amendment.

"It is my deliberate opinion," he asserted, "that in four years every elective officer in Macon County will be a Negro unless something is done, and Wilcox will be next."

Camden is in Wilcox County. The former legislator contended Macon County already has enough Negroes qualified to register under present statutes that they can elect members of their own race, and "we are fooling ourselves if we think they will not do it."

"It is a matter of self-preservation with us," Bonner said. "The Black Belt is pretty desperate. We saved the Democratic party in the older days and we are calling on the white people of Alabama to help us now."

Bonner said it was too early to give details of the Black Belt campaign but they would be announced later.

Sparks O.K. On Boswell Amendment

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Tues. 10-8-46

Governor Openly Backs Plan To Apply Brakes To Negro Registration

Stresses Its Need

Flat Endorsement Follows Earlier Stand Against Blacks As Registrars

By G. C. LONG, JR.

Gov. Chauncey Sparks declared in a prepared statement yesterday that he favored the Boswell Amendment "in the interest of continued orderly progress in the settlement of our electoral problems."

"To continue an orderly program of registration, and to avoid the pitfalls which others would gladly provide for us, we must revise our present standards for voters in Alabama," Gov. Sparks asserted. "I think the Boswell Amendment offers us this opportunity."

The amendment, which will be voted on in the Nov. 5 general election, provides that a person to qualify to register must be able to "understand and explain" the United States Constitution and must understand the responsibilities of citizenship under a republican form of government.

Present Requirements

Present Alabama constitutional requirements are that a person can register to vote if he can read and write the Constitution or has property assessable at $300 and on which the taxes have been paid for the past year.

"There are only two alternatives offered by the amendment," the Governor said in his statement. "Shall we have some kind of effective control over registration, or shall we continue our present system which is rapidly leading to unrestricted registration."

Last week the Chief Executive declared he had been requested to appoint Negroes to Boards of Registrars and emphasized:

"Never while I am governor will I consent to the appointment of a Negro to such a position."

At that time he said Boards of Registrars should be given judicial powers to protect their members from law suits such as the one now pending against two former Macon County board members.

Now All Can Qualify

In his statement Gov. Sparks said that it must be known by the "least informed" that present qualifications for registration give almost everyone a chance to qualify.

Gov. Sparks' complete statement follows:

"Following up the suggestion made to the Legislature in my message of May 1, 1945, in which I said 'We should, therefore, give careful consideration to the strengthening of our registration statutes in order that our election rolls shall be as pure as we can make them,' I deem it my **blanket franchise to a group not altogether qualified. It is much better to absorb them gradually and as they individually become fitted. Anything less will frustrate those among both races who are earnestly, sincerely and honestly, I think, seeking better relationship, and the right settlement of those problems which naturally grow out of a two-race society."**

Although the Governor did not say directly the amendment is aimed at keep the Negro from registering, he indicated it by referring to a "white and black party system" and by saying:

"It would be just as tragic today as it was 80 years ago to

duty as Governor of the State to make pronouncement on what is called 'The Boswell Amendment.'

For Amendment No. 4

"I favor amendment No. 4 on regular ballot, commonly called "The Boswell Amendment."

Wilkinson, Rives To Debate Boswell Measure In Capital

The News, Birmingham, Ala.
Tues. 9-17-46

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 17—The controversial Boswell amendment which makes several major changes in the law governing registration of voters was the subject of a debate scheduled for today between two widely known Alabama lawyers.

Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham, was on the program to present the affirmative and Richard T. Rives, Montgomery, the negative sides of the question.

The debate was booked for today's weekly luncheon of the Montgomery Kiwanis Club.

The Boswell amendment, to be ratified or rejected Nov. 7, proposes three changes in the law regulating the registration of voters.

1. Applicants for registration could be required, not only to read and write any article of the United States Constitution in the English language, but also to explain or show that they understand any article.

2. County boards of registrars would have the right to decide whether applicants for voting privileges "understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government."

3. The present constitutional qualification entitling any man to vote if he or his wife own property assessed for taxes at $300 or more would be eliminated.

* * *

THE FOLLOWING IS A COPY of the Boswell amendment, a copy of the section of the constitution which it would amend and excerpts from related sections of the present state Constitution:

The Boswell amendment:

"Sec. 181. After the first day of January, nineteen hundred and three, the following persons, and no others, who, if their place of residence shall remain unchanged, will have, at the date of the next general election, the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Sec. 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors, provided they shall not be disqualified under Sec. 182 of this Constitution: those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who are physically unable to work and those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business, or cooperation, trade, or calling for the greater part of the 12 months next preceding the time they offer to register including those who are unable to read and write if such inability is due solely to physical disability; provided, however, no persons shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government. Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

SEC. 181 OF THE CONSTITUTION which would be amended if a majority votes aye in the Nov. 7, 1946, election, is as follows:

"Section 181. After the first day of January, 1903, the following persons, and no others, who, if their place of residence shall remain unchanged, will have, at the date of the next general election, the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Section 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors; provided they shall not be disqualified under Section 182 of this constitution: Tues. 9-17-46

"First—Those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language, and who are physically unable to work; and those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language, and who have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business, or occupation, trade or calling, for the greater part of the 12 months next preceding the time they offer to register; and those who are unable to read and write, if such inability is due solely to physical disability; or,

* * *

"SECOND — THE OWNER in good faith in his own right, or the husband of a woman who is the owner in good faith, in her own right, of 40 acres of land situated in this state, upon which they reside; or the owner in good faith in his own right, or the husband of any woman who is the owner in good faith, in her own right, of real estate situated in this state, assessed for taxation at the value of $300 or more, or the owner in good faith, in his own right, or the husband of a woman who is the owner in good faith, in her own right, of personal property in this state assessed for taxation at $300 or more; provided, that the taxes due upon such real or personal property for the next year preceding the year in which he offers to register shall have been paid, unless the assessment shall have been legally contested and is undetermined."

Section 178, referred to in Section 181 of the Constitution and also in the Boswell amendment to Section 181, specifies that, in order to be qualified to vote in any election, a person must have resided in the state at least two years, in the county one year, and in the precinct or ward three months, immediately preceding the election at which he offers to vote, provided he shall have been duly registered as an elector and shall have paid his poll tax on or before the first day of February next preceding the date

The News, Birmingham, Ala.

SECTION 182 DISQUALIFIES from voting idiots and insane persons; those who shall by reason of conviction of crime be disqualified from voting; those who shall be convicted of treason, murder, arson, embezzlement, malfeasance in office, larceny, receiving stolen property, obtaining property or money under false pretenses, perjury, subornation of perjury, robbery, assault with intent to rob, burglary, forgery, bribery, assault and battery on wife, bigamy, living in adultery, sodomy, incest, rape, miscegenation, crime against nature, or any crime punishment by imprisonment in the penitentiary, or of any infamous crime or crime involving moral turpitude. Tues. 9-17-46

The section also disqualifies any person convicted as a vagrant or tramp, or of buying or selling votes, or offering to buy or sell votes, or of making or offering to make a false return in any election by the people.

Constitutional Proposals Face Uncertain Action

News
Birmingham, Ala.
6-23-46-Sun.

Controversial Issues To Be Decided Nov. 5 At General Election

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 22—Nine amendments to Alabama's constitution—at least two of them controversial—come up for ratification in the general election on Nov. 5 and are faced with uncertain action at the polls.

Heading the list is the so-called "Boswell amendment," which would give county boards of registrars dictator powers in accepting or rejecting applicants for the privilege of voting in Alabama. Sun. 6-23-46

Not only would registrars under this amendment have power to require any or all applicants for registration to read, write and "explain" any section of the United States constitution, but also the unrestricted power to decide whether the applicant "understands the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government."

That early Fall will see a concerted effort well under way to defeat this amendment at the ballot box is the opinion of most capital observers.

Likewise believed heading for trouble is an amendment submitted by the 1945 Legislature which substitutes biennial sessions of 36 "legislative days" for the present 60 "calendar day" biennial sessions.

The amendment woud apply to the 1947 Legislature and would materially lengthen the sessions.

The Legislature now meets on the first Tuesday in May of each odd year for sessions of 60 calendar days. That means that 60 days from the initial meeting day the session is automatically terminated. Under the amendment the houses would convene on the first Tuesday in May of each odd year for sessions of 36 "legislative days." If the Legislature met four days a week the session would last nine weeks. If a schedule of three legislative days weekly were observed the session would run 12 weeks.

Sun. 6-23-46

ANOTHER PROVISION in the amendment authorizes the state to pay legislators $4 a day for "expenses" on each day of the session, in addition to the $10 a day pay they now receive.

Another amendment to be voted on Nov. 5 authorizes the state to "acquire, build, establish, own, operate and maintain hospitals, health centers, sanatoria and other health facilities." The Legislature would have authority to appropriate state funds for the purpose of building hospitals and to require counties or municipalities to match state funds.

A fourth amendment authorizes the state to engage in the development of airports.

Another would extend the taxing of powers of a number of smaller municipalities in Alabama, permitting them to levy an ad valorem tax at a rate not to exceed 1¾ per cent of the assessed value of property within the city limits.

Under another amendment all counties other than Montgomery and Mobile would have the right to call special elections to decide wether or not a special tax not to exceed 10 cents on each $100 of assessed value may be levied.

The remaining amendments are largely local in application.

One, applying exclusively to Mobile County, would increase the county's constitutional debt limit to permit issuance of bonds for certain public buildings.

Another would allow Cullman and Decatur to call elections to decide whether a special school tax not to exceed 10 mills on each dollar of assessed value shall be levied.

A smiliar amendment applying to Haleyville would authorize an election to decide whether a special property tax not to exceed 1 per cent of the assessed value of property shall be levied.

Sun. 6-23-46

A CLEAR IDEA of just what the "Boswell amendment" proposes may be gained by comparing the amendment with Section 181 of the constitution which would be amended.

The Boswell proposal declares that "an amendment is hereby proposed to revise Section 181 of the constitution as follows:

"Sec. 1: After the first day of January, nineteen hundred and three, the following persons, and no others, who, if their place of residence shall remain unchanged, will have, at the date of the next general election, the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Sec. 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under Sec. 182 of this constitution:

(Up to this point the phraseology of the amendment is the same as that of Sec. 181 as it now stands, but from here on requirements for registration and voting would be changed.)

"Those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who are physically unable to work, and those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business, or occupation, trade or calling for the greater part of the 12 months next preceding the time they offer to register, including those who are unable to read and write if such inability is due solely to physical disability; provided, however, no persons shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government." Sun. 6-23-46

THE FOLLOWING are provisions of Sec. 181 now in effect which would be eliminated if the Boswell amendment is ratified:

"First—Those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language, and who are physically unable to work; and those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language, and who have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business or occupation, trade or calling for the greater part of the 12 months preceding the time they offer to register; and those who are unable to read and write if such inability is due solely to physical disability; or

"Second — The owner in good faith in his own right, or the husband of a woman who is the owner in good faith, in her own right, of 40 acres of land situate in this state, upon which they reside; or the owner in good faith, in her own right, of real estate situate in this state, assessed for taxation at the value of $300 or more, or the owner in good faith, in his own right, or the husband of a woman who is the owner in good faith, in her own right, of personal property in the state assessed for taxation at $300."

Sec. 182, referred to in Sec. 181 and also in the Boswell amendment, disqualifies both from registering and from voting, idiots, the insane, those who have been convicted of crimes, vagrants, tramps, etc.

Hill Opposes Boswell Plan

The Post, Birmingham, Ala.
Fri. 9-13-46

Sen. Lister Hill has joined the ranks of loyal Democrats who have announced public their opposition to the unnecessary and dangerous Boswell amendment. Their numbers are swelling steadily. Sen. Hills' announcement is additional proof that opposition to the amendment is not confined to

Mr. Hill is a member of a prominent Montgomery family long identified with politics in the Black Belt. Since 1923, Democrats of Alabama have consistently indicated their approval of him by keeping him in Congress. He is today majority whip in the Senate. It is inconceivable that Lister Hill would knowingly pursue any course or take any stand that would endanger the Democratic Party and its supremacy in Alabama.

pro-Boswell amendment people would have Alabamians believe, as radical groups,

The Shadow Before

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Opponents of the Boswell amendment have stressed their opinion that the proposal is bound to be declared unconstitutional. This argument has evidently appeared to have its serious implications because supporters of the amendment have been stoutly maintaining that they are tracking the law. Their main reliance is a Louisiana case, Trudeau vs. Barnes, 65 Fed. Rep. (2), 563, in which the Fifth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals passed favorably upon a state constitutional provision requiring an applicant for registration to be able to read and give a reasonable interpretation of any clause in the Constitution of the United States. This was a damage suit against a registrar in the Federal District Court. Tues. 10-29-46

On appeal, the Circuit Court held that the "understanding clause" was valid because "it applies to all voters alike, denies to none of them the equal protection of the laws, does not undertake to deny or abridge the right of citizens of the United States to vote on account of race, color or previous conditions of servitude." The court continued: "It is difficult to conceive how this clause can be said to violate either the 14th or the 15th amendment. It lays down but one test, that of intelligence, which applies uniformly and without discrimination to voters of every race and color." Besides, said the court, before suing for damages the plaintiff should have exhausted the remedy afforded by the Louisiana Constitution.

* * *

This, upon its face, looks significant. But when the decision is examined in the light of fresh circumstances it begins to lose its persuasiveness. It should be noted that it was issued in July, 1933, and by a Circuit Court of Appeals, not by the Supreme Court of the United States. The latter tribunal has undergone a great change in personnel and attitude in the last 13 years. During that time it has struck down white primaries. During that time it has given civil liberties and the 14th and 15th amendments a new meaning.

In the case of Lane vs. Wilson, 307 U. S., 268, it dealt with an effort to circumvent the 15th amendment, ruling against it in the following terms: "The amendment nullifies sophisticated as well as simple-minded modes of discrimination. It hits onerous procedural requirements which effectively handicap exercise of the franchise by the colored race, *although the abstract right to vote remains unrestricted as to race.*" In view of the fact that the Boswell amendment is so obviously a "sophisticated" device to keep Negroes from registering because of their color, it is hard to see how it can run the gauntlet of Supreme Court scrutiny.

* * *

Showing the direction the wind is blowing, the Mitchell case must be cited. Mitchell sued members of the Macon County Board of Registrars for damages because they would not allow him to register allegedly on account of his color. He did not exhaust his remedy under the Alabama Constitution. He went directly into the U. S. District Court for the Middle Circuit of Alabama. Judge Kennamer, relying on the Trudeau case, dismissed the suit. An appeal was taken to the Fifth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, the very court which rendered the Trudeau decision 13 years ago, but which this time reversed Judge Kennamer. The case then went to the U. S. Supreme Court, which affirmed the action of the Circuit Court.

In other words, it takes more than the Trudeau decision, rendered by a court of appeals which has reversed itself, to support the contention that the validity of the Boswell amendment's "understanding clause" is beyond question. In fact, there is reason to believe that the Supreme Court of the United States has already given notice of what it would do with the Boswell amendment, which is avowedly intended to "handicap exercise of the franchise by the colored race, although the abstract right to vote may remain unrestricted as to race."

MR. POOLE SPENDS AS HE PLEASES

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

The Honorable Joe Poole, Commissioner of Agriculture, makes it perfectly clear in the next issue of the Farmers' Market Bulletin, a state-financed monthly publication, that he will use the people's money as he pleases in promoting his personal convictions. Tues. 10-29-46

The issue of November 1, scheduled to be mailed out in a few days, will carry a full-page, front page message "To The People of Alabama" from "Joe N. Poole," in which he defends himself as follows:

Let me say in the beginning that some opponents of the Boswell Amendment have seen fit to criticize me for writing an article to the readers of the Farmers' Market Bulletin relative to the Boswell Amendment. In reply I wish to say that I have never used the Farmers' Market Bulletin to enhance my personal or political fortune, but the front page has been used by me on occasions to write timely articles dealing with current topics; and, in my opinion the Boswell Amendment is a most important issue and the people should be informed about it. Realizing a lot of our subscribers do not take the large daily papers in Alabama, I am using this medium to reach them and so long as I am Commissioner of Agriculture I will continue to write in the Farmer's Market Bulletin whatever I think is to the best interest of the people of Alabama.

The Advertiser is not surprised that Mr. Poole will continue to use State money for the promotion of such enterprises as he chooses, regardless of public opinion. It was such a spirit of dogmatism among other things, that convinced us Mr. Poole should not be elected Governor of Alabama—an opinion concurred in emphatically by the people of Alabama last May.

Mr. Poole's arbitrary use of State funds for political propaganda purposes is no less reprehensible merely because the State Democratic Executive Committee has provided him with a precedent. The State Committee has chosen to spend the Party's funds — a minimum of $3,500 of it — in a determined effort to push across a Constitutional Amendment over which the members of the Party itself are sharply divided.

Members of the opposition, who by every legal consideration have just as much equity in the Party's funds as have the proponents, must dig down in their personal pockets in order to fight for what they believe is right.

Mr. Poole has no leg to stand on in thus arrogantly using State funds to suit himself. Even Mr. Poole would not think of using his State publication in promoting the personal candidacy of some friend who offered for election. Mr. Poole knows he could not get by with spending State money for the election of one personality over another personality.

Yet he is unable to see the effrontery, bad taste, and possible illegality of using State money in a desperate effort to put over an Amendment to the Constitution on which the citizens are seriously divided.

The only mitigating circumstance in this instance of Mr. Poole's use of State funds for personal politicking is that he argues poorly. His final paragraph will suffice to demonstrate:

May I repeat that the statement that everyone will have to register again is a misstatement of facts. The adoption of the Boswell Amendment will simply mean a continuation of what we are doing at present. Namely, the registering of all white folks and the Negroes as they become qualified for good citizenship.

Apparently Mr. Poole considers himself a better lawyer than the distinguished group of 15 attorneys, headed by the next Attorney-General of Alabama, who stated in The Advertiser of October 20 that in their opinion the Boswell Amendment would mean re-registration.

Further, if as Mr. Poole says, the Boswell Amendment means "simply a continuation of what we are doing at present" — why should it be adopted?

to approve the amendment. It is dangerous to exaggerate fears and to arouse racial feelings, and I regret that people are attempting to do this.

Advocates of Amendment No. 4 have said that the provisions of the amendment are not unreasonable and arbitrary. I do not think that this argument stands up under examination. If I were to be called upon to understand and explain any section of the Constitution of the United States, I have some doubts as to how I should come off in such an examination, particularly if the registrars were inclined to deny me the voting privilege.

The phrase, "due process of law," which appears in the constitution, is a case in point. The disagreement over what is meant by this little phrase is so great that it has been the basis of thousands of lawsuits. It is a constant bone of contention in the Supreme Court of the United States itself, where surely the meaning of the constitution should be as clearly understood as anywhere. How can a layman explain this and other parts of the constitution, equally difficult, equally subject to varying interpretations, when constitutional lawyers wrangle year in and year out over their correct interpretation?

Obviously, then, the amendment does give registrars arbitrary powers.

These arbitrary powers might never be used against me. They might never be used against any white citizen. Who knows? Once the registrars have these arbitrary and unlimited powers conferred upon them, only the registrars will determine how they shall use them. Men, not laws, will then decide who shall be voters in Alabama. It would be a dangerous departure from the democratic way.

I should like to touch briefly on one more aspect of the debate over the Boswell Amendment. It is a notable fact that most of those who have declared themselves for the amendment are men who have left office, or who are about to leave office. The very legislature which drew the amendment was composed of men, many of whom have now been repudiated by Alabama voters. Heflin, Dixon, Poole, Sparks and others, are men retired or retiring from office.

On the other hand, the men the voters have chosen for office in recent elections are discovered, in many instances, urging the defeat of Amendment No. 4. There are, for example, Hill, Folsom and Carmichael, all on record against the amendment as undemocratic and unnecessary.

I am convinced that an informed electorate in Alabama will defeat Amendment No. 4. I do not believe that Alabama voters can be frightened into supporting something which is fundamentally dishonest and which is potentially so dangerous.

ELLIS C. STEWART.

605 Boyce
Montgomery, Ala.

From Many Sides

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Opposition to the Boswell (No. 4) amendment continues to pile up. It is coming from all kinds of people and from all sections of the state. Veteran observers of the political scene in Alabama are marveling at the scope and extent of the opposition to the amendment, and they find it difficult to see how the proposal can win even though behind it are the power of the State Democratic Executive Committee, most county political machines, and misused party funds.

Consider the support that has been given to the amendment fight in the last few days. It represents many interests in the state, bringing together viewpoints that often are far apart but which are united in the conviction that the Boswell proposal is highly dangerous and highly undemocratic. Dat

* * *

Among the latest to align itself against the amendment is the Young Business Men's Club of Birmingham. The club is an organization "dedicated to free enterprise for all as opposed to monopolies and control by bureaus." The club in the past has directed its efforts chiefly to fighting certain government controls over business. But it has, in the words of a resolution adopted this week, concerned itself with "making every voter a better qualified voter by informing him as much as possible as to the issues involved in each campaign." It reaches the conclusion that while voting qualifications should be raised, "they should not be raised merely with the intention of excluding one group of voters; for in time any party in power would use such requirement to advance its own selfish ends." 10-26-46

That is an enlightened viewpoint. The members of the club, who voted four to one against the Boswell amendment, know that the iniquitous amendment is a highly dangerous tool to place in the hands of any group.

* * *

Gov.-Nominate Folsom has repeated his opposition to Amendment No. 4 while favoring all the others. He attacks it "because it is undemocratic" and "further restricts the right of franchise."

May it be noted well that thus speaks the man who is the titular head of the Democratic Party in Alabama. His rank in the party is higher than that of Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, who reached that office by virtue of his election by First Congressional District voters to the state committee and then was chosen by the state committee as chairman. It is higher, too, than that of E. C. Boswell, sponsor of Amendment No. 4, who represents only his county of Geneva in the Legislature.

* * *

Consider also other recently announced opposition to the Boswell amendment. In Anniston, the Central Labor Council calls the amendment "reactionary and dangerous." The Baldwin County Ministerial Association opposed the amendment as un-Christian. *The Progressive Farmer*, published in Birmingham, and *The Southern Farmer*, published in Montgomery, both attack the amendment as dangerous to farmers. *The Crimson-White*, University of Alabama student newspaper, urges the 3,000 voters on the university campus to vote against the amendment. Among the additional daily newspapers taking a stand in opposition to the proposal are *The Birmingham Post* and *The Gadsden Times*.

* * *

The proponents of the Boswell amendment like to attack the opposition as "communistic" and "carpetbaggers." Consideration of the type of people against the nefarious proposal shows how ridiculous are such charges. You simply can't accuse the Young Business Men's Club of Birmingham of being communistic, or the Baldwin County ministers of being carpetbaggers. How hard up for arguments the Boswell crowd is, and how desperate it is becoming!

Tell It To Old Grandma

MORAL ISSUES IN ALABAMA

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

Into the discussion of the Boswell Amendment I should like to inject two questions which deal, not with the political expediency of adopting the amendment, but with the moral issues involved in such an action.

The first of these questions: Is it right to deny to the Negro the privileges of citizenship in what we proudly call a democracy while at the same time we demand of him the responsibilities of a citizen? We require of the Negro that he pay taxes to support a government in which he has no voice. We require of the Negro that he defend with his life this same government. If I read my history aright, our nation was founded upon the sacrifices of those who believed that "taxation without representation is tyranny."

And now, supposing that this question can be answered with a clear conscience, allow me to ask my second question. Is it right to circumvent the Constitution of the United States by shameless deceit?

I am amazed by what seems to me to be a complete lack of moral principle in regard to this issue on the part of so many of the best citizens of Alabama.

JOHN B. SPRAGENS
Minister.
Stockton Presbyterian Church
Stockton, Ala.

Montgomery Ala.
Thurs. 10-24-46

* * *

A CATHOLIC VIEW

Editor, The Advertiser:

In ventilating the Boswell Amendment, the Advertiser is doing a real service to the public by its clear and intelligent comments on the somewhat obscure and intriguing innovation recommended. Serious thinking and reflection on political issues are not the fashion of the day, and even the elect may be deceived and misled by sharp, cunning men who are more interested in their selfish calculations than in the bonum commune, the honor, dignity and fair reputation of the State of Alabama.

I wonder if those who advocate the passing of the Boswell Amendment, under the specious plea of danger to White Supremacy, really believe what they proclaim so fervently? Are they not aware of Shakespear's psychological innuendo about people protesting too much, and exposing themselves to be suspect of insincerity?

It is encouraging and refreshing to advert to the very able, and whole-hearted suport of a group of sincere and upright men and women who support the noble effort to defeat the Boswell Amendment.

To defend the rights of the common man has ever been a genuine mark of democracy. After reading the article in today's Advertiser: "A Black Belt Minister Speaks Out," I have nothing to add but my hearty endorsement of what he expressed and what has been said so far by other contributors in this worthy cause. May the Lord bless them for their efforts, and grant them the victory.

FR. THEODOSIUS, O. S. B.
St. Margaret's Hospital,
Montgomery, Ala.

* * * *

FOR THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

Editor, The Advertiser:

Persons above the Mason and Dixon Line, and many who live in the northern and southern portions of Alabama, do not realize what unrestricted suffrage would mean in the central part of the state, the so-called "Black Belt," because of the color of much of its soil.

This writer lives in Bullock County, the county seat being Union Springs. In this county the Negroes outnumber the whites by about four or five to one, with other counties likewise. While some of the Negroes can be listed as intelligent voters, a great many more, both men and women, cannot be so regarded. An electorate controlled by money or liquor, as often was the case before the Constitution of 1901, can mean a very great menace to both white and colored citizens and property owners.

The fact that this writer has been a Methodist preacher for almost 59 years, and in various counties of the state, does not cause him to forget many things in the "Reconstruction" days, along in the 1870's. He has seen guns being loaded with buckshot, just before an election, to be placed near the polls in Glennville, in Russell County. His childhood home was only about twelve miles from Spring Hill, in Barbour County, where the son of a Northern carpetbagger (Kiels) was shot fatally in the voting room there; and also it was only about 18 miles from Eufaula, where in an election riot 30 negroes were killed. He knows something about the ballot-box stuffing which preceded the Constitution of 1901, and voted for that Constitution.

Now the Boswell Amendment is needed, to help, to prevent unregulated and unrestricted registration and voting by a great multitude of persons, men and women, who do not know how to vote for the best interests of the state and the nation. Such indiscriminate voting is now being loudly advocated by both white and colored Northern haters of the white people of the South, like the (white) Northern woman, Mrs. Canfield, who some years ago wrote that "she hoped some day to be able to look down from little peepholes in the sky upon the proud spectacle of black heels on white Southern necks."

Surely the fact of the Macon county registrars, at Tuskegee, resigning in a body and many others refusing to serve, because of $5,000 damage suits against registrars who refused to sanction indiscriminate registering of belligerent Negroes, with similar resignation and suits elsewhere, including Jefferson county, should be enough to wake up the white people of Alabama to what is really being threatened, as a result of great sums of money and much propaganda being sent into this state.

JAMES M. GLENN,
Methodist Minister.

Midway, Ala.

A BETTER WAY

To the Editor of The News: The News

The campaign to obtain ratification of the Boswell amendment threatens to reach a pitch of vilification and mere appeal to prejudice. On the basis of fear, our citizens are urged to take a step which in my judgment is unnecessary, will embitter a large portion of our population, will be held invalid by the United States Supreme Court, and will call down ignominy on our state and retributive action of the Congress. Birmingham, Ala

The Boswell amendment is unsound because it substitutes for objective standards of voting the personal judgment and desire of appointed officials. Those who support it admit, and in fact urge in its support, what may therefore be taken to be the fact, that it will be arbitrarily administered against the potential Negro voter. If it may be used that way, it can also be administered against any white individual or group who may apply. Voting standards should be simple and clear and beyond risk of arbitrary interpretation.

But I am not one who would rest his opposition to the amendment alone upon fear that it may be used arbitrarily against the white population. I do know that it would be used against the qualified Negro in violation of the Constitution of the United States. I am against violating the constitution, particularly as I believe the situation which the amendment was contrived to meet can be solved in a perfectly lawful way. I am convinced it will be better to proceed lawfully than to rest on a subterfuge which our courts will ultimately hold unconstitutional and which the American people will ultimately find the way to resist. We Southerners have been too prone to complain about outside interference while at the same time making too little effort to put our own house in order. Fri. 11-1-46

The safeguards in our present constitution against mass registration of unqualified voters have worked satisfactorily since 1901. They are, in my judgment, still adequate, notwithstanding recent decisions of the Supreme Court. But if the fear of some is justified that the door is now open to a great mass of the unqualified, then a lawful remedy is available. The Legislature at its session next May can submit to the people for ratification next Summer an amendment to the constitution (a) increasing the property qualification for all new applicants for registration so as to exclude all illiterates except those who have demonstrated their sagacity through accumulation of a somewhat larger means than now stipulated by our constitution, and (b) laying down as an alternative for such new applicants objective educational requirements such as completion of a grade school education or its equivalent. Such changes would not open the door to arbitrary discrimination, would permit the new enfranchisement of only well-qualified persons of both races, and would be consistent with the 15th amendment and the historic right of the state to impose reasonable and equal restraints on the voting privilege. Such changes would prevent the wholesale registration of the incompetent, but, contrary to the Boswell amendment, would also preserve the principles upon which our country was founded.

The Boswell amendment should be defeated.

CHARLES F. ZUKOSKI, JR.
3715 Old Leeds Road.

Turning Backward

The News, Birmingham, Ala.

Adoption by Alabamians of the Boswell amendment would be a backward step for two reasons: Fri. 8-30-46

1. It would make Alabama the state with the most severe educational requirements for voters

2. It would reverse the general trend of liberalizing the qualifications for the franchise.

The Boswell amendment provides that before an Alabamian can become an elector he must be able to "read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language," and that he must "understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government."

No other state poses such difficult educational tests for a would-be voter. In fact, only 18 states, in their state constitutions, provide for any kind of an educational requirement, and only two approach the position Alabama will be in if the Boswell amendment becomes law.

* * *

The following states through their constitutions impose no educational tests for applicants to vote: Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

In three of those states, Colorado, New York and North Dakota, the constitution gives the state Legislature the right to prescribe by statutory law educational tests for voters. This has been done in New York.

It will be noted that three Southern states, Florida, Kentucky and Texas, are in this list, as well as three border states, Maryland, Missouri and West Virginia. These states have not found educational tests for voters necessary for preservation of any desired social system.

New Mexico has a unique position among these states. The framers of its constitution were not content with silently ignoring educational tests as a basis for voting. They specifically forbid them. The state constitution prohibits the restriction, abridgment or impairment of the right to vote on account of inability to speak, read or write either the English or the Spanish language.

Many of the 18 states whose constitutions permit educational tests limit themselves to mere requirements that the applicants be able to read in English any section of either the state or the federal constitution, and to be able, unless physically handicapped, to sign their names. States with simple provisions to that effect include Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Wyoming.

Some other states impose only minor requirements. The Tennessee constitution provides only that the applicant must be able to mark his ballot, unless blind. Washington insists that he read and speak the English language. Oklahoma requires him to be able to read and write any section of the state constitution.

The six states remaining, not counting Alabama, are all in the South. They are the ones that have set up more rigid requirements.

The Georgia constitution, as amended in 1943, provided that the applicant shall be able to read and write in English any paragraph of the United States or Georgia constitutions, or to possess alternatives in property and good character.

Louisiana requires the ability to read and write and proof of the latter by writing out the application for registration in English or the mother tongue.

South Carolina has constitutional provisions much like those of Alabama. In fact, the Alabama constitutional convention of 1901 patterned its sections relating to voting much after the South Carolina constitution which had been adopted 10 years earlier. In South Carolina a voter must be able to read and write, or pay taxes on $300 or more of property.

North Carolina stipulates that the applicant must be able to read and write any section of the state constitution in English and prove the same to the satisfaction of the registrar.

* * *

In only the two remaining states are there constitutional provisions relating to "understanding" the constitution. Mississippi's section calls for the applicant to be able to read any section of the state constitution, or to be able to understand it and give a reasonable interpretation of it. This provision differs from the Boswell amendment in two respects. The Boswell amendment would require the applicant to be able to read *and* write, understand *and* explain the constitution. In Mississippi the applicant must be able to read, or to explain, and give a "reasonable" interpretation.

In Virginia, which has an educational requirement that is optional with a so-called "grandfather clause," the would-be voter must demonstrate his ability to read and explain any section of the state constitution, or, if he cannot read, be able to understand and explain it if read to him. Fri. 8-30-46

Both Virginia and Mississippi have milder provisions than would Alabama if the Boswell amendment is adopted. Today they stand in the position of imposing the most difficulties in the way of the voter as far as his intelligence is concerned.

* * *

The Boswell amendment would be a step backward. The present tendency is mainly in the direction of broadening the base of voting. Except for the period around 1890 and 1900 when most Southern states were adopting new constitutions that sought, in various ways, to curb Negro participation in government, the general trend in this country for the last century has been away from educational qualifications.

This country started out with definite restrictions on voting. Most of the early limitations, however, were in regard to property. Only freeholders were permitted to vote in most of the early states. But the tide set away from property qualifications. As a substitute, some states imposed educational requirements. Both Massachusetts and Connecticut, for example, adopted provisions requiring the voter to be able to read the constitution and write their own names. A majority of states, at some time or other, have set up educational qualifications.

But in the last 40 years, or since the South got over its reaction to the evils of Reconstruction, the suffrage in this country has been gradually but steadily widening. Even in many states where educational qualifications are still to be found in the constitution the provisions are seldom applied. In some instances they have been abandoned.

For Alabama to adopt the Boswell amendment would be an effort to stem a tide of social change. It would be looking backward instead of forward.

Is This Democratic?

News, Birmingham, Ala.

Gessner McCorvey's proposal that the State Democratic Executive Committee spend $3,500 in a campaign for adoption of the "Boswell amendment" is not the best suggestion in the world. There are too many Democrats in Alabama who think the "Boswell amendment" undemocratic to justify this use of party funds. Whatever funds are at the disposal of the state committee should be used for strictly party purposes, not to push a matter on which there is so much divided opinion. 8-23-46

The very fact that Mr. McCorvey feels the need for waging a campaign in behalf of the amendment reveals his realization that many Alabama voters, including many consistent and conscientious Democrats, are opposed to it. It matters not which side of the issue the money would be spent in promoting, the use of any party funds in this controversy would be wrong in principle.

The campaign over the "Boswell amendment" will not be a fight with the Democratic party lined up on one side, and Republicans and all others on the other. It is a battle that will be fought largely within the Democratic party itself. It is chiefly a battle between those Democrats who want the ballot to be free to all persons who can qualify under objective tests and those Democrats who want to empower individuals or boards to exercise arbitrary authority to keep off the voting list whomsoever they please. 8-23-46

If Mr. McCorvey is convinced that the "Boswell amendment" is desirable, let him get out and campaign for it all he wishes. Let him raise funds among like believers and seek to convince the voters. But, as a consistent Democrat, he can scarcely use his position and party funds for such an enterprise. Friday

Dark Evils, Rosy Blessings Of Boswell Amendment Cited

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

By G. C. LONG

Reasons for and against the proposed Boswell amendment to the State Constitution were given the Kiwanis Club here yesterday by Horace C. Wilkinson and Richard T. Rives.

"A law that is unjust to the Negro is unjust to the white man," Rives, a local attorney, asserted in speaking against the amendment. "It does not require statesmanlike vision to see that the consequences of the Boswell amendment would be evil alike to the white man and to the black." Wed. 9-18-46

In arguing against the measure Wilkinson, a Birmingham lawyer, declared:

"I shall support the Boswell amendment because I think it will help prevent the Negro from voting in Alabama."

Opposes Equality

Continuing, Wilkinson said he opposed Negro registration and Negro voting because he is not an equalitarian, because he is opposed to social equality and intermarriage of the races and because it would menace the political structure of this country.

On the other hand Rives contended that a gradual registration of qualified Negroes, rather than the sudden enfranchisement of thousands, is in the best interests of both races.

"Experience under the present Constitution has proved that the question of allowing qualified Negroes to vote will be answered in the way the great majority of the white people of a county may think," the Montgomery attorney stated. "They don't need any Constitutional amendment to maintain white supremacy."

Wilkinson asserted the Boswell amendment is, in effect, "a finely meshed legal screen that will enable the State to effectively perform its duty to preserve and protect our local and National government."

"I do not believe the races are equal," he continued. "I know they are not."

Wilkinson declared the 1901 Alabama Constitution was presented to keep the Negro from voting and it received the same criticism then as the Boswell amendment is receiving now.

"The Boswell amendment is the 1946 spirit of the 1901 Constitution," he continued.

The Montgomery attorney said it was his 'considered opinion' the Boswell Amendment is so arbitrary that it is itself violative of the Constitution of the United States. The Advertiser

He added he felt the measure placed too much arbitrary power in the hands of the Boards of Registrars. Montgomery, Ala.

To say the amendment is needed on the grounds that it would maintain "white supremacy," Rives continued, is to raise an ugly issue, one that should not be raised unless necessary and urgent.

Quoting Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, as saying, "There are any number of counties in Alabama's Black Belt where within a comparatively few years there will probably be only Negro city and county officials unless we do something to tighten up our registration laws," Rives declared: Wed. 9-18-46

"Pure Buncombe"

"Yet these gentlemen know full well that registration in each separate county is entirely under the control of white registrars and the white jurors of that county. To this hysterical statement we may reply in the language Mr. McCorvey used toward Senator Lister Hill last week, 'Buncombe, pure and simple,' or in the even more picturesque language of an American general, Nuts!' "

Wilkinson asserted that the theory of equality is a com-

munistic theory, but democracy does not mean equality.

"The primary reason why the Negro wants the vote is because political equality leads to social equality and social equality leads to intermarriage," the Birmingham lawyer said.

He added the Negro is trying to break down the theory of racial superiority because when he does that he will be able to achieve social equality and bring about intermarriage.

"If the Boswell Amendment will delay, for even an hour, enfranchising those who advocate that program, I am for the Boswell Amendment," Wilkinson said.

"Without intending any flattery," Rives told his listeners "I may say that this is a fairly intelligent audience. Yet take these questions home to yourselves and answer honestly whether you could qualify under the Boswell Amendment:

He Asks Them

"Can you explain the power of Congress to grant letters of marque and reprisal?

"Can you define a bill of attainder of an ex post facto law?

"Can you explain just how the electoral college is constituted and how it functions?

"What is the difference between a 'treaty' which must be concurred in by two-thirds of the Senators present, and an 'agreement' with a foreign country which can be approved by a simple majority of Congress?

"Just what is meant by 'due process of law'?

"What are the 'privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States'?

"If you can answer all of these questions you have the Supreme Courty bested."

Wilkinson declared this country was built on voluntary cooperation, and that among Caucasians.

"Pressure" Needed

"The social value of voluntary cooperation has no appeal to the Negro because it is not part of the Negro's racial constitution," the Birmingham attorney continued, "and that is why Negroes never make combat soldiers. He has never done and will never do anything that he is not compelled to do by some form of pressure other than his obligation to society."

Wilkinson said the Negro would never be fit for the ballot under the present form of government because under his racial constitution he is devoid of any sense of obligation.

"I do not contend that Negro voting will destroy America next week or next year," he continued. "But I do assert with the utmost confidence, that no nation can always withstand a large number of people, opposed to its fundamental concept, influencing or shaping its policies. That form of political erosion will eventually destroy a free government for free men."

Three Tests

The three tests of the right to vote under the Boswell Amendment, Rives declared, are impossible of accurate application.

"'Good character,' 'understanding and explaining the Constitution' and 'duties and obligations of good citizenship under a Republican form of government' — those pious words are as sounding brass and tinkling symbols — just a lot of legalistic mumbo jumbo really meaning that the amendment would give the Board of Registrars arbitrary power to register or to refuse to register any prospective voter," the Montgomery man explained.

Wilkinson questioned: "Is there anything arbitrary about vesting a board of reputable citizens with the power to determine whether an applicant is a person of good character and understands the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a Republican form of government?"

Like Teachers

School teachers in the State, he pointed out, have the authority to deny a child promotion because the child, in the teacher's opinion, does not know enough to be advanced. And so do boards dealing with barbers, plumbers, cosmotologists and various other trades and professions.

"Arbitrary power is no respecter of persons," Rives asserted. "The chains we forge to shackle qualified Negroes can be used to keep the white voters of Alabama from walking to the polls."

The Montgomery lawyer pointed out the possibility of an ambitious governor in the future, "a man greedy for power," dominating the auditor and commissioner of agriculture to appoint registrars who would do the will of the governor, to "assure his continued political domination of the State."

"In nearly every county in this State there exists a great pool of reservoir of unqualified and as yet unregistered persons, mostly Negroes, a potential source of political power that the Boswell amendment would enable an unscrupulous Board of Registrars to dam up and harness," Rives said.

Asks Evidence

Wilkinson held it is evident opponents of the Boswell amendment cannot promise, much less deliver, any concrete evidence of any benefits that will accrue from registration of the Negro.

". . . Make sure that the rule of the white man will continue in the future as it has in the past," the Birmingham lawyer declared. "We can be certain of that by investing political power in white people only."

"If it should appear in the future that the standards need to be raised," Rives said, "then we might raise the literacy test. . . . but whatever the test, it would be definite and to comply with the Constitution of the United States, it should be applied fairly and impartially to all applicants. I believe that is our only sound course." 9-18-46

The real issue, Rives concluded, is whether a government of laws should be retained or whether "we surrender to the arbitrary power of men."

Boards Of Registra

The News, Birmingham, Ala

Boards of registrars in Alabama hold the key position in determining the character of the state's electorate. They are charged with enforcing the present registration laws. They would carry out the provisions of the Boswell amendment, if it should be approved. They are now, and will be, pretty much on the spot. Any comprehensive study of the Boswell amendment and what it will mean to Alabama should begin, therefore, with consideration of the boards of registrars and their powers.

Each county has a board of registrars, consisting of three members. It is the board's duty to consider the qualifications of voters, to keep lists of qualified voters, to purge the lists of voters who have died or have become disqualified for any reason, and in general to maintain the purity of the voting lists in accordance with democratic principles. The only qualifications for members of the board of registrars are that they themselves shall be qualified electors and residents of the county, not at the time holding an elective office, and shall be "reputable and suitable" persons. Fri. 9-6-46

Registrars are named by a board of appointment consisting of the governor, state auditor and commissioner of agriculture and industries, or by a majority of the board. They are appointed for four-year terms, but may be removed at the will of the state board, or its majority, with or without cause, and without giving reasons therefor. It is theoretically possible, therefore, for the governor and one other state official to fire, without known reason, an entire board of registrars and rename new registrars more amenable to the administration's will.

In designating the governor, state auditor and the commissioner of agriculture and industries as the board of appointment, the framers of the state code sought to minimize the possibility of a politician using the registration system for building up a machine he could control. The three members of the appointing board cannot succeed themselves. It was therefore felt that new registrars would be named by each administration and the only continuing policy in registration would be one of honesty and fairness. Changing the boards of registrars every four years would, it was believed, automatically assure protection against misuse of the powers of the boards.

In practice, however, this safeguard has been partly nullified. Most registrar appointments are really made by one member of the appointing board and ratified by a majority of the board. By an unwritten rule of courtesy, the governor, auditor or commissioner of agriculture and industries is permitted to select all the registrars in his home county. In other counties it is customary for each member of the board of appointment to choose one registrar. In this way political debts can be paid and political support gained, if not for the next election, at least for some possible subsequent election.

INAPPROPRIATE COMMITTEE ACTION

Montgomery, Ala

The fact that the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee is seriously debating the question of whether or not it should spend $3,500 of the committee's money on a propaganda campaign to put over the Boswell Amendment to the State's Constitution is a shocking disclosure. There is no argument over the amount of money which the Committee proposes to spend, since $3,500 obviously will not go far in a statewide propaganda campaign; — but the proposition would still be disturbing if the sum involved were one-tenth of the amount.

The prime fault in the proposed action of the Democratic Executive Committee lies in the fact that the Committee will thereby arrogate to itself a function wholly outside its legitimate sphere of activity. Admitting that the Executive Committee has no well defined or delimited area in which to exercise its legitimate functions, it clearly has no right to infringe upon the perogatives of the electorate. 8-23-46

How can the elected officialdom of the Democratic Party of Alabama assume the right to spend the funds of the Democratic Party of Alabama in the effort to tell the Democrats of Alabama how they shall vote?

The Advertiser, along with many of Alabama's foremost Democratic leaders, is opposed to the Boswell Amendment. We regard it as an un-democratic and unconstitutional design for limiting the use of the ballot in Alabama to those voters favored by the ruling political powers.

As November approaches we shall develop what we believe will be a compelling case against adoption of the Boswell Amendment. In the meantime we view with concern the partisan activity of the State Democratic Executive Committee in an election which should have only the Committee's fair and impartial administrative attention. Advertiser

It seems especially inappropriate that the highly esteemed Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile, Chairman of the Committee, should send out to his members the following suggestion of campaign strategy:

"I have discussed with some of our most level-headed Democrats the method of handling this campaign, and I believe the most effective work can be done through our County Democratic Executive Committees. I think it important that each member of every County Democratic Executive Committee (and there are approximately 2,500 of these County Committeemen), should be contacted and have explained to him the purpose of this Amendment, and I also think that we should endeavor to contact each election official who will serve at the ballot boxes in the General Election in November. We have in round figures 2,400 County precincts. With six election officers at each precinct election box, there are approximately 14,000 election officials who will serve in the General Election on November 5th, 1946, when this proposed "Boswell Amendment" will be voted on. I think we should undertake to contact each of these election officials . . ."

Such a statement by Mr. McCorvey must raise a serious question in the minds of

Fri. 11-15-46 **WHAT PROCESS?**

Editor, The Advertiser:

I should like to know by what process Gov. Sparks arrived at the conclusion that Negroes in Alabama will be encouraged to improve themselves economically as a result of the passage of the Boswell Amendment? Advocates of the Amendment failed to mention any such idea. They said flatly that its purpose was to keep the Negro from voting. I am sure that no one would admit such a wrong without committing it.

Montgomery, Ala. GUY DUNCAN.

The Advertiser

Glenwood, Alabama

BOSWELL DEBATERS—Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney (above, left), and Richard T. Rives, Montgomery, are shown as they shook hands at the Kiwanis Club luncheon in Montgomery, where yesterday they debated the proposed Boswell amendment.

Wilkinson And Rives Debate Boswell Bill

Former Sees Specter Of Racial Amalgamation; Latter Feels Fear Is Without Foundation

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 18—The pros and cons of the so-called "Boswell Amendment," which would add greatly to powers of county boards of registrars in passing on applicants for the privilege of voting, were argued here yesterday before an audience which included Supreme Court and other judges and many widely known state and local political figures.

The debate was staged during the weekly luncheon of the Montgomery Kiwanis Club at the Jefferson Davis Hotel, with Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham, presenting the affirmative side and Richard T. Rives, Montgomery, the negative.

Both speakers are widely known attorneys and their cases, in the opinion of many in the audience, were ably presented.

Wilkinson contended throughout that the Negro is striving for political equality as a stride toward social equality and inter-marriage with white people. The Boswell amendment, he insisted, is needed to close the door to Negro registration, now that the United States Supreme Court has ruled that Negroes cannot be barred from party primaries supported by public funds.

The speaker declared that the Negro must be ruled out as a political factor, because, if he gains easy access to suffrage, he could dominate politically many Alabama counties having a preponderance of Negro population.

Arguing that our democratic form of government is a government of laws, and not men, Rives contended that restrictions already in the State Constitution have enabled the state to uphold the principle of white supremacy throughout the last 50 years. Those restrictions, he declared have an added advantage over the far-reaching and untested Boswell amendment in that they have been upheld by the United States Supreme Court.

While the Boswell amendment may be aimed principally at would-be Negro voters, Rives declared, any law that is unjust to Negroes is unjust in the long run to white persons.

Pro

THE AFFIRMATIVE WAS presented by Mr. Wilkinson as follows:

"When our constitution was submitted to the people in 1901, its main object was to eliminate the Negro from politics in Alabama. The criticisms now made of the Boswell amendment are by and large a repetition of the criticisms that were made of the constitution of 1901.

"An attempt was made in 1901 to frighten the people into turning down the constitution. A like effort is now being made to frighten the people into turning down the Boswell amendment.

"The main theme in each instance being that too much power would be conferred upon the registrars. Those opposed to the constitution in 1901 even argued that if the constitution was adopted, the registrars would destroy both liberty and white supremacy. (Page 4748, Official Proceedings).

"The constitution of 1901 was adequate to its day and generation. Times have changed. Written constitutions change; racial conditions never change. The Anglo-Saxon has the same love of liberty now, the same determination to succeed through exertion that his ancestors had when they challenged King John at Runnymede and brought forth the Magna Charta.

"The Boswell amendment is, in substance and effect, a 1946 version of the 1901 constitution. It is the spirit of the 1901 constitution translated into the language of the day appropriate to the needs of the hour.

* * *

"IF IT WAS NECESSARY to eliminate the Negro in 1901, because of certain inherent characteristics, it is even more necessary now because some intellectual progress makes the Negro more dangerous to our political structure now than he was in 1901.

"The Negro has the same disposition to live without working that his ancestors had in the jungle 10,000 years ago.

"I am for the Boswell amendment because I think it will help keep the Negro from voting in Alabama.

"Why do I oppose Negro registration and Negro voting?

"First, because I am not an equalitarian. Second, because I am opposed to social equality and intermarriage. Third, because Negro voting will menace our political structure.

"If it be said that I am influenced by racial prejudices, I admit it. Racial prejudice is a natural phenomenon. It is natural for man beings to have prejudices and to exhibit bias in their relations with each other. Prejudice does not necessarily develop into hate. In fact, the most tolerant person is one who feels kindly toward another against whom he is prejudiced.

"I am prejudiced in favor of the American form of government. I am prejudiced in favor of the flag of our country. I do not hate limited monarchy of Britain. I do not hate the Canadian flag. I do not hate the Negro.

"The theory of equality is a communistic theory. It reaches all to a dead level. The general idea of equality is a leveling down that is harmful to individuals, to nations and to races. It is a philosophy of negation. Nature knows no equality. The philosophy of equality is fatal to those who aspire. Democracy does not mean equality.

* * *

"SECOND, I AM OPPOSED to social equality and intermarriage. In 1901, the Negro wanted the ballot, primarily because he could sell his vote. Today education causes the Negro to seek political equality because political equality leads to social equality and social equality leads to intermarriage.

"The theory that all races are equal leads logically to amalgamation. If there is no prejudice or feeling of the white-skinned peoples against those with more pigment in their skins they will not hesitate to intermarry.

"The Negro is trying to break down the theory of racial superiority. Why? Because the educated Negro has been caused to believe that if he can break down prejudice and overcome the idea of racial superiority, he can destroy segregation, achieve social equality and bring about intermarriage."

The speaker then quoted excerpts from an article in the December, 1944, issue of The Negro Digest, written by G. A. Borgess. The article declared that "any step forward in the field of political and social equality, however desirable and imperative, is merely a palliative as compared with the final remedy."

"That final remedy," according to the article, "will be achieved only when the bedrooms open and the two bloods mix freely in many marriages, free from blame and bane."

The article envisioned the time when scientists accomplish the miracle of producing an artificial skin, thereby insuring "mixed marriages against racial nemesis by the knowledge that the treatment that was inexpensive and successful for the parent will be no less so for the progeny . . ."

* * *

"WHAT I HAVE JUST READ," Wilkinson continued, "is the theme song of the Negro forces all over America.

"If the Boswell amendment will delay, for even an hour, enfranchising those who advocate that program, I am for the Boswell amendment.

"Third, Negro voting will menace our political structure.

"Let's analyze the constitution of the two races for a moment. Ever since the Lord God took man and put him in the Garden of Eden 'to till it and look after it,' the Caucasian has had to live by exertion. He has been required to expend energy in order to obtain food and clothing and to store provisions against the day of scarcity.

"Nature taught the Caucasian that progress is possible only through voluntary cooperation. In that way, voluntary cooperation became a part of the Caucasian's racial constitution.

"Now let's look at the Negro's racial constitution. Voluntary cooperation is no part of the Negro's racial constitution. One reason is because the Negro is a native of the tropical climates where food and nuts are plentiful and where clothing is not required for protection against the Winter's cold. While the white man battled with nature for a living, the Negro merely accepted what nature had to offer.

"What has one's attitude towards voluntary cooperation to do with registration and voting in Alabama? Simply this: In a state whose government is bottomed on voluntary cooperation the franchise should never be conferred on those who, by nature or racial constitution, are opposed to voluntary cooperation."

Continuing, Wilkinson declared:

* * *

"THE ESSENTIALS OF SOCIETY in the jungle are few and do not include the production, transportation and marketing of goods. Nature relieved the Negro of any idea of voluntary cooperation; the social value of cooperation has no appeal to the Negro because it is no part of the Negro's racial constitution. That's why it is impossible for the Negro to make a combat soldier.

"You can see why a Negro cannot be trusted to support and maintain at the ballot box a political structure grounded in voluntary cooperation. If there is no sense of duty there is no basis for voluntary cooperation.

"I do not contend that Negro voting will destroy America next week or next year. But I do assert with utmost confidence that no nation can always withstand a large number of people, opposed to its fundamental concept, influencing or shaping its policies.

"It is claimed that the Boswell amendment confers arbitrary powers on boards of registrars to disqualify any applicant for registration. It is even suggested that a board of registrars might flunk

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lawyer and
security for costs. I have full con-
fidence in the right of trial by jury
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at know nothing and of registrars by the Boswell amend-
about the social value ment," he added, "is no greater
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The Boswell amend- tion, or the boards that deal with
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that will enable the and various other trades and pro
ctively perform its fessions.
rve and protect our "If a board of registrars decline
onal government." to register an applicant, the appli
s, Wilkinson argued, cant can appeal to a jury without
dent that opponents of the Boswell

titled to registration in Alabama if
he is denied registration by a board
of registrars."
Concluding, Wilkinson asked:
"Are the states in which the Negro votes better than lily white territory in which to live, enjoy life and rear families? It is quite evident that opponents of the Boswell

some of the justices of the Supreme
Court of the United States on a con-
stitutional law examination should
they apply for registration in Ala-
bama. So mote it be.

* * *

"I AGREE THAT MANY LAW-
YERS and not a few laymen are
of the opinion that some of the juc-
tices do not 'understand' some
articles of the Constitution of the
United States, and many of us are
quite sure that they sometimes make a mess of 'explaining' some of those articles. But the miniscule caliber of a judge's intellectual faculties has nothing to do with whether the power conferred on registrars is arbitrary or dangerous and must be screened and the "The State of Alabama is obligated to protect itself and the duty to preserve a local and national government. Other boards, United States of America against

endment cannot even promise much less deliver, any concrete evidence of any benefit that will accrue from registration of the Negro.

"The white man is responsible for the safety and security of this country. World War I and World War II demonstrated that beyond question The white man will be recreant to his trust if he does not do the thing that is best for the country for which he is responsible. That thing is to make sure that the rule of the white man will continue in the future as it has in the past."

Con

IN PRESENTING the opposition to the Boswell amendment Rives declared:

"My opposition to the Boswell amendment is based upon principle, a principle fundamental to a democratic form of government namely, that ours is a government of laws and not of men.

"The Boswell amendment does away with the ownership of property as a qualification for voting, but that is not its dangerous feature.

"Its most important provisions are that for any person to qualify to vote he must satisfy the board of registrars of three things: one, that he can 'understand and explain' any article of the Constitution of the United States; two, that he is of 'good character' and, three, that he 'understands the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government.'

"These three tests of the right to vote are impossible of accurate application.

"Understanding and explanation of the constitution is mostly a matter of opinion, and on which lawyers differ among themselves.

"For instance, my considered opinion is that the Boswell amendment is so arbitrary that it is itself violative of the Constitution of the United States. My opponent, for whole legal learning I have great respect, doubtless holds a contrary view.

"WITH ALL 48 STATES to choose from, and with a $20,000 salary to offer, we haven't produced nine Supreme Court justices to agree on the constitution. Under the Boswell amendment the state of Alabama, at $5 per diem, would produce 200 registrars, three from each of the 67 counties, capable of conducting examinations on the constitution. Our registrars are good men and women, but they do not claim to be experts on the constitution. How can any citizen be sure that his idea of the proper un-

Continued From Page 1

derstanding and explanation of any article of the constitution is the same as the opinion of a majority of the Board of Registrars?

"Under the present constitution, persons with records of conviction for crime cannot qualify to vote. This amendment would go further and require the applicant to be 'of good character.' That sounds all right, but again 'good character' is a matter of opinion upon which persons might differ widely.

"To 'understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government' just about embraces ideal perfection for any citizen. Who can be certain of proving such understanding to the satisfaction of a board of registrars?

"What are the present qualifications of a voter in Alabama? There are 10:

"1. A citizen of the United States.

"2. Twenty-one years old or upwards.

"3. Must have resided in state two years, in the county one year, and in the precinct three months.

"4. Must not be an idiot or insane.

"5. Must not have been convicted of any infamous crime nor of any crime involving moral turpitude.

"6. Must have worked regularly forthe greater part of the last 12 months.

"7. Must answer under oath where he has lived during the past five years and give the names of his employers for the last five years.

* * *

"8. MUST EITHER BE ABLE to read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States, or must own 40 acres of land or personal property assessed for taxes at $300 or more (hence actually worth $500 or more) and upon which the taxes have been paid.

"9. Must establish the foregoing qualifications by evidence to the reasonable satisfaction of the Board of Registrars in the county of his residence, and if he moves to another county then he must re-register.

"10. Must have paid on or before Feb. 1 preceding the election all poll taxes due from him.

"Those requirements of our present law are simple, definite, equally applicable to all persons and have withstood attacks through the highest courts. I deny that the Boswell amendment has any similarity to those de facto requirements of our primary law. The Boswell amendment would add these arbitrary and indefinite tests.

"Can you explain the power of Congress to grant letters of marque and reprisal?

"Can you define a bill of attainder or an ex post facto law?

"Can you explain just how the electoral college is constituted and how it functions?

"What is the difference between a 'treaty' which must be concurred in by two-thirds of the senators present, and an 'agreement' with a foreign country which can be approved by a simple majority of Congress?

"Just what is meant by 'due process of law?'

"What are the 'privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States?'

"If you can answer all those questions you have the Supreme Court bested.

* * *

"'GOOD CHARACTER,' 'understanding and explaining the constitution,' 'duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government'—those pious words are as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. They are just a lot of legalistic mumbo-jumbo really meaning that the amendment would give the Board of Registrars arbitrary power to register or to refuse to register any prospective voter.

"Mr. McCorvey (Gessner T. McCorvey, State Democratic Executive Committee chairman) in his appeal to the voters of Alabama, supports the amendment on the ground that it is needed to maintain 'white supremacy.' That is an ugly issue, one that should not be raised unless necessary and urgent.

"For nearly a half century now 'white supremacy' has been maintained in Alabama under our present constitution. The last year for which figures are available generally throughout Alabama is in 1942. At that time, of 55 counties reporting, only three counties had as many as three Negro voters to every 100 white voters. Choctaw had 3.2 per cent; Macon had 3.1 per cent, and Talladega had 4.3 per cent. Of the persons qualified to vote in the general election of 1942 in the 55 counties reporting (12 not reporting), seven-tenths of 1 per cent were Negroes; 99.3 per cent were whites. Although Negroes comprise one-third of our population, 21 years of age or older, they form less than 1-100 of our population qualified to vote.

* * *

"WHAT, THEN, is the source of the sudden danger envisioned by Mr. McCorvey? According to him, it is the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Texas primary case. To quote Mr. McCorvey's words: 'This court decision has opened the way to a flood of Negro registration and Negro domination at the polls in Alabama—especially in our Black Belt counties—which our present election laws are powerless to prevent.'

"Again he speaks of 'the veritable flood of Negro registration and Negro domination which the Supreme Court decision has released. Now what was that dangerous decision? Let us accept Mr. McCorvey's own statement of the holding of the Supreme Court: 'The Supreme Court of the United States, in a far-reaching and precedent-shattering opinion, has held that any qualified voter, whether he be white or colored, has the legal right to vote in any party primary supported by state funds.' That holding had to do simply with the right of a voter already qualified and registered to participate in a party primary. How Mr. McCorvey can say that that decision released a veritable flood of Negro registration is beyond my comprehension. It had nothing to do with registration and it left intact every safeguard of our present state constitution, under which white supremacy has been successfully maintained since the beginning of this century.

"My opponent complains that in Jefferson County there are several thousand Negroes registered to vote. I had a wire yesterday that Sheriff Holt McDowell estimates 4,200 Negroes out of a total registration of 75,000.

* * *

"THE TOTAL NUMBER of Negroes qualified to vote in 1942 in the 55 counties reporting was 2,635 as against 359,396 white voters. Apparently in the last four years Jefferson County has registered more Negro voters than there are in all the rest of the state. Assuming they were registered on a basis of merit, Jefferson County still is in no danger of losing white supremacy for there would be only 5.6 per cent of Negroes against 94.4 per cent of white voters.

"Perhaps my opponent and his County of Jefferson can profit from our experience in Montgomery. A few years ago, at the height of the Simpson-Hill senatorial campaign, a New York Negro lawyer, also admitted to practice in Alabama, appeared in Montgomery and announced that he was going to register at least 5,000 Negro voters here. At the same time, Jim Simpson was plastering the state with billboards and oratory calling for the maintenance of white supremacy. It looked to us suspiciously like an effort to embarrass Lister Hill in his home county.

"I defended the board of registrars all the way through the Supreme Court—and that was a free service without fees. Every case brought in court was defeated and without the aid of any Boswell amendment. Further, the New York lawyer was found himself to be guilty of unethical and illegal practices and was disbarred from further practicing law in Alabama and also fined $500.

* * *

"MY OPPONENT SAYS that in the Black Belt in a day not far distant, the courthouses will be filled with Negro officers if white supremacy is not safeguarded and made secure. Mr. McCorvey makes the following desperate statement: 'There are any number of counties in Alabama's Black Belt where, within comparatively few years, there will probably be only Negro city and county officials unless we do something to tighten up our registration laws.' Yet these gentlemen know full well that registration in each separate county is entirely under the control of white registrars and the white jurors of that county.

"To these hysterical statements we may reply, in the language Mr. McCorvey used toward Sen. Lister Hill last week, 'Buncomb, pure and simple,' or, in the even more picturesque language of an American general, 'Nuts!'

"Experience under the present constitution has proved that the question of allowing qualified Negroes to vote will be answered in the way the great majority of white people of a county may think. They don't need any constitutional amendment to maintain white supremacy.

"A law that is unjust to the Negro is unjust to the white man. It does not require statesmanlike vision to see that the consequences of the Boswell amendment would be evil alike to the white man and to the black.

"From the viewpoint of the extremists in various camps—liberals and reactionaries, labor unionists and undustrialists, wets and drys, Democrats and Republicans—their opponents might not be of 'good character' and unable to 'understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a Republican form of government.' The political leanings of the registrars might well determine who would be allowed to register, especially if a hotly contested election were at hand. Arbitrary power is no respecter of persons. The chains we forge to shackle qualified Negroes can be used to keep white voters of Alabama from walking to the polls.

* * *

"HOW CAN THE GOVERNOR and the boards of registrars under the Boswell Amendment become most powerful? The answer is obvious: By refusing to register qualified voters and by registering those not qualified. A board that wants to control an election can register enough unqualified voters to do its bidding. An ambitious and unscrupulous governor can dictate the appointment of registrars to assure his continued political domination of the state.

"My own view is that Negroes should be permitted to vote as they qualify. A gradual registration of qualified Negroes, rather than the sudden enfranchisement of thousands, is, I think, in the best interests of both races.

"The problems presented by the two races living so closely together will be with us through this generation and through generations to come. Those problems, if approached in a Christian spirit by men of good will in both races, can, I believe, be solved, but the kind of arbitrary power sought by this amendment will destroy confidence and be an effective hindrance to any just and lasting solution."

Boswell Plan Is Endorsed By Wilkinson

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Thurs. 8-29-46

5-Point Program Listed Including Convention And Poll Tax Increase

By ATTICUS MULLIN

In a speech before the Kiwanis Club of Talladega this week Judge Horace Wilkinson, of Birmingham, strong Folsom backer, offered what he termed a solution of the Blackbelt's political problem in the event Negroes become the voting majority in the counties where they outnumber the whites.

Judge Wilkinson endorsed the Boswell constitutional amendment and set forth the following five-point program which he said would eliminate the Negro from the political picture in Alabama in a lawful, orderly way:

1. The adoption of the Boswell amendment.

2. A constitutional amendment making it impossible for a political party to become a state agency.

3. A convention of the Democratic Party in Alabama.

4. Increase the poll tax to $3 per year.

5. Statewide election of all public officers including city and county officers.

Judge Wilkinson argued, as he has done in other speeches, that when the State has no control over a primary, the officers of a party can call a primary in which only white voters will take part as in South Carolina which he said recently held a white primary. Montgomery Ala.

Regarding his fear that certain Blackbelt counties, if Negroes are allowed to register and vote, will be dominated by the Negroes who might choose county and city officers, he said.

"White supremacy in the Blackbelt can be made secure by the nomination of local officers by the white voters of the county or case may be in a county as they are nominated now and with the added primary just as the requirement that safeguard of a requirement that they be elected statewide. Even Jefferson County may need this safeguard and protection at no distant date." The Advertiser

Judge Wilkinson

Thurs. 8-29-46

Gov. Sparks' Arguments

The News Birmingham, Ala. Wed. 10-9-46

Chauncey Sparks has given ample evidence of his growth in statesmanship during his term as governor. He has been forward-looking and creative. Time and again he has taken an advanced position. He did so when he sought to persuade the Legislature to drop the cumulative feature of the poll tax. His attitude toward education has been admirable, by and large. He has shown himself to be open-minded and progressive in facing up to many problems of a stormy quadrennium. But he has not risen to his own mark in his statement on the Boswell amendment.

He is for the amendment because, in his opinion, the present requirements for registration can be met "by almost everyone of whatever race." The fact that those requirements have kept most Negroes and a great body of whites from registering does not seem to count for much in the governor's thinking. He prefers to argue in terms of possibilities, thereby seeking to justify his fear of a wholesale enfranchisement without reference to all that experience has to say to the contrary. There isn't much logic in that.

He is for the gradual absorption of Negroes as voting citizens. He is against a mass inundation of voting lists. He is for individual fitness. No one will quarrel with him on this score. This is a good doctrine. But how does he propose to implement it? Through use of the new standards of the Boswell amendment. It is nonsense, he contends, to say that they involve arbitrary authority. You allow judges to use their discretion. Why not do the same with respect to registrars?

* * *

But that is just the point. Registrars are not judges. They are not usually appointed for their learning, for professional expertness, for their judicial qualities. Furthermore, even judges would have a great deal of trouble in enforcing the new standards of the Boswell amendment, because these standards are altogether discretionary. They are not definite or specific. They leave it up to registrars to decide whether an applicant can explain and understand the federal constitution in its entirety, possesses good character and knows the responsibilities of good citizenship under a republican form of government. This is not a yardstick—it is excessive authority placed in the hands of officials who in the very nature of things may use it arbitrarily.

* * *

Gov. Sparks declares: "No one should be given the franchise until he is qualified according to a reasonable standard—reaches a certain age, and also attains a certain experience, moral and intellectual qualification." All right. But what has that to do with the Boswell amendment, which provides two qualifications the constitutional convention of 1901 considered objectionable as permanent tests and one qualification which would demand from registrars the wisdom and knowledge of Supreme Court justices? Are these reasonable standards or are they merely the cover under which registrars could substitute their own opinions and prejudices for law and justice?

Gov. Sparks believes in a gradual enlargement of our electorate. But the express purpose of the Boswell amendment is to keep the electorate down to a manageable minimum. Gov. Sparks seems to assume that only Negroes would be affected by the Boswell amendment. But that's a rash assumption. The power which this amendment would give to registrars is a power which could be used against whites. History is a constant reminder of the danger which inheres in the mere possession of power.

QUESTION FOR MR. BONNER

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

I had thought I would keep my mouth shut and remain on the side line, and from there watch the fight now going on over the Boswell Amendment. However, in your today's issue (Sept. 19, 1946), a letter from Senator J. M. Bonner, of Camden, Ala., prompts me to say just a word or two. The following is the closing paragraph of Senator Bonner's letter, wherein he urges the passage of the Boswell Amendment, to-wit:

"We in the Black Belt need the help of every white person in Alabama; I plead for that help. I say to you solemnly; our only hope for white supremacy; our only hope for peace; our only protection against a race war is in the adoption of this amendment."

I am a member of the Senate in the present Legislature. My district is composed of three counties, Clay, Cleburne and Coosa, any one of these counties probably voting heavier than Wilcox, Senator Bonner's county, and all together certainly representing thousands more voters than are to be found in Wilcox. Senator Bonner's Wilcox has its own senator and, as I recall, two representatives in the lower house. At the time the Boswell Amendment bill was pending in the Senate, there were pending bills, at least one, designed to get Alabama reapportioned so as to have all sections of Alabama more equitably represented in the State's Legislature. Some twenty or more of us tried, hard and long, to get our reapportionment legislation up for a vote. Did we ever get it up for a vote? Yes, we did NOT! Many of us representing the "White Belts" begged and plead for "Black Belt" aid, understanding and sympathy. Our calls went unheeded and no reapportionment legislation was enacted, and, in my judgment, none will be enacted at any early date. Montgomery, Ala.

At the time the Boswell Amendment legislation was up in the Senate I cast the first vote against its submission. There were three votes in all against in that body. I was naturally against the legislation, and, at the same time, there kept chasing through my mind the treatment that the "White Belts" were getting from the very hands that were outstretched for aid in passing the Boswell Amendment legislation. Mon. 9-23-46

What I have said above maybe does not touch directly or indirectly on the merits or demerits of the Boswell Amendment, but it does serve to suggest that if the Black Belt is asking for protection from its large colored population when it comes to voting, that it ought not to take credit for their population in having its representation in the Legislature assessed, or ought it?

Goodwater, Ala. CHAS. S. BENTLEY.

THE RETROACTIVE AMENDMENT

To the Editor of The News: The News

It so happens that within the last few days a lawyer who is a personal friend and has been a staunch supporter of the Boswell amendment, upon having the retroactive feature of same pointed out to him, immediately typed a letter to Mr. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, requesting that an official copy of same be sent him. Birmingham, Ala.

Surprising as it may seem, he admitted to me that he had not yet read the amendment, and, not being satisfied with a newspaper version of it, he sent for an official version and asked that one be sent to me as well.

There is not the least doubt in my mind whatever but that "the date's the thing," so why not present it "as is"? The original "Section 181" of the state constitution reads: "After the first day of January, 1903."

The Boswell amendment reads: "Section 181. After the first day of January, nineteen hundred and three." Wed. 10-9-46

Had there been no intent to make the amendment retroactive, it would have been dated ahead to Jan. 1, 1947.

Now here is the "payoff" as far as this retroactive feature of the Boswell amendment is concerned. It exposes every registrant from the date, Jan. 1, 1903, regardless of what or why he happened to be qualified under the original Section 181, to reregistration under the terms of the Boswell amendment, which wipes out the property ownership clause—for one thing—which happens to be of such vast importance that even a non-property owner like myself should sit up and take notice of it.

If this amendment goes so far as to rule out property ownership—"in this state assessed for taxation at $300 or more" ("or more" means property valued at any amount)—then this amendment proposes to cast aside the guarantee that this property-owning clause now in the state constitution provides that there shall be no taxation of property without representation. In connection with this particular phase of the amendment, it should be borne in mind that "the power to tax is the power to destroy," and if the word of a widely known attorney in Alabama is to be taken in this respect, here it is: "No, there is no other assurance in the constitution against taxation without representation."

Aside from this phase, the retroactive feature places the Boswell amendment in the same class with the "grandfather's clause" cases, that every lawyer in Alabama should be familiar with, and if they will just take the pains to "read" the amendment, I feel confident they will agree with me.

These cases were overruled by the Supreme Court in 1915, but it took from 1908 (State of Maryland case) and 1910 (State of Oklahoma case), seven and five years respectively, before these cases were decided by the U. S. Supreme Court. Incidentally, this is the high tribunal that the Boswellites propose "to show the hole the hog went through" after it had gorged itself to the bursting point on a choice variety of rights, privileges and immunities belonging to its owners. That's we-all.

Akron, Ala. BEN T. COUCHMAN.

Tell It To Old Grandma

BOSWELL AMENDMENT

Editor, The Advertiser: The Montgomery Advertiser Mon. 9-2-46 Montgomery, Ala.

I see in the paper where Mr. G. T. McCorvey, of the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee, has announced the committee's approval of using $3,500 of its funds to help get the Boswell Amendment adopted in November. Mr. McCorvey and the 48 members who voted for the proposal should receive proper recognition.

The committee has taken a courageous stand. With outside influence from Yankeeland attempting again to run our government and meddle in our private affairs, the danger of Communistic Reds contaminating our working people, and subversive elements boring within, it is high time for our upright, clear-thinking leaders to show the way to maintain our glorious, democratic ideals. Mr. McCorvey sets the precedent with — "Since the emblem of our party is a crowing rooster with the words 'White Supremacy' above the rooster, and the words, 'For the Right' below the rooster," then it is entirely proper that the State Democratic Committee should lead the fight to maintain the traditions of our party in this state by adopting the proposed amendment to our Constitution and endeavoring, as far as can legally be done, to make the Democratic party in Alabama the "White Man's Party."

We are determined not to lose face with the adjoining states. We are following closely in the footsteps of Georgia and Mississippi into the fight for right and white supremacy. These two noble sisters expunged all foreign and radical attempts to hamper their rightful progress by electing men who are living symbols of "White Supremacy." We know where they stand. The entire world knows where they stand — two bright and shining lights that winds from foreign shores cannot extinguish. Will we be able to clasp their hands in holy union for the cause?

A few years ago there was in one country a master race. They thrived on white supremacy. Well if the master race can achieve it, then so can we. They followed a leader who knew what he was doing.

Mr. McCorvey knows what he is doing—"and endeavoring, as far as it can legally be done, to make the Democratic party in Alabama the white man's party." Yes, we must do it legally. The New Testament taught us that: Some Jews sought and found legal means to crucify a radical who preached brotherhood. But if we do it legally, then it can't be wrong.

Our illustrious forebears, who wrote the Constitution, resolved that all men were created free and equal. The people were granted the voting franchise. That was old fashioned. We will modernize our interpretation of the Constitution. This will reserve the franchise of voting for a deserving few who have the privilege of belonging to the ruling class. The fewer the voters the easier to control elections. There is no need for too much competition at the ballot box. This will eliminate outside interference in our private affairs.

"The government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish"—pretty words. What do they mean?

Montgomery, Ala. JIM KITCHEN.

Poole Seeks Support Of Boswell Measure To Avoid 'Bribery'

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 8—(AP) — Agriculture Commissioner Joe Poole appealed to Alabama voters today to support the Boswell amendment or risk what he termed "wholesale bribery and debauchery at the polls."

Writing in the current issue of Alabama Farmers, a publication of the Agriculture Department, Poole declared:

"I am for the Boswell amendment because if we adopt the amendment, we . . . through our boards of registrars will be able to determine who will vote in our primaries."

But if it fails, he added, the boards will be compelled by U. S. Supreme Court decision to register "practically everyone who applies." He referred to a ruling section of the U. S. constitution cannot be barred to the registrars instead of merely a party primary reading and writing it.

The Boswell plan, which will solely because of their race.

In the Nov. 5 would require prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" any

A Vote Against Alabama

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Today there are more than 3,000 registered voters on the University of Alabama campus, 3,000 persons who will soon vote to determine whether or not the highly controversial Boswell amendment will become a part of the Alabama constitution or whether it will be discarded and forgotten, one more thwarted attempt to curtail the political freedom guaranteed us in the Bill of Rights. Mon. 10-21-46

This amendment (which will appear as the fourth amendment on the Nov. 5 general election ballot) proposes to stop mass Negro registration and voting. To this end it is absolutely unnecessary. Our present registration requirements unquestionably are adequate to maintain "white supremacy."

The last election registration figures which are available reveal that seven-tenths of the voters were white. Does this indicate that "white supremacy" is in danger? Mon.

Under our present law the qualifications are outlined clearly and distinctly. The fourth amendment proposes vague and indistinct substitutions, such as "understanding and interpreting the articles of the Constitution," "being of good character" and "understanding the duties of a good citizen."

It is evident that any resident of our State, regardless of his educational background, could be deprived of his voting right by failing to meet these vague qualifications.

The imminent danger that has not been emphasized is that this amendment is retroactive to the year 1903 and would allow the purging from the voting list of any person who has registered since that time. This would mean that every student at the University today could be deprived of his voting right.

While there is no criticism of present registrars, it is dangerously possible that, since the offices are purely political appointment, they could operate to the defranchisement for political differences.

If the amendment is passed there is a better-than-average possibility it will be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. In the process it could cause untold strife and bitterness. 10-21-46

The group which is sponsoring the amendment declares that any man has recourse to the Supreme Court should he be purged from the voting list. This is true, but appeals to the Supreme Court are slow and costly, and it is doubtful that many of the disfranchised would profit by seeking redress in Washington.

The fourth amendment is unnecessary undemocratic, arbitrary, intellectually dishonest and an insult to the integrity of the people of Alabama.—The Crimson-White University of Alabama.

Rives Opposes Boswell Plan As Reactionary

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Sun 9-3-46

He Sees No Threat To 'White Supremacy' In Giving Negroes Ballot

By ATTICUS MULLIN

"The sponsors of the Boswell amendment are more reactionary than the men who framed the Alabama Constitution of 1901. They are more reactionary than those who wrote the constitution of any other State. They would turn back the pages of history for more than a half of a century."

Thus spoke Col. Richard Rives, powerful sponsor of Jim Folsom for governor, last campaign manager of the late Gov. Bibb Graves and a man whom I regard as the most powerful and one of the sanest figures, not only in Montgomery County politics but in Alabama politics as well.

Col. Rives does not believe there is any danger to white supremacy in the counties of Alabama where the Negroes vastly out-number the whites. He points to the percentage of white and Negro voters now and says that should settle the argument.

Col. Rives says the Boswell amendment is a "studied attempt to evade the Constitution of the United States. Sun 9-3-46

I interviewed Col. Rives and here is the result:

Why He's Opposed

"Why are you against the Boswell Amendment?"

"All that is needed to defeat the Boswell Amendment is for us to understand what it really means. It does away with the ownership of property as a qualification for voting, but that is not its dangerous feature. Its most important provisions are that for any person to qualify to vote he must satisfy the Board of Registrars of three things: One, that he can 'understand and explain' any article of the Constitution of the United States; two, that he is of 'good character;' and three, that he 'understands the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government.'

"These three tests of the right to vote are impossible of accurate application. Understanding and explanation of the Constitution is all a matter of opinion, and one on which even justices of our Supreme Court differ among themselves. Our registrars are good men and women, but they do not claim to be experts on the Constitution. How can any citizen be sure that his idea of the proper understanding and explanation of any article of the Constitution is the same as the opinion of the Board of Registrars"

"Good Character"

"Under the present Constitution, persons with records of conviction for crime cannot qualify to vote. This amendment would go further and require the applicant to be of 'good character.' That sounds all right, but again 'good character' calls for an opinion on which persons might differ widely.

"To understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government just about defines ideal perfection for any citizen. No one can attain to and prove such perfect understanding.

"In short all of those words are just a lot of legalistic mumbo jumbo really meaning that the amendment would give the Board of Registrars arbitrary power to refuse to register any prospective voter.

"Liberty can exist only where there is a government of laws and not of men. If we want to retain such a government, we must keep the tests of the right to vote simple and definite, and we should not vest such arbitrary power in any man or group of men. Sun 9-3-46

Other Provisions

"The other provisions of the Amendment, that an applicant must be of good character and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government were lifted bodily, word for word, from Section 180 of our Alabama Constitution which provided the temporary qualifications for registration from the date of ratification of our State Constitution in November, 1901, to January 1st, 1903. Even under that temporary provision, nothing more was required in addition to an applicant being of good character and understanding the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government. Nothing more need be required for such a citizen would be mighty close to perfection. The Boswell Amendment, however, requires more, namely: that the applicant "understand and explain" any article of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the Board of Registrars.

"The members of our 1901 Constitutional Convention recognized the good character clause as being arbitrary and they repeatedly declined to adopt that clause as a part of the permanent system of registration to apply after January 1, 1903. (See Journal of Constitutional Convention p. 537, Vol. 3, Official Proceedings Constitutional Convention, p. 3451), or even to extend the operation of that clause to January 1, 1905, (Vol. 3, Official Proceedings, p. 3200).

"In short, the sponsors of the Boswell Amendment are more reactionary than the men who framed our 1901 Constitution, and more reactionary than those who wrote the Constitution of any other State. They would turn back the pages of history for more than half century.

He Charges Evasion

"Does the Boswell Amendment increase the chances of Federal intervention?

"The Boswell Amendment is a studied attempt to evade the Constitution of the United States. If adopted, we may naturally expect the powers of the Federal Courts to be invoked to maintain the United States Constitution as the supreme law of the land. Further, the intervention of the Federal Congress for the separate registration of voters in Congressional elections would be invited and encouraged." Sun 9-3-46

"What do you say about the claims of the proponents of the Boswell Amendment that it is needed to maintain white supremacy in the black belt counties?" he was asked.

"They tell us that in some counties the Negroes outnumber the white population, and that is true. The really important figures however, are how the number of Negro voters in any county compare to the number of white voters, registered under our present Constitution. Those records, I submit, will prove that there is no immediate threat to white supremacy in any county. In Montgomery County, for instance, out of more than 30,000 registered voters, only 350 or a little more than one per cent are Negroes. I do not have the statistics, but I am confident that there is not a County in the State with as many as three Negro voters to every one-hundred white voters. That situation does not justify the reactionary and dangerous Boswell Amendment.

"If it should appear in the future that the standards need be raised, then we might raise the literacy test, say to the possession of a high sch school education or it equivalent, or even to a test, fairly conducted by competent examiners, to determine the applicants' understanding of our systen of government, but whar ever the test, it shou should be definite and to comply with the Constitution of the United States, it shou should be applied fairly and impartially to all applicants. I believe that is our only sound course."

PRAISES McCORVEY

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Editor The Advertiser:

Having read and re-read McCorvey's statement, by Atticus Mullin, am made to wonder just what is meant by State's Rights.

Have always thought if our Constitution is worth the paper it is written on, then our State is sovereign and makes and changes her own laws at will: How then can any one assume to dictate to her just how she shall control the citizenry within her borders? To me this is worth thinking about, and after thinking I would do something about it.

As to the Boswell amendment, of course there will be different ideas about it, differing in proportion to how much thought we give it. As for me this is not the first thought I have given it—not by more than 50 years—I mean the subject matter contained in it. It means the making or breaking of our state, politically—believe it or not. Now let every one read again this statement by McCorvey in Wednesday, Sept. 11 Advertiser. Keep your shirt on—"and he says keep your feet on the ground" and Moses said "stand still." Mon. 10-21-46

Study the circumstances which surround us at the present—Tennessee North—Georgia on the East—Mississippi on the west and the Gulf of Mexico South, shall we stand still and wait for the waters to be divided, or shall we stay home and protect ourselves? Now do not get the idea that I have in mind protect ourselves against the Negro, No! For all these years we have never had any trouble with our colored friend and never will—except for the four reasons mentioned in the conclusion of McCorvey's remarks.

Mon. SANFORD L. HORNSBY.
Tallassee, Ala.

Dixon Legal Adviser Urges Ratification Of Boswell Amendment

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Sat. 10-5-46

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 5—(AP)—J. Miller Bonner, legal adviser to former Gov. Frank Dixon, says certain Negro domination will result in many Alabama counties if the Boswell amendment is not ratified.

Former State Sen. Bonner, of Camden, told the Montgomery Civitan Club Friday that history proves that Negroes abuse the voting franchise and cannot "without disastrous consequences" be permitted to vote en masse.

Bonner declared: "During post Civil War years, it was clearly demonstrated that Negroes, if allowed to vote in large numbers would elect only carpetbaggers, scalawags and other disreputable persons to office. The Boswell amendment is vitally needed if honest, white elections are maintained."

If the constitutional amendment fails, he said, "within four years the Negroes will take over every public office in Macon County where all members of the Board of Registrars have resigned. My county of Wilcox would probably be the second county to fall under Negro control.

"There are three alternatives," Bonner said. "Either the whites would have to leave their homes, submit to Negro domination, or engage in inter-racial conflict resulting in extermination of one or the other races."

Bonner said he could not vision any of the alternatives actually happening and called for adoption of legal means exemplified in the Boswell amendment to preserve the present system of government.

McCorvey Praises Boswell Bill, Col. Ayres Condemns Measure

The News Birmingham, Ala. Wed. 10-30-46

HUNTSVILLE, Ala., Oct. 30—(AP)—The Boswell amendment to tighten up on voter qualification was described as necessary to prevent mass registration of Negroes and attacked as "dishonest and dangerous" in a debate last night before the Huntsville Hometown Council.

The debaters were Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, proponent of the measure to be voted Nov. 5, and Col. Harry M. Ayers, published of The Anniston Star.

The amendment would require prospective registrants to "understand and explain" the United States constitution rather than the present requirement to merely read and write sections.

McCorvey said that the Association for the Advancement of Colored People "have busied themselves very much in informing our colored people of their rights" and added that registrars must "be given power" to prevent what he said was a likely mass registration of Negroes.

He contended that, unless the present laws are amended, "there will probably not be a white county officer elected" in Alabama's Black Belt counties where Negroes outnumber the white population.

Referring to the Black Belt also, Col. Ayers said: "I have no sympathy to waste on those people. . . . They have ruled the politics of this state for the last 45 years. . . .

* * *

"THOSE PEOPLE IN the Black Belt have kept the Negro from voting 45 years under our present laws. They are smart. They can keep on controlling the offices in their counties."

McCorvey said many Negroes were entitled to vote because they were "good Negroes . . . whose interests are the same as their white friends."

He said that, in his opinion, the amendment would, if ratified, be sustained by the United States Supreme Court, and termed "bunk and nonsense" what he described as warnings of opponents of the measure that its passage would compel re-registration of presently qualified voters.

Col. Ayers said that, when forces seek "to undermine the fundamental law of the land," then the entire structure of the government is endangered. The News

"Those who have drafted this amendment," he said, "realize that all over the world and all over the United States the people are demanding a voice in their government. Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

"THREE OR FOUR MEN in smoke-filled rooms down in Montgomery realize that their control of this state is slipping from their hands because the poll tax is on its way out."

He said the amendment is "dishonest and dangerous" and added that the measure was certain to be taken before the Supreme Court if ratisfied. Wed. 10-30-46

"They will throw it out," he continued, "then we will have chaos."

"If human rights are not respected in this state," the Anniston publisher continued, "this state which we are trying so hard to develop . . ., men who respect human rights and the constitution of the United States are not coming into the state.

"If this sort of thing had been in force . . . Thomas Jefferson would never have been elected president, nor would Andrew Jackson, Wilson, Lincoln and last but not least, Franklin Roosevelt. There would have been no TVA."

MEEKS VISIONS UNFAIR BOARDS

Registration boards in some counties 'very possibly would be unfair" in administering the Boswell amendment, in the event it becomes law, S. Paul Meeks, state representative nominate of Jefferson County, told the Birmingham Inter-Club Council at its luncheon meeting at the Molton Hotel yesterday. Mr. Meeks spoke in the absence of Albert Boutwell, state senate nominee, who was kept from delivering his talk by other business.

Mr. Meeks said that in counties where the Negro population is overwhelmingly large the boards might become "arbitrary in their decisions," but he added that he felt the law would be carried out with more justice in most counties.

As for the validity of the proposed law before the Supreme Court, Mr. Meeks said that would depend upon whether the high tribunal judged it as a measure against a single racial group, or as a voting qualification law.

He asserted that Negro voters would be easily led, referring to results from some large Negro districts which he said showed that they were voting a slate of candidates. He charged that these candidates apparently were approved by the Civil Liberties League.

The Inter-Club Council voted approval of a resolution recently passed by the Park Board, at the request of James A. Downey, Jr., board president, in which the Park Board urged the Civilian Production Administration to permit addition of 20,000 seats at Legion Field. The Park Board resolution will be referred to individual clubs.

A letter from the Civitan Club asking approval of an Americanization program by which a paid worker would instruct non-citizens, to prepare them for the naturalization examination, was referred to the council board. The council voted to endorse Amendment No. 7, coming up in the November 5 election, which sets aside proceeds from aviation gas sales for the construction and improvement of airports.

Boswell Foes Protest Naming Thompson To Supervise Vote

The News Birmingham, Ala. Sat. 11-2-46

The movement against ratification of the Boswell amendment, to be voted on throughout the state next Tuesday, was marked Saturday by two new developments:

First, Al McGinty, Jr., and Guy A. Matlock, co-chairmen, Jefferson County Committee Opposed to the Boswell Amendment, issued a statement protesting the appointment of H. A. (Gus) Thompson by the subcommittee of the Jefferson County Election Committee to supervise, direct and name the poll workers in the general election Tuesday.

Second, M. E. Morris, Birmingham real estate man who as election commissioner and chairman of the Jeffereson County Board of Registrars from 1914 to 1924 is said to have handled the registration of more voters than any other one man in the city's history, issued a statement branding the proposed amendment as "selfish and dangerous."

MR. McGINTY AND MR. MATLOCK declared Mr. Thompson "in our opinion, is not qualified to be entrusted with the task of appointing poll workers, or to have anything to do with the active work of the Democratic Party in this election by virtue of his prejudice, bias and leadership in the campaign to have the Boswell amendment ratified.

"Mr. Thompson, in addition to being the tool of certain interests in advocating passage of the amendment, has allowed his name to be used in glaring letters on an impassioned and exaggerated throwsheet, which proponents of the amendment are using in their zeal to thrust it upon the voters of Alabama. The News

"In protesting the appointment of Mr. Thompson, we do not question the integrity or fairness of the many workers who will give generously of their time to the election next Tuesday, but in view of the fact that certain zealous proponents of the amendment have made the open boast that 'the good Democrats would see that the election is won,' we feel that Mr. Thompson's intolerant attitude and activity for the proposal render him unfit for such service." Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

"AFTER GIVING THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT my careful through I am thoroughly convinced that a more selfish or dangerous amendment has never been presented for ratification to the qualified electors of any state," declared Mr. Morris, who served during the Henderson, Kilby and Brandon administrations. Sat. 11-2-46

"The entire composition of this substitute for Section 181 of our constitution is none other than the brain work of selfishness and a reactionary and greedy spirit.

"There is absolutely no question in my mind but that the framers of this piece of legislation knew at the time they composed it that every person registering since Jan. 1, 1903, could be forced to re-register and re-qualify to vote. And as I pointed out in my opposition to the unreasonable suffrage amendment offered during the Kilby administration, if adopted we would be holding general elections and sessions of the registrars under federal bayonets. There is no question in my mind but that if this Boswell proposal is ratified Tuesday, the federal government will step in and supervise our registrations and elections.

"The reactionary crowd that hatched up this amendment was not afraid of the Negro vote and their scheme in stirring up race prejudice in order to mislead the average voter into supporting it was a clever device to divert attention from its real object.

* * *

"IN MY OPINION the resignation of the chairman of the present board of registrars of Jefferson County and his withdrawal of the same later on was arranged in advance by agreement with the reactionary administration at Montgomery, its purpose being to influence the working people of Jefferson County to support this amendment.

"I hope the common people of Alabama will not be deceived by such tactics and propaganda and will go to the polls and vote 'No' next Tuesday on Amendment No. 4.

"The present constitution gives the registrars sufficient authority to deny registration to any undesirable applicant and Sec. 180, Paragraph 3, gives the registrars wide discretion on accepting or rejecting applications for registration as is shown in the cases of Giles versus Teasley and Giles versus Harris. Sec. 186 makes the board of registrars a statewide judicial body. Paragraph 5 gives the board authority to question applicants for registration. And under provisions of Sec. 188, Paragraph 1, a board of registrars can construe it in such a way as to deny a man or woman registration and make it a question for a jury to decide. Sec. 190 gives the Legislature sufficient authority to give the registrars further protection by legislative act, if such protection is needed."

Boswell Foes Unite; McCorvey Sees Registrars Reasonable

The News Birmingham, Ala. Tues. 10-29-46

Amendment Opponents Launch Organization In Jefferson County

Formation of a Jefferson County Committee Opposed to the Boswell Amendment was completed at a meeting in the courthouse last night.

"Get out the vote" was the meeting keynote, and committee members sounded a general appeal to the Jefferson County electorate to cast their ballots in the election next Tuesday when the Boswell Amendment will be up for ratification.

The drive to defeat the amendment is being spearheaded here by the Young Men's Business Club of Birmingham, two of whose members, Al McGinty, Jr., club president, and Guy Matlock, are serving as co-chairmen of the general committee opposed to the Boswell Amendment.

MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL committee are A. M. Romeo, William Mitch, R. R. Wade, Horace Alford, Edward Hunvald, Lionel Baxter, Mrs. Hattie Prestridge, John Busby, Mrs. P. T. Dobbs, Ralph Willbanks, Mrs. Phyllis Sachs, Homer Wilson, Douglas Smith and Joe P. Bell, Bessemer.

Named to the finance committee, a subcommittee of the general committee against the amendment, were Marvin Engel, Joe Morris, Mr. Busby and John P. Schulter.

Charles N. Feidelson, contributing editor, The Birmingham News-Age-Herald, described the proposed Boswell Amendment as "objectionable because it is unnecessary, undemocratic and dishonest."

Mr. Feidelson declared sentiment in this county is fundamentally against the amendment, which would require registrants to "be of good character" and to be able to understand and interpret the United States Constitution to the satisfaction of Boards of Registrars.

A FORMER CHAIRMAN of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars, Mr. Romeo, said the amendment had provisions which could bring every voter before the Board of Registrars for questioning.

Mr. Feidelson said the present State Consitution has kept the Negro vote to 1,700 out of a possible 63,000 voters in Jefferson County, and to 425 out of 31,479 in Montgomery County.

He used those figures in charging supporters of the amendment with "calculated exaggeration" in predicting an imminent Negro registration of 200,000.

The "understanding" clause of the amendment would be knocked out in the U. S. Supreme Court, Mr. Feidelson said, with the result that "the situation would be even worse than now, if we're willing to admit that the situation is bad."

Mrs. Malcolm Dobbs, member of the Bives committee against the amendment, said it held threats to the voting rights of women and to persons made jobless by depression in the provision that voters "must have worked for most of the 12 months preceding registration." The clause could obviously exclude housewives, Mrs. Dobbs said.

Other speakers developed the

State Demo Leader Says Few Would Lose Votes Through Rider

The News Birmingham, Ala. Tue. 10-29-46

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 29.—(AP)—Registrars "are not going to be unreasonable" if the Boswell amendment is adopted, says Gessner T. McCorvey, and "my idea is that any registrar would replied, "that any registrar would undertake to give an examination on constitutional law. . . ."

The Boswell amendment, up for ratification or rejection in the Nov. 5 election, would require prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" the United States constitution rather than the present requirement to merely read and write sections.

The chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee expressed his views at the request of Columnist Grover C. Hall, Jr., of The Alabama Journal, who asked him how he would handle Negro applicants for voting if he were sitting on a board of registrars.

"I have never thought," McCorvey replied, "that any registrar would undertake to give an examination on constitutional law. . . ."

The Boswell amendment, up for ratification or rejection in the Nov. 5 election, would require prospective voters to be able to "under-

stand and explain" any section of the U. S. Constitution. McCorvey as an individual and the State Democratic Committee as a group have endorsed it.

THE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN offered these as examples of "perfectly proper" questions to be asked of applicants if the amendment passes:

"Do you know under what kind of government you live, a republic, an empire, a monarchy, or under some other form of government?

"What is meant by freedom of religion? . . . Freedom of speech? . . . Freedom of the press?

"Do you know what body makes the laws for our federal government?"

"I could go on suggesting innumerable questions," McCorvey wrote, "but my idea is that any intelligent Negro, or any intelligent white person would be registered without question. The registrars are not going to be unreasonable."

* * *

THE PARTY CHAIRMAN acknowledged that the amendment "may not be the best . . . that could be drafted," but he declared its adoption is essential "because it is the only thing before the people."

"We can have it remedied in another election to be held about two years from now, so as to remove many of the features which have been objected to," he suggested. "However, if we do not adopt the amendment, then before we could submit another constitutional amendment, every Negro in Alabama will be registered."

McCorvey said he was "really very deeply concerned" over what would happen if the Boswell plan were defeated, but that regardless of the outcome of the election, "I am not going to have any sore spots in any form, shape or fashion."

MOBILE, Ala., Oct. 29—(AP)—The Boswell amendment was termed "discriminatory" by the Mobile CIO Industrial Union Council which announced a campaign to get out a heavy vote against the measure on Nov. 5. The News

Other organized labor groups will be asked to join the council in opposing the amendment which would require prospective voters to "understand and explain" the federal constitution. The council says it has a membership of 35,000 in the Mobile industrial area.

The Birmingham Baptist Pastors' Conference voted decisively yesterday to adopt a resolution "decrying the appeal to Christianity" as a reason for supporting the Boswell amendment, the Rev. Herman W. Cobb, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Pratt City, who attended the meeting, said. Tues. 10-29-46

The following resolution was adopted, he said:

"We as Christian ministers decry the appeal to Christianity as the reason for support of the Boswell amendment." Birmingham, Ala.

The resolution was presented to [illegible]ningham Baptist Pastors' [illegible]ice, he said, after advertisements advocating the Boswell amendment as a Christian movement appeared in newspapers here.

Kiwanians Hear Boswell Rider Get Brickbats And Bouquets

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Wed. 10-30-46

The Boswell amendment was presented as a safeguard against everything that Alabama has fought for by former Gov. Frank Dixon, and as dishonest and an attack on equal rights by Peyton Bibb, attorney, in separate addresses yesterday before the Birmingham Kiwanis Club at the Tutwiler Hotel.

The high points of Mr. Dixon's arguments were as follows:

The Boswell amendment is essential to prevent the registration of "a large undigestible mass of Negro voters, most of them venal" The amendment has become the only safeguard Alabama has against this fate now that the U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that all Negroes in Alabama who can read and write can qualify and vote not only in the general elections but in the Democratic primary as well.

The amendment is the only safeguard against black control in 18 counties in which there would be a majority of Negro voters. In Jefferson County Negroes would have 43 per cent of the vote, meaning that they would hold public office in this county and control votes in Congress. Zoning laws would be removed and Negroes would attend the same schools as whites. Segregation laws would be removed.

* * *

SUMMARIZED, THIS WAS Mr. Bibb's argument: Text of the proposed amendment requiring that voters be able to understand and explain any section of the U. S. Constitution is dishonest in its application because the average citizen is incapable of doing so—it is beyond the power of the U. S. Supreme Court. Right of an Alabama citizen to vote will depend on the whims of the registrars. Under the amendment not only could a minority be disenfranchised but a majority could be disenfranchised by a minority, such as happened in the dictator countries.

Essence of the amendment is contained in the effort to prevent Negroes—a minority group—from voting, Mr. Bibb further told the Kiwanians. He said it isn't true that under present voting requirements the state is faced with the registration of every Negro who can read and write a section of the constitution. He mentioned that voters are required to qualify as being employed and name the place where they are expected to be employed for the next five years. To prevent registration, all the next Legislature needs to do is do away with the extra registration periods now allowed in most counties, he suggested.

* * *

One bone of contention between the two speakers concerned the right of registrars to purge the lists of voters who have been declared insane, been convicted and otherwise disqualified. Mr. Dixon observed that the registrars meet to do this purging during one week every two years, and that the voter to be purged has the right of a hearing and appeal to a jury while his name remains on the list.

But Mr. Bibb declared that the registrars inform the probate judge of everyone removed from the list and that such voters are not certified. Thus, he argued, a voter the registrars want removed doesn't have immediate right to a trial before jury.

Mr. Dixon warned his listeners—Kiwanians and guests who packed the ballroom of the Tutwiler—that a vote against the Boswell amendment will be irrevocable but one in favor of it will still give voters the chance to change their minds and "widen their franchise."

Mr. Bibb made an appeal for an honest and just treatment of the question, reminding his audience that the foundation of this government is based on the concepts of the rights of mankind. Ehney Camp introduced the speakers.

* * *

TITUS L. BISSELL, Alabama Power Company executive, was elected president of the Birmingham Kiwanis Club for the year beginning Jan. 1, succeeding John W. Black, at the meeting yesterday.

Frank Yeilding was elected vice president, and William J. Christian, treasurer. The following were chosen directors: James M. Barry, K. E. Cooper, Key Foster, James C. Lee, Jr., Clyde Porter, Moses J. Roberson and Lee Williams.

The directors will meet next Tuesday to elect a secretary.

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser
PERTINENT FACTS

Editor, The Advertiser: Montgomery, Ala.

Amid the tumult and the shouting, the cattiness (male and female) and the name-calling, it is profitable now and then to run across a pertinent fact, one that we can get our teeth into, and digest. Tues. 10-29-46

One of your anti-Boswell Amendment writers (Montgomery Advertiser, Oct. 27, 1946, Page Two-A, column 5) referring to those favoring the amendment, said: "Their success would please Joe Stalin and his propaganda machines beyond measure."

The same issue of the Advertiser (page Seven-A, column 3, continuing from Page One an Associated Press story headed "New York GOP,") contains this statement: "Republicans hailed the recent Moscow broadcast urging support of CIO-PAC indorsed candidates as benefiting their chances, since Mead and Lehman have the backing of this group."

And the October 28, 1946 issue of Time magazine (page 29, column 1), writing of the CIO Political Action Committee, has this to say: "This week PAC got a kiss of death. Moscow radio, speaking in English, urged U. S. voters to cast their ballots for PAC-backed candidates."

(NAME WITHHELD)

Montgomery, Ala.

Montgomery Legislator-To-Be Dislikes Boswell Amendment

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Opposition to the Boswell amendment was voiced yesterday by Hubert E. Busby, who will be a member of the Folsom Legislature from Montgomery County.

He charged supporters of the Boswell amendment, which would tighten restrictions on registration in Alabama, with representing "special interests," and charged that the party's State executive committee was "unfair" in spending "party money in this fight." His statement follows: Wed.

"I came out against the Boswell amendment during the recent campaign. Since then I have become even more convinced that it should be beaten. 10-16-46

"There is a clear lineup in our State on this issue. Practically all of those who have come out in favor of the amendment have been the spokesman for special interests. They have become frightened by the growing power of the average citizen in Alabama politics. They don't want many people to vote because the more voters there are the harder it is to control elections. Advertiser

"The leaders who have come out against the amendment are those who have been most interested in the welfare of the average man—in education, public welfare, good roads, etc. Montgomery

"It is up to the average citizen to get out and talk to his neighbors about this amendment. If it passes it will be too late to find out whether the Boards of Registrars will use their unlimited power to keep people from voting.

"I also think it is unfair for the Democratic Executive Committee to spend party money in this fight. The men and women who are against this amendment are just as loyal Democrats as those who are on the executive committee—if not more so. The money that is being spent, and it seems there is a lot of money being spent, belongs just as much to those who are against the amendment as those who are for it." Wed. 10-16-46

This Evening

The News Birmingham, Ala.

FACTS VERSUS ALARMS

Campaigners for the Boswell amendment start off with two false and desperate premises. The first is that without this amendment "white supremacy" is doomed. The second is that the Boswell amendment is the only way in which to immunize Alabama from such a fate. Both arguments are rhetorical devices, which have little to do with facts, which are based on calculated exaggeration in one instance and on a non-sequitur in the other. Demagogy is not the exclusive mark of the Southern politician but he uses it most flagrantly. How ideal for his purpose is this opportunity to rehearse the old, unhappy, far-off things of reconstruction days! How quickly he seizes upon the first weapon at hand with which to belabor the straw man he has erected!

We are told that a deluge of Negro voters is about to overwhelm the state and that this will happen immediately—say Nov. 6th—unless the Boswell amendment is approved. This assumption is based on nothing except the dark imaginings of those who persist in dealing with the race issue in terms of the thinking of 50 years ago. They do cite the Supreme Court ruling on primaries, but what that has to do with registration is still a mystery. The Supreme Court merely declared that Negroes cannot be prevented from participating in primaries merely because of their color. But haven't some Negroes been voting in white primaries in Alabama all along? Mon. 10-28-46

Ah, says the Boswellians, that has been a matter of sufferance and not of right, and now that so many Negroes can so readily meet the current tests for registration, new barriers must be set up to keep 200,000 Negro voters from taking over our affairs. Otherwise, segregation is doomed and our white civilization undermined. This is arrant nonsense, edged with race hatred. It is nonsense because there has been no breakdown in our suffrage system. In 1946, in a Black Belt county like Montgomery, there are 425 Negro voters in a total registration of 31,479. In 1946, in Jefferson County, there are 1,700 Negro voters in a total registration of about 63,000. Richard Rives has been asserting for months, without contradiction from any quarter, that under the constitution as it stands, although Negroes make up one-third of our population 21 years of age or over, they form less than one-hundredth of our population qualified to vote.

But look at the way registrars are being harried by Negroes, egged on by "outside" organizations. Look at the suits being filed against registrars. The catch in this argument is that, even if the Boswell amendment should be adopted, registrars would not be protected from suits. That you will have so long as clients litigate and lawyers expatiate. Registrars can be guarded from damage suits, but there is nothing in the Boswell amendment which provides that shield. It gives registrars the absolute authority to bar from the voting list anyone they are willing or ready to reject, but that still leaves them subject to attack in the same manner that the Macon County registrars have had to face the music. The Boswell amendment per se does not alter that aspect of the situation.

OK On Boswell Amendment, Light Vote Seen By Governor

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Tues. 10-22-46

A prediction that the Boswell Amendment would be approved by the voters on Nov. 5, though by a small majority, was made by Gov. Chauncey Sparks yesterday.

At the same time he said that in his opinion charges made by opponents of the amendment that it would be retroactive are erroneous. The governor told reporters in a press conference that "it will be no more retroactive than the present law."

Governor Sparks also estimated that the vote in the general election would be light, with around 150,000 ballots being cast and not more than 175,000 in any event in the off year election.

Some opponents of the Boswell Amendment, Amendment No. 4 on the Nov. 5 ballot, contend it will be retroactive to 1903 and that any person who has become

James E. Folsom, who has announced he will campaign against the proposal.

* * *

IN A TWO-PAGE written statement, Sparks said he favored "the gradual enlargement of our electorate . . . without creating further racial antagonisms, or a white and black party system."

The state's present system, he declared, is "rapidly leading to an unrestricted registration" because "it must be known by the least informed that we have no qualifications for registration now which cannot be met by almost everyone of whatever race."

The amendment would require prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" instead of merely to read and write the federal constitution, and would eliminate from the state's basic law the present provision that gives the right of ballot to anyone who owns $300 worth of property.

* * *

REFERRING TO CHARGES by opponents of the amendment that it would invest County Boards of Registrars with "arbitrary" power, the governor asserted:

"The discretion placed by the amendment in the hands of registrars is little different from many discretions now in our courts—the place where all our rights, civil and economic, are protected."

"Besides," he added, "I have faith in the people of Alabama who may be selected as registrars that they will be honest and fair."

Walter White, NAACP, Visits In Montgomery

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was in Montgomery yesterday. The Advertiser was unable to contact him last night or determine the reason for his visit. White and the NAACP, however, have taken an active interest in the suit against the former Macon County registrars who refused to register a Negro registration applicant.

Sparks Supports Boswell Rider On Registration

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Mon. 10-7-46

Amendment Should Help Solve Voting Problems, He Says

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 7—(AP)—Gov. Chauncey Sparks today publicly supported the Boswell voter registration amendment, "in the interest of continued orderly progress in the settlement of our electoral problems."

The amendment, designed to tighten up on voter registration requirements in Alabama, will be decided on in the Nov. 5 general election.

In advocating its ratification, Gov. Sparks thus joined with former Gov. Frank Dixon and took a stand opposite to that of Gov.-Designate

Boswell Amendment Tagged 'Dictatorial'

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Thurs. 10-10-46

FOLEY, ALA., Oct. 9.—(AP)—The Boswell Amendment was criticized as "dictorial" today in a resolution adopted by the Baldwin County Ministerial Association urging its defeat at the Nov. 5 general election.

"The Boswell Amendment involves surrender of the right of franchise of every voter to the control of an unknown group of persons," the resolution said.

"Since we consider it dictatorial and a surrender of all the rights of democracy, and since its adoption would strike a vital blow at all the principles of our American Republican form of government—we appeal to the voters of Alabama to defeat it."

Ministers representing six protestant denominations in 12 Baldwin towns voted on the proposal.

Feidelson To Oppose Boswell Amendment

The Birmingham News Birmingham, Ala.

Judge Charles N. Feidelson, contributing editor of The Birmingham News, will speak in opposition to the Boswell Amendment before the Birmingham Exchange Club at a luncheon meeting at 12:30 p.m. tomorrow at the Redmont Hotel.

Tues. 10-22-46

Last week, the club heard former Gov. Frank Dixon speak in favor of the amendment which would require that an applicant for registration be able to understand and explain any section of the federal constitution—to the satisfaction of the county boards of registrars. It would also limit registration to persons of "good character . . . who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government."

Boswell Plan Lags In City, County Vote

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Wed. 11-6-46

Montgomery 2,082 For And 2,760 Against In 37 Out Of 48 Boxes

State Vote Light

Folsom Leads Opponent By Vast Majority As Alabama Had Expected

Supporters of the Boswell amendment to tighten up on voter registration in Alabama moved well out ahead last night with approximately one-third of the vote tabulated.

With 785 of the State's 2,362 boxes counted unofficially, the total vote for ratification was 38,246 to 33,918 against.

Montgomery and Mobile Counties, however, continued to give a majority against ratification, and a close vote for the amendment was reported in Jefferson.

Returns from 37 of the 48 boxes, including absentee ballots, put the Boswell amendment behind by 678 votes in Montgomery County. The other eight amendments had leads of from two to one to approximately four to one. The 37 boxes cast 2,760 votes against the Boswell amendment and 2,082 for.

Democratic Nominee James E. Folsom, whose election was a foregone conclusion, led his Republican opponent, Dr. Lyman Ward, of Camp Hill, 6,627 to 439 on the basis of 99 boxes in the governor's race.

Voting throughout the State was light, ranging around 50 per cent of the 367,000 ballots cast in the May 7 primary.

The Boswell amendment, which its supporters said was designed to bar any mass registration of Negroes, had been the subject of a heated campaign that split the ranks of the Democratic party in the State.

Folsom opposed it as "undemocratic" while Gov. Chauncey Sparks, whom he succeeds in January, advocated its passage as necessary to give registrars leeway in determining a prospective registrant's qualifications.

Nominations for governor, U. S. senator and hundreds of lesser State officers were ratified in the election. Republican candidates, who have not won a major State office since Reconstruction days following the War Between the States, were entered for a number of State offices and in four of the nine congressional races.

The first two of the State's 2,300-odd boxes to report gave the controversial Boswell amendment a wide margin. Vernon, in the Black Belt's Dallas County, cast all nine of its ballots for ratification, and a box in Houston, in the Wiregrass section, voted 27 to 9 for the measure. All ballots in the two boxes were for democratic nominees.

The Boswell Amendment, which would require prospective registrants to "understand and explain" sections of the U. S. Constitution, is one of nine proposed constitutional revisions being voted on.

Four affect municipal finances, another would replace the 60 calendar day limit on legislative sessions with a 36 legislative day session, and others would authorize the state to construct and operate hospitals and airports.

Rep. John Sparkman of Huntsville is unopposed for the Senate seat of the late John Bankhead but is opposed by Republican Arthur South for the eighth district house seat which he plans to resign following the election.

Reelected to the house in the five unopposed congressional races are Reps. Frank Boykin of the First District, George Grant of the Second, George Andrews of the Third, Albert Rains of the Fifth and Pete Jarman of the Sixth.

The slate of contested state offices: Governor, James E. Folsom (D), and Dr. Layman Ward (R); Lieuenant governor, J. C. Inzer (D), and W. J. Kennamer (R); Attorney General, A. A. Carmichael (D), and Jere Murphy (R); State Auditor, Dan Thomas (D), and Charles B. Hembree (R); Secretary of State, Sibyl Pool (D), and Cyrue Kitchens (R); Superintendent of Education, A. R. Meadows (D), and Fred Allen (R); Agriculture Commissioner, Haygood Paterson (D), and James N. Dennis (R); Public Service Commission Place No. 1, Jimmy Hitchcock (D), and A. L. Isbell (R); Public Service Commission No. 2, C. C. Owen (D), and H. J. Horton (R).

Democratic nominees in state races in which no Republican candidate were entered included, Chief Justice D. Gardner and Associate Justice A. B. Foster, J. Ed Livingston and Davis Stakely on the state Supreme Court, and Judge Charles R. Bricken, Robert B. Carr and Robert B. Harwood of the Court of Appeals.

Of the 26 Montgomery voting machines reporting last night the Boswell Amendment led in 25. In the one other box there were 124 votes for and 124 against the measure. Four of the 30 city machines did not report.

However, in the rural areas of Montgomery County the votes for the Amendment were in the majority, but not enough to overcome the lead built up in the city. Of the 17 rural boxes only 10 reported last night.

The absentee ballots were against the Boswell Amendment by more than three to one, a total of 20 being cast for and 73 against.

Montgomery County vote on the nine amendments follows:

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sat. 11-9-46

No. 1—2,465 for and 689 against.
No. 2—2,779 for and 549 against.
No. 3—2,428 for and 648 against.
No. 4—2,082 for and 2,760 against.
No. 5—2,344 for and 727 against.
No. 6—2,206 for and 913 against.
No. 7—2,450 for and 601 against.
No. 8—2,419 for and 593 against.
No. 9—2,319 for and 586 against.

WALLACE DISSERVICE The Advertiser

Henry Wallace doesn't know it, but the speech he made 2,500 miles away in Los Angeles Friday is going to prove a help to sponsors of the Boswell Amendment in Alabama. Montgomery, Ala.

Wallace told his audience that he was "ashamed" of both parties for their record on "racial equality." Wallace said further:

"There should be no discrimination because of race, color or religion in labor unions, educational and other institutions."

By that, Wallace is probably not thinking of equal rights under the law. All decent Southerners believe that Negroes should stand equal before the law. What Wallace is attacking is segregation. Sun.

Segregation is, after all, an exercise of personal liberty: You do not wish to mingle socially with a kind of person, so you do not mingle socially with them.

Wallace's daughter Jean was wed recently and there was a reception at Wallace's Wardman Park Hotel suite. We saw many pictures of the guests, but we do not recall any evidences of Wallace's convictions.

However, we're not trying here to make a point either of Wallace's wisdom or unwisdom in his philosophy. Indeed, we think he is entirely sincere. It simply occurred to us, an opponent of the Boswell Amendment, that Wallace's speech will inadvertently put a hot spur to those urging adoption of the amendment. His utterance makes it tougher for those of us who are against the amendment. 10-27-46

MONTGOMERY— Supporters of the Boswell Amendment, designed to curb registration of negroes for voting, were encouraged during the past week when Gov. Chauncey Sparks and Commissioner of Agriculture Joe Poole came out for it: Former Gov. Frank Dixon, Senator Lister Hill has also thrown his influence against the Alabama's only living ex-governor amendment. Opponents are further encouraged by the fact that Alabama history shows it to be mighty hard to put across any amendment. Opposition to the amendment has been strengthened by announcement of Governor-Elect James E. Folsom that he is against it and where there is concerted opposition.

Money, Men And The Boswell Amendment

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sun. 10-27-46

With the General Election of November 5th less than 10 days away there is much speculation as to the people's decision on the "Boswell Amendment," controversial "Number 4" among the nine Amendments to be accepted or rejected.

The Advertiser will hazard no prediction. Qualified political observers see a close vote, but few profess to know what will be the outcome.

Seldom in an issue of such importance have there been so many silent voters. Persons desiring to arrange public discussions of the subject report difficulty in obtaining speakers on either side. It is apparent that the decision on November 5 will be made by voters who hold unspoken convictions. Those who, like The Advertiser, oppose the Boswell Amendment as a fraud, a hazard to American freedom, and a mandate for corruption, can only hope and pray that these people of silent conviction are moved by solemn Christian principle rather than by fear, hatred and emotional hysteria.

This editor is aware that many good men and women have been persuaded, or almost persuaded, that this Amendment should be approved. Their decision—mistaken as we see it—is understandable, for the issue is complex, and proponents are sparing neither money nor truth in their determination to saddle Alabama with this vicious law.

As was to be expected, the Boswellians cry out that vast sums are being spent by outside influences to stop the Amendment. But from first-hand knowledge we report that the money raised to defeat the Amendment—all of it contributed by Alabamians—is less than the minimum $3,500 of the people's Party money which is being flung around the State by the Democratic Executive Committee in the effort to cut down on the number of voters. When one adds the value of State-financed propaganda put out by Agriculture Commissioner Joe Poole, and the $7,000 raised by a reactionary Birmingham group this week, it is very clear that the machine politicians are well-heeled for their attack on the people's franchise. And obviously it is an excellent investment for them, since with the reduced number of voters which the Amendment would achieve for them, the control of elections in the future would be more certain and less costly.

Who Are The Symbols?

In a broad suffrage issue such as is presented by the Boswell Amendment it is worth something to watch the symbols which appear—the men who take their stands for, or against. Putting aside today the faulty amendment itself, let us consider the symbols as they have emerged in Alabama.

Who are the two most prominent spokesmen for the Boswell Amendment? Are they men from the Black Belt, the section which the Amendment supposedly is designed to protect?

No, strangely—or perhaps not strangely at all—the two men come from Birmingham, the stronghold of out-of-State finance and special interests in Alabama.

Are the two men just ordinary people—business men, school teachers, office workers, preachers, or farmers? No, they are big-time lawyers, men who make good incomes by representing wealthy clients and corporations. Is it not strange that they, of all the smart people in Alabama, should devote t' eir valuable time to whipping up the racial antagonism of the people and selling them on a law that will place the ballot in Alabama in the abitrary hands of politicians?

The two men of whom we speak are Horace Wilkinson and ex-Governor Frank M. Dixon. It is they who have been stumping the State with a message of panic, shouting an appeal to fear that is the equal of anything ever perpetrated by Bilbo or Talmadge.

The people of Montgomery may well guage the quality of Dixon's appeal by the following. In Athens, on October 18, he predicted that in the event the Boswell Amendment is defeated, "Montgomery County will be represented (in the Legislature) by an entirely Negro delegation, both in the Senate and in the House, and the fine people of Montgomery, that lovely city and the proud capital of the Confederacy, will see a day of which they never dreamed."

We leave it to the voters to decide whether such a statement reflects the fine intelligence of Frank Dixon—or the shrewdness of a politician who loves truth less than he loves votes.

More White Votes Needed

If lawyers Wilkinson and Dixon yearn so to save "White Supremacy" in Alabama, why haven't they tried to give the ballot to more white men? They carefully evade the fact that present restrictions on the ballot in Alabama bar more than 500,000 white men and women from voting—a number far in excess of THE TOTAL POTENTIAL VOTE OF NEGROES IN ALABAMA!

Of course the truth is that Wilkinson and Dixon, and the behind-the-scenes backers of the Boswell Amendment, want as few voters as possible in Alabama. As is traditional in our politics, these men scream "Stop the Negro" loudest when what they mean is—"Please pass this thing and save my special friends—the people are getting too strong!"

Now who are the symbols of opposition—the men who have spoken out against this proposed legalistic stranglehold on the suffrage in Alabama?

They come from many walks of life. One of the first to speak out was Governor-nominate Jim Folsom, who even as a candidate for office expressed his stand against the Boswell Amendment. Alabama's Senior Senator, Lister Hill, perhaps the most forthright defender of the people's rights who ever represented Alabama in that august body, has denounced the Amendment. Here in Montgomery, the able and respected Richard T. Rives has led the State-wide battle with amazing vigor and effectiveness against great odds.

But even more significant, perhaps, has been the courageous opposition of the rank and file—of young men, many of them veterans, such as those of the Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce who voted unanimously in condemnation of the Amendment. Anybody who reads Grandma Advertiser knows that vigorous opposition comes from teachers, workers, and housewives. Striking indeed has been the stalwart expression from ministers of the gospel, who by a heavy majority see the Boswell Amendment as despotic and un-Christian.

Up at the University of Alabama a group of veterans, back from war, have organized for the battle to defend democracy at home. Their slogan is—"If You Believe In The Four Freedoms—Vote No On The Fourth Amendment!" It's a slogan that belongs on the heart of every Alabamian.

FOR THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

The News

To the Editor of The News:

Persons above the Mason and Dixon line, and many who live in the northern and southern portions of Alabama, do not realize what unrestricted suffrage would mean in the central part of the state, the so-called Black Belt, because of the color of much of its soil.

This writer lives in Bullock County, the county seat being Union Springs. In this county the Negroes outnumber the whites by about four or five to one, with some other counties likewise. While some of the Negroes can be listed as intelligent voters, a great many more, both men and women, cannot be so regarded. An electorate controlled by money or liquor, as often was the case before the constitution of 1901, can mean a very great menace to both white and colored citizens and property owners.

Birmingham, Ala.

The fact that this writer has been a Methodist preacher for almost 59 years, and in various counties of the state, does not cause him to forget many things in the reconstruction days, along in the 1870s. He has seen guns being loaded with buckshot, just before an election, to be placed near the polls in Glennville, in Russell County. His childhood home was only about 12 miles from Spring Hill, in Barbour County, where the son of a Northern carpetbagger (Kiels) was shot fatally in the voting room there; and also it was only about 18 miles from Eufaula, where in an election riot 30 Negroes were killed. He knows something about the ballot-box stuffing which preceded the constitution of 1901, and voted for that constitution.

Thurs. 10-24-46

Now the Boswell amendment is needed to help to prevent unregulated and unrestricted registration and voting by a great multitude of persons, men and women, who do not know how to vote for the best interests of the state and the nation. Such indiscriminate voting is now being loudly advocated by both white and colored Northern haters of the white people of the South.

Surely the fact of the Macon County registrars at Tuskegee resigning in a body and many others refusing to serve because of $5,000 damage suits against registrars who refused to sanction indiscriminate registering of Negroes, with similar resignation and suits elsewhere, including Jefferson County, should be enough to wake up the white people of Alabama to what is really being threatened.

Midway, Ala. Thurs. JAMES M. GLENN.

* * *

THE PURPOSE OF THE AMENDMENT

To the Editor of The News:

Recently I read the address which Horace Wilkinson made before the Rotary Club in Montgomery a few weeks ago. While Mr. Wilkinson and I seldom agree on a matter, if this address was correctly reported I will have to admit that it was filled with facts from start to finish.

Many opponents of the Boswell amendment appear to be apprehensive of the power it will place in the hands of boards of registrars. These boards are made up of white citizens, 98 per cent of whom are opposed to the Negro vote. They all realize that the only intent of the Boswell amendment is to disfranchise the Negro. As these boards are made up of people who believe in carrying out the law according to its intent, they can deny the privilege of registration to any Negro.

It is my prediction that in more than half of the cases where a white applicant desires to register the board will take it for granted that he knows all the answers and will not even bother to ask him the questions. When they do feel obligated to ask these questions they will be satisfied with his answers regardless of what they might be. There may be an occasional case where some white person is denied the right to register, but such cases will be so few that they will amount to nothing. I have been a registered voter in Alabama for over 40 years, and I feel that I am better qualified to vote than many of the present voters, but if it becomes necessary to disfranchise me in order to disfranchise 1,000 Negroes, I would say, "Well done."

There may be some better way to keep mixing with white people for a few years he would not want to inter-
Negroes from voting than the Boswell amendment will be able to break down our segregation people had no respect for them, they woul
ment, but nothing else is being offered at the laws. This lone, it will only take him a few marry with the whites, but there are some sorry good-for-nothings, both white and black, have no respect for themselves and woul
present time, so let's take this and hope that more years o have our laws prohibiting inter who would be willing to intermarry. This would bring on a race of half-breeds which Until we can get something better, let
we can do better later. marriage epealed. I know that the large the self-respecting whites and Negroes would make this Boswell amendment and use it.
The Negro has only one main idea in want majority of white people would never think have no use for. When they found that other GEORGE C. STEELE,
of interarriage with Negroes, and the ma- 433 Second Street, West.

A Discriminatory Law

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 11-10-46

In last Tuesday's election Alabama adopted by a small majority vote a law that is clearly and admittedly aimed at disfranchising Negro voters. It is called the "Boswell Amendment" which gives the registrars discretionary and dictatorial power in deciding who shall and who shall not have the right to vote.

This new law gives the registrars who are political appointees the authority to inquire if a voter is "of good character, understands the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government." It also requires that a citizen "understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States." It obviously intends to try to deny what the Constitution guarantees in the 15th Amendment.

Furthermore, we can imagine how many Negroes could explain and interpret the Constitution to the satisfaction of registrars who are hostile to the Negro voting. Even Supereme Court judges differ in their interpretation of the Constitution.

Already in Alabama Negroes have found it necessary to appeal to the Federal Courts on several occasions to get an opportunity to register. And now, with the fortification of this Boswell law, it is believed they will experience more difficulty. But let us hope the Negroes will not be discouraged by it but meet the issue with more courage and determination.

Despite the heroic efforts put forth by the Alabama Negro leadership and the liberal whites against it, the Boswell bill passed largely because, we are told, its sponsors told the prejudiced white voters it will not be used on them. It's one of those laws for Negroes only!

We believe this bill will immediately prove to be so obnoxious and intolerable to the Negroes of Alabama that it will soon be challenged in the courts. Considering the spirit and motives believed it, we hope so, anyway.

The right to vote is the one right we in the south must stand ready at all times to defend to the utmost of our strength and resources. It's our best bet for defense and security. Without it, we have about concluded there can be little hope in our future.

State Awaits Sparks' Views In Rift Over Boswell Plan

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

By LYNNE BRANNEN
Associated Press Writer

With a former governor and a future governor already at odds over the Boswell Amendment, Alabama citizens are awaiting an expression of opinion on the subject from Gov. Chauncey Sparks.

Ex-Gov. Frank Dixon aligned himself with the backers of the amendment three days after Gov.-nominate James E. (Big Jim) Folsom announced that he opposed and would stump the State to make speeches against it.

Meanwhile Sparks indicated that such interest has been generated in the amendment as to make it "virtually mandatory" for him to express his views on the measure. Sun. 9-29-46

A deep rift in Democratic party ranks has developed over the amendment which proposed to make more rigid the State's qualifications for voting.

The split was brought into the open several months ago when Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of the State Democratic Executive Committee proposed to use party funds to finance a campaign supporting the amendment.

Opposition Begins

Several members of the committee promptly announced opposition to the proposal, suggesting that voting qualifications as set up in the present State constitution are entirely adequate and that party funds should not be used to promote the change.

The Boswell amendment, which comes up for ratification in the Nov. 5 general election, would require prospective voters "to understand and explain" instead of merely being able to read any section of the Federal Constitution.

In addition it would remove the present section of the State Constitution which enfranchises anyone who owns $300 worth of property.

Representative E. C. Boswell of Geneva, father of the amendment in the 1945 Legislature, contended it to be necessary to preserve "white supremacy at the polls."

Supporters of the amendment, including McCorvey and Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney, contend the amendment will protect Alabama from "a flood of Negro registration and Negro domination, which the Supreme Court (in the Texas case) has released.

A Black Belt citizens committee was organized earlier this month to plug for ratification of the amendment. Most Black Belt counties have heavy Negro populations.

Hill And Rives

In addition to Gov.-nominate Folsom, Senator Hill (D), Alabama, and Richard T. Rives, prominent Montgomery attorney, have taken sides opposing the amendment.

Rives' most recent contention is that the amendment, if adopted, would be retroactive to 1903 and would endanger the franchise of every Alabama voter who has registered since that time.

He contends that under provisions of the measure, only persons assured of a lifetime franchise would be those who qualified under the "grandfather" clause of the State Constitution which died in December, 1902.

The grandfather clause gave the right of ballot to all veterans of the War of 1812, the Indian wars, the War Between the States, the war with Mexico, and the Spanish-American War, and to their lawful descendants.

Senator Hill, speaking at Arley two weeks ago, sounded the contention that big corporations which he said would "milk Alabama and give nothing in return" are major advocates of the Boswell amendment.

On the other hand McCorvey contends that Republicans and others interested in lowering election barriers to permit "any and everyone to vote regardless of their fitness to do so" are the chief opponents of the measure.

Members of the Jefferson County Democratic Executive Committee held an informal meeting Friday to form an organization to campaign actively for adoption of the amendment. 9-29-46

An undisclosed number of committeemen were present to hear Horace Wilkinson and ex-Gov. Dixon make speeches in favor of the amendment.

Dixon, who declared he did not completely share Wilkinson's opinions on the Negro vote question, said he felt the amendment was intended to prevent "mass registration of Negroes" which he labeled as "proper at this time."

On the other hand Wilkinson contended that "Negroes don't belong in a white man's voting box" and said the president of Tuskegee Institute (Dr. F. D. Paterson) has "more influence in Washington than both senators and nine congressmen together."

Gov. Sparks, who asked the 1945 Legislature to modify the State's poll tax by removing its cumulative provisions, has indicated that he has virtually decided to make his Boswell amendment statement within the next few weeks.

Jim Folsom Says 'No' On Boswell Plan

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 9-25-46

He Will Stump Against It Through Fall, Seek Poll Tax Repeal Later

BIRMINGHAM, Sept. 24.—(AP)—James E. Folsom, Democratic nominee for governor, announced today he would oppose ratification of the Boswell amendment on voter qualifications, up for ratification or rejection in November, and would "make speeches against it."

The big Cullman insurance man made the announcement to newspaper men here as he prepared to attend the American Legion convention in Califorina.

Folsom said "I made it clear" during his campaign for governor that he would oppose the Boswell amendment "as undemocratic."

"I made it clear then, when I was trying to get votes," he said. "I was not afraid of it then, and I am not afraid of it now."

The Boswell amendment would repeal property qualifications for Alabama voters and would require that each registrant be able to "read and explain" the U. S. Constitution. It has the official backing of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

At the beginning of his runoff campaign for governor here last May, Folsom told supporters he would oppose the Boswell amendment if elected, and eliminate the poll tax. The Advertiser

Since that time, however, he has made no public announcement of his opposition but it has been an open secret in political circles that Folsom not only would announce his opposition but probably would take the stump to ask the voters to defeat the measure. Montgomery Ala

Folsom said he would arrange speaking dates after his return from California. Wed. 9-25-46

He added that he hoped to visit all the members of the State Legislature before the end of the year, and would discuss his legislative program with each one. Folsom advocated poll tax repeal, higher pay for school teachers and a minimum old age pension of $50 a month during his successful race for the Democratic nomination for governor.

Forum To Debate Amendments' Merits

An hour-long round-table discussion of the Boswell voting amendment will be broadcast over an Alabama radio hookup the night of Oct. 1, Manager G. W. Covington of station WCOV announced Monday.

He said the program, from 9 to 10 p.m. (CST), would be carried on WCOV, station WAPI in Birmingham and WMOB in Mobile and "probably several others."

Participants, Covington announced, will be Atty. Richard T. Rives of Montgomery and Editor Charles G. Dobbins of The Montgomery Advertiser, against the amendment, and Atty. Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham, and Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of the State Democratic Executive Committee, speaking in favor of the proposal.

Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones will be moderator.

The amendment, to be voted on in the Nov. 5 election, would tighten up on vofer qualification requirements in Alabama.

Sparks Ponders Stand On Boswell Amendment

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Gov. Chauncey Sparks said yesterday he has "virtually decided" that he will have to make a public statement on the controversial Boswell amendment sometime in the next few weeks. Sun. 9-29-46

Earlier this month the governor said he might make a statement of his views on the amendment which is up for ratification in the November general election.

"There is still plenty of time before the election," he pointed out. "I still haven't definitely made up my mind on when I will release the statement."

The Boswell amendment proposes to tighten up the State's voting qualifications.

16 Women Plan Fight Against Boswell Plan

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Formation of a Women's Division of the Citizen's Committee Against Amendment Number 4 (The Boswell Amendment) was announced yesterday by Richard T. Rives. Wed. 10-2-46

The Women's Division will hold a meeting in the Civic Room at the Whitley Hotel at 10:30 a.m., Thursday. The Division has urged all Montgomery women interested in the defeat of the Boswell Amendment to attend.

The following have announced their opposition to the Boswell Amendment: Mrs. I. B. Rutledge, Mrs. Richard Arrington, Mrs. E. G. McGehee, Jr., Mrs. Mary Merritt, Mrs. Louis M. Kaufman, Mrs. E. C. Stewart, Miss Juliette Morgan, Mrs. C. E. Weisenburgh, Mrs. John R. Moffitt, Mrs. Roland Nachman, Mrs. John I. Waites, Mrs. Howard Morris, Jr., Mrs. Gould Beach, Mrs. Dorothy M. Lobman, Mrs. Charles G. Dobbins, and Mrs. Josie Orr.

Wed.

FOR TRUE DEMOCRACY

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

I have followed your career as editor with much interest and for the most part with great appreciation, but nothing has given me more satisfaction than the way in which you are setting forth the case against the Boswell Amendment. It would be a sad day for our State if it were discovered that the advocates of this amendment, which is both dangerous and unfair, should be more on the alert than are the friends of true democracy. The proposal is (so it seems to me) based upon distrust of a large minority group, and it is a confession of fear and weakness. You are rendering a real service to democracy and to the State of Alabama in opposing the adoption of this amendment. Wed. 10-30-46

Montgomery, Ala. JAMES E. TATE
Minister, The Methodist Church
Marion, Ala.

* * * *

CONCERNING MR. DIXON

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

Having read and heard much, for and against the proposed "Boswell Amendment," I'd like to add my few words in opposition to same. Montgomery, Ala.

To date, I fail to find one single good reason for the enactment of such an undemocratic law. It's true however, the stated aims and purpose of this law is the preservation of white supremacy, but even this can be doubted. Granted this is the fundamental purpose of this amendment, I should like to ask: Supremacy in what, we are seeking to maintain? Supremacy in our efforts to force our will upon others less fortunate?

There are those among us who would deny their own fellow whites the right of suffrage, in order that they may more easily maintain a favored position in life at the expense of all the people. Wed. 10-30-46

This is very apparent today, when one considers the efforts put forth in the past to defeat every attempt at legislative reapportionment, which is certainly due the people of the North Alabama counties.

Yet this very thing that is now being urged upon the people, is the brain child of the very men who have consistently opposed the people of these northern Alabama counties and I firmly believe these people (whose rights have been repeatedly ignored) will upon election day demonstrate the brand of democracy they believe in.

Regardless of what Messrs. Dixon and Wilkinson may say in support of this evil thing, the people remember the fine promises Mr. Dixon made to them when he was campaigning for governor, how he would see to it that they would get reapportionment, but his record speaks for itself along this and other lines.

The writer happened to be a citizen of Walker County at that time, and heard Dixon on more than one occasion make such promises to these people, and now he comes before them to urge the most undemocratic thing imaginable. Is this consistent with his previous promises to them? I hardly think so.

Mr. Dixon had an enviable record in World War I, a war which was fought to "make the world safe for democracy," a war in which he lost much, but I wonder if he hasn't since suffered a greater loss, in that he seems to have lost his heart in the battle for special privileges for a special few.

The writer fought that "war to make the world safe for democracy" and knows first-hand all the horrors of war, how it draws all classes and races of men together in common bonds of comradeship; and to one having had such experience it's inconceivable that such a one could champion such a proposal as the "Boswell Amendment," and at the same time proclaim his belief in democratic principles.

We have a tried and proven law setting forth the requirements of a would-be voter. It's proven very acceptable through the years, and why exchange it for a thing that, in all its aspects immediately becomes controversial, and if it succeeded in evading the U. S. Constitution, would be an injustice to the people and bring disrepute to the State?

I have no assurance that I and thousands of my fellow workers in labor unions won't be disfranchised by some unscrupulous governor's appointed registrar.

No, the people of Alabama don't want this thing, and I firmly believe they will prove it, come election day.

J. G. WARD
605 Yancey Avenue
Montgomery, Ala.

P. S.: I ran across a quotation after writing the above, which, I think is very applicable to some of those who are battling for the "Boswell Amendment": "Logical consequences are the scarecrows of fools and the beacons of wise men."

COMMENTS FROM MR. GRAYSON

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

I wonder if The Advertiser would permit me to use a short space in their Letters to Grandma Column, about a few things in general that are uppermost in the minds of the people. First about the "Boswell Amendment." Some forces, The Advertiser for instance, are opposing this amendment. We elected a state committee of good democrats who are supposed to do what is best for the party. We have always followed their advice, why should we now vote against them. These men were picked from each district and should be supported. We have weathered the storm during the long years of experience, as to how to handle the question of voting qualification, through the guidance of our state executive committees. They have always done a good job. Let's stick to their advice. Montgomery, Ala.

Another thing, how can we have faith in people like Wallace, and Truman? Truman means well, but too many of these dreaded professional politicians keep his mind confused. Read a speech one day, approves that speech, next day repudiates it. Wallace makes a speech condemning our foreign policy which stirred up the wrath of the country. Truman rouses from his slumber, tells Wallace he is a good fellow, but asks for his resignation. When Wallace says he will continue to make the same kind of speeches, Sparkman then says neither Wallace nor Pepper can talk for the Democratic Party. Something happened over night that caused Sparkman to say they both are good Democrats, and will probably be among those telling the people what good Democrats are, etc. Sun. 9-29-46

Pepper you know is hot stuff (especially red). He is another hillbilly from Alabama who has risen to prominence (nouveau rich). The other is that fellow Black, who should be dethroned from his high position. Both Black and Pepper are getting too big for their breeches. They think they are the only atomic bombs in these United States. Like the atomic bomb, they should be squelched.

The atomic bomb showed what it could do when it murdered the people of a whole city. It should then have been put away, buried, cease talking and writing about it. In fact it ought not have been invented. It has caused and will continue to cause the world to be in ceaseless turmoil. It's the only thing, I think, that keeps Russia from entering wholeheartedly in the making of peace. Enough of my rambling, so will cease firing my hot shots against so many things at one time.

C. C. GRAYSON
Selma, Ala.

"KILL IT!"

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

Having carefully analyzed the Boswell Act, I have reached the conclusion that it is not an act but a keen-cutting ax. While some of its proponents claim its purpose is to prevent Negroes from voting, it does not discriminate. Montgomery, Ala.

"There is a reaper whose name is death,
And with his sickle keen Tues. 10-1-46
Reaps the bearded grain with a breath,
And the flowers that grow between."

Consequently, Mr. Voter, while this act may eliminate the Negro, if you are not wise you are sticking your neck under the same ax when you vote for its passage.

I asked a member of the Legislature that passed this act what its main objective was. He said to eradicate corrupt elections. To keep out people who sell their vote. This evidently refers to the last clause or sentences in this amendment. That is, to register a man "must be of good moral character and understand the duties of a good citizen." I grant that it is possible to get men in every county, clean, unbiased, upright and with sufficient moral integrity, and a high norm of intelligence as registrars. If not our system of government in Alabama has sunk to an alarming low ebb. However, conceding that they can be obtained, then tell me, how in the name of peace are they to determine if the applicant possesses these requirements? What test can they apply?

I am sure our Governor would not stoop to the low level of the ward heeler, but men who would perform the functions of this instrument will be recommended to the Governor for appointment and there lies the danger. As I see the whole matter, this instrument is a booby trap loaded with political dynamite.

In regard to the Negro vote, you no doubt have heard Uncle Remus' story about the animals holding a convention. Mr. Coon suggested that they vote by holding up their tails. Mr. Fox rose and said: "Mr. Coon made that suggestion because he has a long, pretty, ring-streaked tail and wishes to show it. Besides that, Mr. Billy Goat has done already voted." This amendment is not necessary to prevent the Negro vote, the amendment we already have has done that.

Like the cold benumbed reptile that bit the farmer who warmed him in his bosom, this thing will bite. Kill it.

W. B. FULTON.
Dadeville, Ala.

OFFER TO DEBATE

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

Your valuable paper carried a news item a few days ago that must have been read with no little interest by The Advertiser's thousands of subscribers. I refer to the recent speech by our distinguished Senator Lister Hill. Montgomery, Ala.

He delivered a strong blast against the Boswell Amendment. The able senator paid his respects to the "big mules," named at least two of these "mules," charged them with supporting the sinister Boswell Amendment. In all fairness to the voters who must pass judgment on the above mentioned amendment at the polls in November, the senator failed to mention certain groups in Alabama and elsewhere who are marshaling their forces to defeat this amendment.

It is a matter of common knowledge that every radical group, every dark hued racial group from Harlem to Mobile are giving voice, aid and support to any politician who draws his sword against the Boswell amendment. Every so-called liberal from Marcantonio of New York to Claude Pepper of Florida, would rejoice over the defeat of this amendment. Every radical would find comfort at the demise of this amendment. The ebony hued majority in a number of our Black Belt counties who see the future repeal of our poll tax laws next year. This group will be highly organized, will doubtless vote as a unit and place in office every county official from constable to county judge, a grim reminder of reconstruction days and the causes that led to the adoption of the Constitution of 1901. Tues. 10-1-46

Referring to the Alabama Power Company and other corporations labeled "big mules" by the senator, I feel that they are about as much interested in the Boswell amendment as I am of the identity of the man in the moon or an Alabama pig in the latest style bathing suit. Understand, I am not a stockholder in any of these soulless utilities, just a plain citizen who is able to recognize a political dust storm when he sees it.

It is either the Boswell amendment in November or the election of State and Federal officials in Alabama in 1948 and 1952 on all white primary platform. The thoughtful voters remember what happened this year in Mississippi and Georgia. It is a vivid reminder and a warning to every politician to return to the faith of our fathers before the storm breaks against the rock wall of white supremacy in the South—Henry Wallace, Bill Mitch, John L. Lewis, Walter Reuther, Eleanor Roosevelt and the Society for the Advancement of Colored People, withstanding, including the loud-mouthed advocates of the FEPC. I will vote for the Boswell amendment and be pleased to publicly discuss the issue with any one or more of its opponents, any where, any time, any place.

EMMETT P. SMITH
Auburn, Ala.

Alabama (Boswell Amendment)

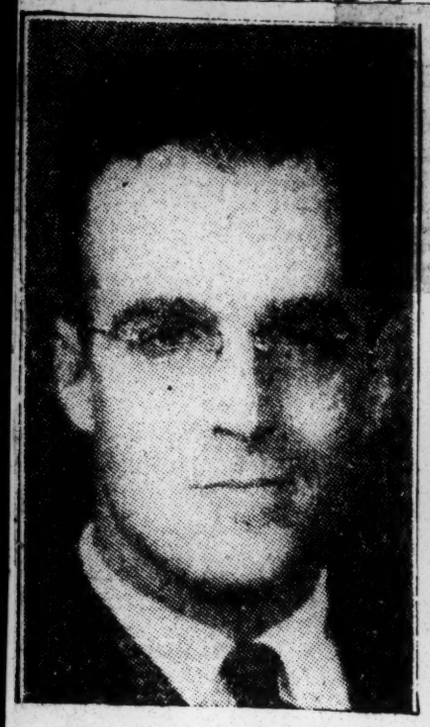
Dobbins Debates Dixon On Amendment No. 4

The Advertiser • Montgomery, Ala. Fri. 10-18-46

"It is my firm belief that we face the elimination of our segregation laws, of our zoning laws; that we will see our children in mixed schools of whites and Negroes, our legislature with strong Negro minorities, our juries of mixed races; many of our city and county governments either manned by Negroes or largely dominated by them, should we fail to pass the Boswell amendment."—Frank M. Dixon.

"We have fought a war against the kind of men who sneer at the democratic ballot. . . . This amendment . . . would be an ugly blow at the in-tegrity of our precious ballot. After what has happened so recently in the world, we all know that if democracy is to survive, we Americans must insist upon living under laws, and not at the capricious will of men."—Charles G. Dobbins.

So debate a former Governor of Alabama and the editor of The Advertiser before a rally in Athens, Ala., sponsored by the Athens Rotary Club. Following are abstracts of the opposing viewpoints.



CHARLES G. DOBBINS

Why I Vote 'No'

The question is this: Will passage of the Boswell Amendment to the Constitution of Alabama on Nov. 15, 1946, help—or hamper—the future welfare and progress of Alabama?

First of all, do we need it? Is voting so easy in Alabama today? It is not easy, though our friends, whom we may call the "Boswellians," would have us believe that restrictions amount to little or nothing.

We have in Alabama 10 qualifications for voting. One must be:

1. A citizen of the United States.

2. 21 years old or upwards.

3. Must have resided in the State two years, in the county one year, and in the precinct three months.

4. Must not be an idiot or insane.

5. Must not have been convicted of any infamous crime nor of any crime involving moral turpitude.

6. Must have worked regularly for the greater part of the last 12 months.

7. Must answer under oath where he has lived during the past five years, and give the names of his employers for the last five years.

8. Must either be able to read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States, or must own forty acres of land, or personal property assessed for taxes at $300 or more (hence actually worth $500 or more) and strong Negro minorities, our juries of mixed races; many of our city and county governments either manned by Negroes or largely dominated by them, upon which taxes have been paid.

9. Must establish the foregoing qualifications by evidence to the reasonable satisfaction of the board of registrars in the county of his residence, and if he moves to another county, then he must re-register.

10. Must have paid on or before Feb. 1, preceding the election, all poll taxes due from him.

Now I submit to you, my friends, that these are solid, genuine, measurable qualifications, not too easily met. As proof, I point to the fact that, according to latest statistics, there were 530,357 unqualified white people of voting age in Alabama. Thus we see that Alabama's present law, operating for nearly 50 years, is restrictive enough to disfranchise more than half a million white voters. And while Negroes make up about one-third of our total population in Alabama, less than one per cent of our qualified voters are Negroes . . . Does that sound to you like Negro domination of Alabama?

But advocates of the amendment tell us it must be passed because of "changed conditions." At State and party expense, they have circulated statements claiming that the recent Supreme Court decision on the Texas primaries will "open a veritable flood of Negro registration and Negro domination." What is the truth? The Texas decision had to do only with the right of a man already registered, to vote in the primary. The decision had nothing to do with registration, and leaves intact every safeguard of our Alabama Constitution against mass or indiscriminate registration.

Boswellians point their fingers also at Georgia, claiming that without this Amendment, Alabama will have the same unchecked flood of registrants. They neglect to show that there is a difference, and a big one: Georgia threw out her Constitution, and with it her voting qualifications; Alabama's safeguards, all of them, are with us today just as they have been since 1901.

Still another scare situation, now being blown up as propaganda material, is the case of the Macon County Registrars. There in Tuskegee a Negro college professor has sued the registrars, claiming that he met all the requirements for registration but was denied that right solely because of his color. The Registrars resigned. The case has not been settled. The Registrars may or may not be guilty, but in any event the Boswell Amendment is no solution to their predicament. Under the crudely, vaguely phrased Boswell Amendment there would be suits multiplied. In this situation remedial legislation may be needed, but the Boswell Amendment is a remedy that would not solve the problem. . .

Suppose my Board of Registrars really means business, and comes at me with questions like those:

Can you define a bill of attainder or an ex post facto law?

Can you explain the power of Congress to grant letters of marque and reprisal?

Just what is meant by "due process of law"?

If such questions are asked me seriously, then I shall fail of qualification, for I don't know the answers. . . But what about those 201 Registrars who serve Alabama's 67 counties—do THEY know the answers? Will THEY know whether or not my explanations are any good?

Many fine men and women serve on these Boards of Registrars, but frankly, I doubt they are smarter than the disagreeing members of the United States Supreme Court. Therefore it's hard for me to see how they'll know whether I'm right or wrong . . . And there's the point. The men who worded the Boswell Amendment did not desire that the Registrars should give any real test to applicants. They wanted a test entirely without meaning—a test that would permit Registrars to look at a man and say, "You're in, fellow!" Or, "Sorry, friend, you didn't make the grade."

My friends, the cry is, "Save White Supremacy!" You and I know we have that today in Alabama. But if we put such a law as this into our State Constitution we shall bring shame to the white race. We have fought a war against the kind of men who sneer at the Democratic ballot, preferring to rest their hopes in an all-powerful party machine, or in the hands of a ruthless and ambitious dictator. This Amendment, as a part of our Constitution, would be an ugly blow at the integrity of our precious ballot. After what has happened so recently in the world, we all know that if democracy is to survive, we Americans must insist upon living under laws, and not at the capricious will of men.

While the professed purpose of this Amendment is to discriminate against Negroes, it is actually a threat against the fundamental freedoms of us all.

This amendment would be useful in the hands of an ambitious governor. While appointment of the three Registrars in each county by the Governor, the Auditor, and the Commissioner of Agriculture, provides an apparent safety, anybody who knows the rudiments of practical politics is aware that there could be domination of these appointments by a man of the Huey Long type.

Personally, I have no fear of the way Governor-nominate Folsom would use the Boswell Amendment, if it should somehow pass. Indeed he has proved his good faith by denouncing the Amendment as dangerous and unnecessary. But who can predict the stripe of men who will lead us in the future? Fri. 10-18-46

Let us now consider a phase of the Amendment which, frankly, is very puzzling to me. If the framers of this law intended only to stop the alleged horde of Negro voters, why did they so frame the law that every present voter in Alabama, black and white, is subject to purge from the voting list? Was this a mistake, or was there a calculated reason? . . .

Consider the potential use of this Amendment in denying freedom of speech and expression to a prospective candidate for political office, or to any citizen actively opposed to those in control of the Board of Registrars. If such a candidate or citizen refused to bow to the will of the political boss or machine in control, he could be cited to appear before the Board and show cause why his name should not be stricken from the list. . . .

A most serious objection to the Boswell Amendment is the invitation it would present for the passage of harsh federal legislation designed to disrupt the South's steady, peaceful solution of its problems. While in my layman's opinion the Amendment could not pass close scrutiny by the United States Supreme Court—a test which surely would come soon after passage—there still would be excuse here for every radical and unfriendly group in the nation to condemn us, and to use us as an object lesson in demanding legislation such as the FEPC, or bill freeing voters from State restrictions in federal elections. That, my friends, would be hard to handle; but if we permit passage of this Amendment—something far more repressive than what was considered wise and adequate by our fathers—we fail to pass the Boswell Amendment.

That statement may shock some of my listeners. Let us see.

In the first place, I am not one of those who believe that Negro blood should be an absolute and arbitrary bar to the franchise. Rather, I am one who believes that the members of that race should be given every encouragement, that their economic level should be in every way raised, that as they become qualified for the ballot it should be extended to them, as is now being done and preventing the registration of Negroes, men of good character. It is one of preventing their Gethsemane. The newly enfranchised Negroes, utterly incompetent to understand even the meaning of the privilege of voting, were willing tools in the hands of unscrupulous men. Montgomery, Ala.

EX-GOV. FRANK M. DIXON

Why I Vote 'Yes'

Since January of 1943 my role has been that of a private citizen, making a living in the practice of the law. It will remain the role of a private citizen, so far as candidacy for office is concerned.

But my service as Governor of Alabama during the four years from 1939 to 1943 has given me an insight into public affairs vouchsafed to comparatively few. There is on me an obligation, arising out of the gratitude I owe the people of Alabama for their goodness to me, to speak out when their interests are endangered, when they are facing a choice, the answer to which is gravely significant. And I believe that their decision on Amendment No. 4, generally known as the Boswell Amendment, to be voted on November 5th, is the most serious decision they have faced since the adoption of the Constitution of 1901.

It is my firm belief that we face the elimination of our segregation laws, of our zoning laws; that we will see our children in mixed schools of white and Negroes, our legislature with

nearly fifty years ago—then we really are asking for trouble. . . .

This year, 1946, is no time for the promotion of fear, and bitterness, and racial animosities anywhere in the United States. Yet the Democratic Executive Committee of Alabama, by a divided vote, has chosen to spend Party money—money that belongs as much to me as to my honored opponent—in trying to put over a hasty, crude, inept Amendment that is an insult to the traditions of our state and nation.

To meet this situation permanently, the people adopted Section 181 of the Constitution of Alabama of 1901. It provided two qualifications for voting — that the applicant should be able to read and write a section of the United States Constitution or should assess $300 worth of property.

Under the conditions existing then, and for a time thereafter, these provisions were sufficient to disfranchise the incompetent and vicious element which had debauched Alabama. But times changed. We adopted free education. We taught everyone to read and write, so that in 1945, among the Negro population age 20, there were only 400 in the entire state not qualified.

Section 181 of our Constitution is no longer sufficient. The United States Supreme Court has now settled that matter. Under recent decisions any Negro who qualifies under Section 181 by being able to read and write or by having $300 worth of assessed property must be registered, and further can vote in our white Democratic primary.

These decisions open the way for complete and mass registration of all but a very few of the Negro men and women in Alabama.

There are, as you know, in each county three registrars, one appointed by the Governor, one by the Commissioner of Agriculture and one by the State Auditor, three elected officials. The registrars are the men in each county who are in charge of registration. They are everywhere, so far as I know, reputable, honest men. It has been their duty to prevent the registration of unqualified persons, and this duty they have performed.

But under Federal law, if they fail to register a Negro who can read and write even though he be totally unqualified otherwise, suit can be brought against them, personally, for damages, in an unlimited amount, and this method of enforcing registration is being used, under the guidance of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Persons, in Alabama today. I am informed that there are 19 such suits pending against our registrars in Jefferson County today, with many others already filed and others in preparation in six other counties.

Under these circumstances an impossible burden is placed on the registrars. They place themselves in danger when they accept the appointments. There is no protection for them under our present law, either against a judgment or the costs and fees of the litigation. So serious has the situation become that in Macon County, in June, the registrars resigned as the result of a suit filed against them, and no white man has been found who is willing to serve. 82.1 per cent of the population of Macon County is Negro. There are 1,800 white voters and 200 Negroes registered now. There are at least 2,000 additional Negroes awaiting to register.

As of last Tuesday, October 15th, the case for $5,000.00 damages and a declaratory judgment that all Negroes qualified under Section 181 of the Constitution, arising out of Macon County, was decided by the Supreme Court. The result of that holding is that all of the Alabama Negroes who can read and write can qualify and vote, not only in the general elections but in the Democratic primary as well, and that no registrar can refuse registration to them. This fact cannot be denied.

The passage of the Amendment will not prevent the registration of worthy Negroes. It will permit us to allow them registration as they become qualified to exercise the franchise, as we have been doing, and to stop mass registration, with its inevitable race friction and wholesale election debauchery.

Throughout the years we have worked out a way of living for the two races. It has been based on segregation. It has worked, in a State where the situation is necessarily explosive. It is evidenced by our separate schools, facilities in buses and trains, eating places and places of public assembly, zoning laws and in many other ways.

How can the opponents of the Amendment possibly contend that this system will continue where there is mass Negro registration and mass Negro voting?

The answer is presented by those States in which there are Negro minorities in the North. There the children are mixed together in schools, there is no segregation in residences, trains, buses, ball games, restaurants. The Northern Negroes, with their small but tight voting blocs, have brought this about there. How could it be prevented in Jefferson, with 43 per cent, in all Alabama with 35 per cent, in the 18 counties with a Negro majority, in some counties with a majority as high as six to one?

Those who contend that the Negro does not want the abolition of the segregation laws simply close their eyes to the facts; those who contend that with mass registration they cannot secure it simply do not know politics. Those who contend that mass registration does not mean mass voting deliberately overlook the history of Reconstruction and, in these days, the practices of the Negro minorities in the doubtful states, where both Republican and Democratic parties are anxiously trying to buy them or to keep them bought.

In the Alabama legislature, which makes your laws, the representation in the House is by counties, in the Senate by Senatorial districts, some of which, like Jefferson, consist of a single county. There are 106 House members, 35 Senate members. There are eleven senatorial districts which have a Negro majority, and several others in which the numbers are very close. There are eighteen counties in which there is an actual majority of Negroes, with seven more in which they constitute more than 40 per cent.

Inevitably, therefore, you will see eleven Senators and 31 House members of that race. And if any of the rules of politics work, you will see substantially more, since organized minorities always secure representation. In Jefferson, unless we can stop the rules from working, we should have four whites and three Negroes on our House delegation. Montgomery County will be represented by an entirely Negro delegation, both in the Senate and in the House, and the fine people of Montgomery, that lovely city and the proud capital of the Confederacy, will see a day of which they never dreamed. What chance do we have of maintaining our segregation laws with that complexion to our Legislature?

In the counties, of course those with Negro majorities will have county officers of that race. There are 18 of them. In the cities where Negro majorities are present, what is to prevent their taking over the city governments, with their police and fire departments? What is left then of the fine system of civil service, state and local, built up by us?

In the National picture, with the mass voting of this great bloc of unqualified persons, what Senator or Representative from Alabama will dare vote against FEPC and its kindred iniquities? Do the Senators and Representatives now vote against it who come from states and districts with strong Negro minorities? They do not; they vote to strike down the white Southerner, or they are defeated. What Senator or Representative will dare vote against Federal abolition of the poll tax; against the many other measures aimed at us?

The people in Alabama may have come to the decision that they want that amalgamation of the races which will in time come with the abolishment of segregation. There are men and women in both races sufficiently lacking in character to ignore the color line. There are enough to affect vitally, in our times, the character of our civilization and our social life. The people of Alabama may have come to this decision, but I doubt it. And by all means they should know the real issues when they vote on Nov. 5. Then, when they see the system under which they have lived collapse, their state the scene of racial conflicts and bitterness, their public officials the type of men who will compromise with all they hold dear, the electorate of Alabama cannot say that they were deceived. Unless I am grievously mistaken, that time will come, should the Boswell Amendment be defeated.

A point to remember is that this decision against the amendment is irrevocable. Given mass registration and the flood of new voters, those same new voters would defeat any attempt to change our registration sections to take their franchise away. A vote for the amendment is not irrevocable—if we want improvements or changes in the future, they can be made, by the same voters now registered.

The arguments against the amendment are skillfully presented. Let us see what they are.

It is claimed that those now registered would have to register. Section 36 of Title 17 of the Code of 1940 provides: "No person heretofore registered and no person hereafter registered shall again be required to register unless he or she changed the county of his or her residence."

True, Section 44 of Title 17 provides that persons who have become disqualified may be removed from the lists, but there is a provision for notice, hearing and appeal to a jury, and in the meantime, of course, the person remains on the lists.

There is absolutely nothing to justify this contention. It was referred to as "bunk" by the Chairman of the State Democratic Committee. It is bunk.

It is claimed that the registrars would have too much power and would refuse to register those with whom they disagreed. But a jury trial, without bond, is provided by law, with appeals to the higher courts. This is all the protection needed for life or property. It is sufficient for the franchise, and the qualifications are no more than is required by any foreigner desiring to become a citizen. It is not generally understood, but there is absolutely no way in which the prevention of mass registration can be worked out without leaving discretion in the hands of the registrars. There is no more discretion left in their hands by the Boswell Amendment than is essential to achieve the result we must have.

Hit Alabama Amendment as Curb on Voting

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 2.—A statewide conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, largest in recent Alabama history, was held here to lay plans for mobilizing Negroes in the state to fight the Boswell Amendment to the Alabama Constitution.

The amendment would give the appointed boards of registrars dictatorial powers over the registration of voters.

Sun 10-3-46

Seventy-five delegates, representing some 25,000 NAACP members in Alabama, denounced the amendment as an attempt to deny the right to vote "to thousands of American citizens of all classes, groups and stations of life."

The resolution, adopted unanimously, accused the reactionary leaders in public affairs of trying to break up the democratic alliance which brought about the nomination of James E. Folsom in the recent primary.

45 Out Of 72 Okeh Boswell Amendment

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Tues. 8-27-46

Democratic Executive Committee Majority Votes $3,500 Fund

MOBILE, ALA., Aug. 26.—(AP)—Forty-five of the 72 members of the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee have approved the use of $3,500 in party funds to campaign for adoption of the Boswell amendment, Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey reported today.

On the basis of a poll among committee members which closed last Thursday at noon, the committee chairman said 63 members had voted for a Democratic primary in the Eighth Congressional District.

On the controversial Boswell amendment issue, McCorvey said 45 of the 53 ballots received endorsed the use of party funds for the campaign for adoption of the amendment, which will come before Alabama voters on Nov. 5. The measure would tighten up requirements for voting in the State. Seven committee members voted against use of party funds for that purpose, McCorvey said, while one member declined to vote.

Three members of the committee took public stands last week against use of party money for that objective. They were James E. Faulkner of May Minette, John A. Caddell of Decatur and Dewitt Carmichael of Anniston.

The committee vote means that expenditure for a campaign on behalf of the amendment has been officially sanctioned, McCorvey asserted.

The committee chairman said plans were being made to hold the party primary to replace U. S. Representative John Sparkman, recently elected to the U. S. Senate, so the party would have a nominee ready when the Governor calls a special election.

filling the vacancy caused by the death of J. E. Sorrells.

The primary will be held Sept. 24 and the run-off, if necessary, Oct. 22.

Sun. 8-27-46

The committee named James A. Hare as nominee for solicitor from the Fourth Judicial Circuit to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Nominee Joseph H. James.

Roland R. Faulk was selected as the Democratic choice for State representative from Geneva County, by the death of Nominee Joseph H. James.

I am sure where they will understand it is not only the Negroes this so-called "Boswellian" clique want to control, but "We The people of Alabama."

Montgomery, Ala.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Keep up the good work and I'm sure election day will put Amendment No. 4 where it belongs.

Sun. 10-22-46

LLOYD H. DAVIS.

Brewton, Ala.

"WE THE PEOPE OF ALABAMA"

The Advertiser

Editor, The Advertiser:

I wish to congratulate you for your clear-cut stand on the Boswell Amendment. Your debate with Frank Dixon enlightened the thinking people of Alabama to the point

Registration Practices

The News Birmingham, Ala. Wed.

Boards of registrars in Alabama, in the course of their prescribed duties of passing on qualifications of voters, have frequently stretched or ignored the law. They have at times acted willfully and unconstitutionally, disobeying both the state law and the state constitution. This they have done under present statutes. To what extremes might they go under the vastly wider power of the Boswell amendment? 9-11-46

Consider some of the affidavit-supported charges against Alabama boards of registrars:

Refused to qualify a school teacher on the grounds that she could not read and write.

Disqualified an applicant who could not name all the members of the United States Supreme Court.

Rejected an applicant who could not name all the representatives to Congress from Alabama.

Refused to consider applicants if all three registrars were not present, although the law says two members constitute a quorum.

Altered registration places without notice in order to confuse applicants.

Rejected an applicant who inadvertently omitted one minor word from a reading of the constitution.

Refused the vote to persons showing tax receipts on $300 worth of property, although the constitution says such are entitled to vote.

Refused to accept tax receipts on personal property, although the constitution prescribes ownership of that kind of property as one qualification for the franchise.

Demanded tax receipts for taxes due but not yet delinquent.

Asked applicants such questions as "Where would be the proper place for a candidate for the governorship to make his first speech?" when there is no legal justification for such procedure.

Told applicants not to write anything under "Remarks" on the application blank, although the space was provided for applicants in order that they could make supplementary statements in support of their applications.

Refused to tell applicants for registration why they were refused.

Arbitrarily disqualified applicants they did not examine or question.

Refused to permit examination of public records.

Demanded to know if the applicant was a friend of a named person who was obnoxious to a member of the board.

* * *

Most of such actions listed above could be construed as illegal. Certainly there is no justification in the present law for questions on the political knowledge of the applicant. Even if such questions were presently permissible, it is doubtful if any court would uphold as fair and equitable a demand that a voter must be able to name all the members of the United States Supreme Court.

But many other subtler methods Alabama boards of registrars have used to discourage applicants. Registrars take interminable lunch periods. They go out of their way to snicker at and ridicule applicants answering questions. They make applicants stand when seats are available. They tell applicants, falsely, that they have run out of application blanks. They alternate leaving the room on the most flimsy of pretexts in order to delay and postpone examinations. They do not consider applicants as they come, but compel some to wait long past their turn.

But why mention any more of the ways in which some registrars seek to limit the right to vote to those whom they want to have the right? Many registrars are today the most arbitrary and high-handed officials in Alabama. They are the supreme political hand-pickers of the state.

* * *

The Boswell amendment is designed to legalize many of the things boards of registrars have been doing illegally. But it will also permit them to engage in many questionable practices in that shadowy land between legality and justice. The power the amendment would give them is almost immeasurable.

Three specific changes in the law would be accomplished by the Boswell amendment:

1. It would eliminate entirely the property requirement which has been an alternative qualification for voters in Alabama.

2. It would demand that voters, in addition to being able to read and write, as required by the present law, also be able to "understand and explain" any article of the Constitution of the United States.

3. It would insert a currently new provision in the state constitution to the effect that "no persons shall be entitled to register as electors except those of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government."

* * *

In view of what some boards of registrars already do in Alabama, one wonders what the vaster powers of the Boswell amendment would give them license to do.

Under that amendment, a board could arbitrarily declare an applicant not of good character, and he would be compelled to go into court to prove otherwise.

Or a board could demand that an applicant define letters of marque, bill of attainder, general welfare, appellate jurisdiction, habeas corpus, ex post facto and other phrases in the constitution over some of which lawyers and courts have argued since the nation was founded.

Or a board could ask any question it wished concerning the organization of the government, its personnel and their duties. Or it could, with cover of legality, ask such stupid questions as the proper place in which a candidate for governor should make his opening speech.

The board's powers to refuse the ballot would be almost unlimited. It is a power that could be used in many ways. It could endanger the citizenship of any minority group in the state. Negroes, Catholics, Jews, foreign-born, organized labor, Socialists, war veterans, every minority element in the state's population could be effectively denied the ballot under the sweeping powers of the Boswell amendment.

* * *

In a previous article on this subject it was pointed out that the Boswell amendment would give Alabama the most reactionary and arbitrary registration laws in the nation. The Mississippi law in its severity approaches the Boswell amendment. In Mississippi, however, the applicant for the franchise is required to be able to read the federal constitution and to give a "reasonable" explanation of any part of it. But what constitutes a "reasonable" explanation? Wed. 9-11-46

In answer to that question, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled on an appealed case that it was within the province of local authorities to determine what was meant by a "reasonable" explanation. The provision, the court held, was not unfair if it was not unfairly administered. The burden of proving unfair administration rested upon the applicant, however, or fair administration was assumed.

In the light of that ruling by the Supreme Court and the present conduct of boards of registrars in Alabama, one shudders at the burden that might be placed upon would-be voters in Alabama. An applicant under the Boswell amendment could be barred from voting under a wide variety of reasons, or without the board's being required to give any but a vague and general reason. The applicant must then prove that he was treated unfairly. The barriers placed before him in that respect are almost insurmountable.

Could you name all the congressmen from Alabama? And if you couldn't, how would you go about convincing a court that that was an unfair question?

TWO CLASSES OF VOTERS

The News Birmingham Ala.

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

In view of the fact that in the recent June 30 runoff election approximately 350,000 permanently registered voters participated, it seems highly important that Mr. McCorvey (father of the Boswell amendment) should be called upon to explain exactly what effect this amendment will have on this large number of voters who, according to our federal constitution, would not be disturbed or interfered with just as long as permanent registration continued to be provided for by law or custom, or regardless of how it is provided.

There could not be two distinctly different classes of voters, one of large numbers (350,000) allowed to remain secure and immune from the provisions of this amendment, and a new class of voters made subject to the provisions of a new law "which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." Sun. 9-8-46

For the benefit of all concerned, here is the complete text, Article XIV, Section 1: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

On top of this is Section 1 of Article XV.

Mr. McCorvey surely must know that there could not be two classes of voters such as there would be unless permanent registration were suspended or discontinued and the entire electorate made subject to the provisions of this amendment and required to reregister. Otherwise, the first time a registrar undertook to make a prospective voter submit to the test Mr. McCorvey thinks so well of, the state could be sued.

The main point is, would the voters relish the idea of doing away with permanent registration, and having to register every two years, just to gratify Mr. McCorvey's burning desire "to come to the aid of his party" that happens to be mortally apprehensive of an expanding electorate?

Mr. McCorvey is skating on mighty thin ice. He cannot present a lucid, justifiable argument in defense of this brain-child of his, so he resorts to a militant effort to regiment the 2,500 elected precinct committeemen and to enlist the approximately 14,000 appointed election officials into a Fascist-like combination to influence the vote on this measure.

That is not the democratic way to go at it, and no one knows this better than Mr. McCorvey should know it.

Akron, Ala. BEN T. COUCHMAN.

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT

The News Birmingham, Ala. Sun. 9-8-46

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

In The News there appeared an article from Mr. Wilkinson on "Negro Voting." In his advocacy of the Boswell amendment Mr. Wilkinson takes the position that the purpose of the amendment is to prohibit Negro voting. The writer would be far from taking issue and arguing the question with Mr. Wilkinson. He is a great lawyer. He was for some years my Sunday School teacher, and I enjoyed his teaching very much, but in his argument for the Boswell amendment he seems in some way to have his wires crossed.

The Boswell amendment, in my judgment, won't prohibit Negro voting any more than it will deprive hundreds of good, honest, intelligent white people of the right to vote. The amendment provides that those who register to vote must be able to read and explain any section of the constitution. Now, just as you find Mr. Wilkinson and myself differing on the purpose and the application of the Boswell amendment, we will find very few people who will give the same construction to any section of the constitution. I doubt very seriously if half the members of our boards of registrars would give the same explanation. Sun 9-8-46

Inasmuch as our Supreme Court judges often disagree on the application of different sections of the constitution, I doubt very much if Mr. Wilkinson (and I say this not to cast any discredit) could give an explanation of every section of the constitution that would satisfy every board of registrars.

Coming to the point, it appears to me that the Boswell amendment is an object of machine politics. Machine politics is the result of a desire to control. It is concocted behind closed doors and camouflages itself when it appears in public; just as this amendment whose supporters say will prevent the Negro from voting, but who don't tell you it will also disfranchise hundreds of white people.

I believe in an educated citizenship, but this we will never have by disfranchising a portion of our people. Educate the people, give them good government free from machine politics, and we will soon find we have an intelligent people whose desire is to make of our state a great state where each and everyone feels he is a part of a great commonwealth.

Machine politics is the opposite to the best interests of the people. Its desire is to dictate, and it will not hesitate to destroy any and all interest that does not coincide with objects and desires of the machine.

This being true, I will cast my vote against the Boswell amendment and for a great, intelligent electorate who will hold in their hands the ballot and in whose hearts there burns a desire to use that ballot for a better moral and spiritual life for all the people.

Springville, Ala. W. E. BRADEN.

EVERY VOTER FOR HIMSELF

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

The majority of the voters in Alabama voted for Jim Folsom for governor for two reasons. One being that they were for his progressive program, the other being that they were tired of the big newspapers and big-time politicians dominating the affairs of state government. I sincerely believe that those of us who supported Jim Folsom will always be proud of it.

There is another matter before these same voters which is also very important to the welfare of the people of Alabama. The Boswell Amendment.

Any person of average intelligence can read and understand the Boswell Amendment. After reading it there is only one thing to do and that is carefully consider every point made in it and then let these points like Folsom point the way for you to vote in November. From this letter you might wonder how I am going to vote on this particular amendment. Well, I'll tell you, I'm going to vote as I doggone please and I hope every Demo-

Every qualified voter should read this amendment and study it carefully before casting a ballot either for or against this measure. We should not be influenced every the fact that Dick Rives and Jim Folsom are against it or that big operators like Horace Wilkinson and McCorvey are for it. We should not look to them for advice how to vote but make up our own minds for the matter. Sat. 9-28-46 Montgomery, Ala.

crat in Alabama will do the same.

J. T. EDMONDSON

Malvern, Ala.

This Evening

The News Birmingham Ala. Mon. 9-16-46

THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

Proponents of the Boswell amendment insist that it is intended to save "white supremacy." But they have yet to prove that "white supremacy" is in danger. Even in the Black Belt, for whose special benefit the amendment has been avowedly devised, Negro voters are scarce as hen's teeth. As Col. Rives has pointed out, the law as it stands has served very well the will of the people or the politicians with respect to suffrage. Why, then, this amendment to clothe with additional power registrars who have had no trouble preserving the status quo?

Recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States are supposed to explain the Boswell amendment. Those decisions had to do with the right of Negroes to vote in primaries. It is hard to get the connection. Obviously, the purpose behind the amendment is to restrict the Negro vote in primaries. But that vote is so small under the current law that it represents no menace, except in the eyes of professional Negro-baiters, who cannot abide even this situation.

Since it is being proposed that the property qualification be stricken to allow the use of arbitrary standards, one must conclude that Negroes have grown rich in sections of the state where they were traditionally poor. If that be true, the economic alteration should be welcomed instead of cold-shouldered. If it be true, it has not been reflected in any inundation of voting lists. Why must it be assumed that there is some new factor in the equation which justifies a constitutional amendment?

But, as has been pointed out by better men that this deponent, the vice in the Boswell amendment is that, though apparently aimed at the Negro, it could be used even more tellingly against whites. In a county where registrars dislike any organized group, it could be a weapon to keep members of that group from being first-class citizens. And there is little point to arguing that disgruntled applicants have the right of appeal. You don't enact laws on the assumption that the hardships they impose can be righted by appeal. Upon that theory a Legislature would adopt every proposal presented to it in the expectation that folly or wrong would be corrected somehow in the long run. 9-16-46

Let It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser Montgomery Ala.

FOR A VERDICT OF "NO"

Editor, The Advertiser:

The Kiwanis Club of Montgomery rendered our people a real service Tuesday when it presented its timely and informative program on the subject of the Boswell Amendment. The speeches delivered—Mr. Horace Wilkinson's pro and Col. Richard T. Rives' con—should be required reading for every voter in the state. It is obvious from the controversial issues raised by the speakers that our voters face a great responsibility when they cast their ballots on this question on November 5.

In my opinion, the honors went overwhelmingly to Col. Rives. Mr. Wilkinson refused to consider seriously the legal questions involved in the Amendment, although he is an able lawyer. Instead he chose an appeal to rank prejudice by confining his remarks to a vicious attack upon the Negro race. This course is not surprising, however, to those who are familiar with the background of the Boswell Amendment, for on no reasonable ground can the proposed law be justified. Thurs. 9-19-46

Having damned the entire Negro race as being incapable of "voluntary cooperation" (whatever that may mean), Mr. Wilkinson went so far as to charge that it is impossible for the Negro to be a combat soldier (a charge which War and Navy Department records and history disprove), and concluded by calling upon the audience "for God's sake" to disfranchise the Negro. It has not yet occurred to me what connection our Creator could possibly have with the adoption of the Boswell Amendment. I submit that this futile attempt to becloud the issues indicates the desperation of the forces backing the proposed law.

Col. Rives, on the other hand, spoke with logic and intelligence. He clearly and concisely pointed out the true issues presented by the proposed Amendment. His premise was the fundamental principle that our government is one of laws and not of men. He showed that the Boswell Amendment would place arbitrary and unreasonable power in the hands of the Board of Registrars, thus violating this principle of our democracy. He forcefully submitted that our present laws are definite, reasonable and adequate. He refused to dodge the racial questions presented by Mr. Wilkinson, but stated firmly and courageously that we must face the problem of the Negro franchise with realism. He advocated that we accept our colored neighbors as registered voters freely as they become qualified under present laws. The forces of progress owe a debt of gratitude to Dick Rives for his straightforward stand on such an unpopular issue. It is high time that we all face this problem squarely and intelligently.

Col. Rives has stated the case well. I believe the verdict of the electorate in November will be "NO."

NESBITT ELMORE

726 Bell Bldg.,
Montgomery, Ala.

* * * *

FOR THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

Editor, The Advertiser:

On Nov. 5, 1946, the Boswell amendment will be ratified, or it will be defeated. Its language and its meaning have been discussed recently so fully, pro and con, that I shall not now deal with that phase of the question. I want to deal with consequences.

If it is adopted, few, very few negroes will register. For each applicant for registration must satisfy a Board of Registrars that he is able to understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States; that he is of good character; and that he understands the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government. Admittedly, these requirements are high; but not too high, if it takes that to guarantee White Supremacy. Lower them, and our plight is that of hapless Georgia where about 140,000 Negroes are now registered.

To defeat the Boswell amendment is to lower the registration level to that prescribed by section 181 of the present Constitution. Under it about 6,000 Negroes can legally register now in Wilcox County, while we have only 2550 whites registered, AND NOT ONE NEGRO. Defeat the Boswell amendment and Lowndes and Greene Counties can legally register four times as many Negroes as whites; Macon and Dallas twice as many; Montgomery and Barbour 40 per cent; Jefferson County 30 per cent;

We are not naive enough to believe that we in the Black Belt can continue to hold the line against an onrushing black horde without a change in our fundamental law; especially, when we realize that horde is spurred on by radicals in the North, aided and abetted by some of our leading daily newspapers, and (I blush for Alabama when I say it) a U. S. Senator named Hill, Lister Hill. The man who at Arley this week sought to array class against class; the man who said, in substance, that this amendment was supported by big corporations who would "milk Alabama and give nothing in return"; the man who listed Alabama Power Co., as one of such corporations, and yet its President, Tom Martin, says he has never read it, never discussed it; therefore does not know whether he is for it or against it. Thurs. 9-19-46

We in the Black Belt need the help today of every white person in Alabama; I plead for that help. I say to you solemnly: our only hope for white supremacy; our only hope for peace; our only protection against a race war is in the adoption of this amendment.

J. M. BONNER

Camden, Ala.

* * * *

"TOO REACTIONARY"

Editor, The Advertiser:

It is now evident that it is not a question of whether or not the Boswell Amendment will be defeated, but a question of the number of the majority of votes which will be cast against it. This amendment is too reactionary to be approved by the people of Alabama in their present mood.

To those who advocate this amendment may we quote Paul when he said "—it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."

W. H. SWEARINGEN

38 Kilby Reservation

VETERANS AND THE AMENDMENT

To the Editor of The News: The News

In the four-page letter being circularized by the State Democratic Executive Committee over the signature of Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman, it is graciously admitted that, "while a number of splendid citizens have expressed opposition to this proposed amendment to our constitution, yet we think that most of them are doing so because they have not studied the matter sufficiently and do not realize the danger which confronts us." In conclusion, however, the letter states, as quoted herewith, that "the principal part of the opposition comes, of course, from four sources." These, of course, are a motley crew that are the "strange bedfellows" of the aforementioned "splendid citizens." Briefly, they are those who are hell-bent on social equality, who would mongrelize the white race; those "who spend their time berating everything south of the Mason and Dixon line"; the FEPC'ers; "the Communist groups" and, last but not least, "the Republican Party." Certainly politics does make strange bedfellows. And that prompts one to wonder. Out of whose well-feathered beds do the Koo Koos krawl these kool September mornings?

These are all minorities, but not all we have. There is one particular minority that common sense tells me the machine political ringmasters keep discreetly in the back of their minds, while they are making their all-out appeal to prejudice as set forth in the Boswell amendment, and laid bare in the letter the State Democratic Executive Committee is now circulating. Birmingham Ala.

There should be no beating around the bush about this, and as for my part there will be none, for the simple reason that the committee invites the veterans of our wars (and I am one of them—vintage of 1898) to place in the hands of the state's politically-appointed registrars the power to say whether they—as well as other minorities—can or cannot exercise their right to suffrage.

It has always been claimed that there is safety in numbers, and from the voters' point of view this holds true, but from the machine politician's point of view the opposite holds true. In their case, safety lies in the smallest possible number of voters, especially under a one-party political system such as the one presided over by the State Democratic Executive Committee. Fri. 9-20-46

"Wherever there is an interest and power to do wrong, wrong will generally be done, and not less readily by a powerful and interested party than by a powerful and interested prince."—Madison to Jefferson, 1788.

This is one of those occasions when it is far better to be safe than to be sorry, and I sincerely urge every veteran to sit tight over his own rights, privileges and immunities and to delegate no part of them to the political interests. The larger the vote, the less the political corruptionists like it. I shall vote against the Boswell amendment.

Akron, Ala. BEN T. COUCHMAN.

Voice Of The People

The News Birmingham, Ala. 9-10-46

TAKING AWAY DEMOCRACY

To the Editor of The News:

I am not old enough to vote. However, I am an American and I have the right to express my opinion. I would like to do so concerning the Boswell amendment.

This amendment is a menace to pure democracy. It tends to take away one of the basic principles of democratic government. That principle is the right of the citizen to suffrage. It tends to make even stronger the walls which divide the white and Negro races. It tends to destroy democratic government.

At the call of war, was the Negro denied the right to fight for his country? It made no difference then how we were labeled. Then we were united to defeat a common enemy. There are some of us who haven't experienced the actual scenes of war. We have not heard the white soldier and the Negro soldier screaming alike from wounds. We have not seen the battlefields with their rivers of human blood—of white blood and Negro blood flowing together in a common stream, shed for a common purpose. Thurs. 10-10-46

Perhaps we have not realized that we are all fundamentally the same, that we all desire the same things—peace and security, the right to voice our opinion, the right to vote as we choose and to preserve the precious gift of human rights given us by our forward-looking forefathers. Perhaps we have not realized that intolerance is ignorance and that it leads only to war and chaos.

Before election day we must study this amendment carefully. We must lay away prejudice and study it with understanding and tolerance. We must sense its danger to a democratic form of government. Above all we must defeat it and remove such thoughts from our minds.

JAMES P. PHILLIPS, III.

Hamilton, Ala.

DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRACY

To the Editor of The News: News

You are to be commended for your stand against the Boswell amendment. The Democratic Party has disfranchised enough good people in Alabama and the South. If this thing goes on, before long nobody can vote in Alabama but college graduates and millionaires. News

I would suggest that the leaders of the party go down to Montgomery and go into the Capitol Building and turn the faces of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and Woodrow Wilson to the wall and hang crepe on the rest who called themselves Democrats. Then let the Legislature pass a resolution changing the name of the Democratic Party to something more appropriate. Birmingham Ala.

As far as the colored people are concerned, any Negro who votes the Democratic ticket in any state of the Union ought to be disfranchised. In the North and East the Democrats have but one party.

We have 150,000 white people in Alabama who cannot vote today because of an old, out-of-date poll tax law here. Any man who takes such his gun and fights to defend this country in time of war, and at the same time pays taxes to support this government, should have the right to vote, regardless of whether he ever spent one day in school or regardless of his race. That is democracy.

517 North 22nd Street.

J. L. ADERS.

45e 1946

Alabama (Boswell A mendment)

THE LINES ARE DRAWN

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

In many ways the heralded meeting Tuesday between Dick Rives, of Montgomery, and Horace Wilkinson, of Birmingham, before the Kiwanis Club, was important in Alabama politics. Their opposing statements on the proposed Boswell Amendment, to be voted on November 5th, set the pattern for what promises to be the most heated political contest over an Alabama constitutional amendment in many a year.

If there had been any doubt as to public interest in the question, it was settled by the crowd that overflowed the Jefferson Davis Hotel's ballroom. Nor were they all Montgomery people. They came from many counties in Alabama, both men and women. Every seat was taken, and many latecomers stood. Wed. 9-18-46

There was blood-stirring power in each of the speakers. The listener felt that here a fundamental American issue was being fought out in the American way — by the presentation of facts to the voters who will decide, Yes or No.

Mr. Wilkinson, short, heavy, a bulldog in force and tenacity, led off with a sentence that well summarized his speech. "I shall support the Boswell Amendment because I think it will help prevent the Negro from voting in Alabama."

All the rest was a development of that statement, the one simple argument by which proponents of the Boswell Amendment hope to place it in the Constitution of Alabama during the Year of Our Lord, 1946.

Mr. Wilkinson used all the stops in playing his symphony of hatred. He claimed that defeat of the Boswell Amendment would open the way to communism, intermarriage of the races, and ultimate Negro menace to free American government.

In short, Mr. Wilkinson attempted to make the question merely—"Do you or do you not want to turn Alabama over to the Negroes." By that distortion of the issue, he and other leading proponents of the Boswell Amendment are endeavoring to make the people of Alabama move backward into the 19th century.

Richard Rives opened with a sentence that likewise well summarizes his speech. "My opposition to the Boswell Amendment," he said, "is based upon principle, a principle fundamental to a democratic form of government, namely that ours is a government of laws and not of men."

Rives demonstrated that Alabama for nearly 50 years has been operating under the present Constitution without threat to white control of Alabama politics. He quoted official figures from 1942—the latest available—to show that Negro voters constituted less than one per cent of the total. Why, then, he asked, should we change the fundamental law of Alabama?

The proposed requirements for registration — "good character," "ability to understand and explain the constitution," and a knowledge of the "duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government"—all, he said, "are as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal, just a lot of legalistic mumbo jumbo really meaning that the Amendment would give the Boards of Registrars arbitrary power to register or refuse to register any prospective voter."

If we are to have a government of laws and not of men, Rives said, then we "must keep the tests of the right to vote simple and definite, and we should not vest such arbitrary power in any man or group."

Consequences of the Boswell Amendment, he showed, would be a threat "alike to the white man and to the black." Sometime in the future, "an ambitious governor, a man greedy for power," might use his already enormous powers to get control of the registrars and get them to do his bidding.

"From the viewpoint of extremists in various camps, liberals and reactionaries, labor unionists and industrialists, wets and drys, Democrats and Republicans, their opponents might not be of 'good character' and 'understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship. . . .' The political leanings of the registrars might well determine who would be allowed to register, especially if a hotly contested election were at hand. Arbitrary power is no respecter of persons. The chains we forge to shackle qualified Negroes can be used to keep the white voters of Alabama from walking to the polls."

Rives declared that if the voting standard must be raised, the test "should be definite; and to comply with the Constitution of the United States, it should be applied fairly and impartially to all applicants . . . that is our only sound course." 9-18-46

In closing, he touched the note of statesmanship for which the whole world is hungry. "The problems presented by the two races living so closely together will be with us through this generation and through generations to come," he said. "Those problems, if approached in a Christian spirit by men of good will in both races, can, I believe, be solved, but the kind of arbitrary power sought by this Amendment will destroy confidence and be an effective hindrance to any just and lasting solution."

Thus Alabama is presented with the alternatives: To march ahead as men of good will, as we have been doing under present laws since the turn of the century; or turn back the pages of history, fan the flames of hatred, and make a mockery of democracy at a time when democracy needs its every strength in the battle for world survival.

THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

The News

To the Editor of The News:

The Boswell amendment is not only undemocratic but strikes at the foundations of our civilization. While the peoples of other countries riot and struggle in efforts to obtain the right of suffrage, our people vie with each other in efforts to take the right of suffrage from themselves.

Under our federal and state constitutions, the people, by their ballots, can abolish any oppressive measure and obtain any change in their government in a peaceful, lawful and constitutional manner, while in countries where suffrage is restricted their only means of obtaining relief from unjust, arbitrary and oppressive laws and rulers is by rioting, violence and bloody revolution. Thomas Jefferson said, in effect, the way to correct public evils is to give the people more power, not to limit their power. Inform the people and trust them. Birmingham, Ala.

It is admitted by the advocates of the Boswell amendment that their purpose is to violate the federal constitution. We have suffered too much by excusing public officials for violations of their oaths of office or broken promises as "just politics."

I have always supported measures that would promote our public educational system; but I do not agree with those who insist on an educational qualification to vote. Millions of people deprived of educational advantages are better qualified to vote than thousands of our so-called best educated people. They feel and experience the hardships and suffering from unjust and oppressive laws and conditions, while too often the highly educated only theorize, never having experienced or felt their oppression. Wed. 10-9-46

I believe that the right of suffrage should be restricted only by age and conviction of crime involving moral turpitude. Rather than lock the door against voters, every citizen should be required to vote as a public duty, just as managers of elections, jury, military and other public duties.

My father refused to sign the Constitution of South Carolina because of a provision like the Boswell amendment. He and Sen. B. R. Tillman almost came to blows in the convention over it. Later Sen. Tillman publicly admitted that it disfranchised about half the number of worthy white people, who found that a law that could be used against Negroes could just as easily be used against them.

Jacksonville, Ala. WILLIAM C. IRBY.

HOW TO QUALIFY VOTERS

The News

To the Editor of The News:

After a recent letter of mine concerning the proposed Boswell amendment appeared in the "Voice of the People," I was the flattered recipient of an envelope from Gessner T. McCorvey containing a mass of cleverly constructed propaganda designed to make gullible people of this state vote themselves out of the right to vote. This deluge of propaganda smacked sickenly of Bilbo and Talmadge with the words "white supremacy" attracting the eye in bold-faced type. It seems that unscrupulous politicians have found those two words to be the "open sesame" to public office as well as a means by which to control public elections. By shouting white supremacy they attempt to steer the voters' mind away from their shady past or their inability to make sensible laws. Birmingham, Ala.

If Mr. McCorvey would go before the State Legislature and advise the interim committee as to what changes are advisable in our present educational laws and appropriations instead of our election laws, he would be closer to the root of the evil. If the laws of this state were amended to provide a sufficient number of schools and decent pay for teachers, there would be no question of educational qualifications for voting. Tues. 9-24-46

I might remind Mr. McCorvey that no one asked me if I could interpret the Constitution of the United States at the reception center when I was inducted into the Army for the purpose of defending the United States.

GROVER C. SMITH.

8106 Sixth Avenue, North.

THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

Birmingham, Ala. The News

To the Editor of The News:

The proposed "Boswell amendment" begins to blossom in the minds of thoughtful citizens as a much more serious proposition than was at first anticipated by Alabama voters.

The political trend of mind as exemplified in recent statewide campaigns is quite convincing that the day of the political ringmaster and dictator is rapidly passing into oblivion. Liberal-minded citizens, who seem now to be decidedly in the majority, are more alert than ever before and will not stand idly by while self-seeking politicians wrest from them their inalienable rights of citizenship.

A constitutional requirement that a person must be able to "read and explain the constitution" is too silly even to the mind of a moron to be in the least degree amusing. I dare say that if a poll were taken of the members of the various boards of registrars throughout the state on the question, "What is the meaning of the 14th amendment?" not 10 per cent of them could even tell you what the 14th amendment is. I doubt if 10 per cent of the population of Alabama has ever read the constitution or would know where to look for a copy of it if they had need for it.

Before we adopt the Boswell amendment, why not include the constitution in our public school texts? After our graduates have been thoroughly versed in its provisions we might reasonably require an explanation of its contents as a prerequisite to the voting privilege; provided, however, boards of registrars have first stood an examination before a thoroughly qualified board of constitutional authorities and made an acceptable grade. Until political ringmaster methods, political slush funds and political bribery have been completely eliminated, masses of Alabama potential voters would have about as much chance for registration as an American airman before a Japanese court-martial: Wed. 8-28-46

"Give the people light and the people will find their way." "Let them know the truth and the truth will make them free."

May The Birmingham News-Age-Herald and other newspapers of like mind continue to shed light on this vital question.

Talladega, Ala. A. L. HANKS.

Voice Of The People

The Birmingham News

NEGRO VOTING Ala. Jun. 23

To the Editor of The News:

Your editorial in reference to the Boswell amendment, accompanied by a cartoon depicting the Negro far out in front of the Negroes from voting anywhere in Alabama, equal political rights lead to social equality, white race on matters of aggression and bank The difference between The Birmingham obligations, is very misleading. News and those who are supporting the Bos-

The Boswell amendment is not "hysterical well amendment is this: You believe in Ne-

legislation conceived for the purpose of keep- gro voting, we do not. By approving Negro

The Boswell amendment is designed to keep voting you impliedly advocate amalgamation of the races. Undeniably and incontestably,

and social equality leads to intermarriage. Political and social equality are only a means to the end with the Negro. That end is intermarriage. This is made clear by an article in a recent issue of The Negro Digest by G. A. Borgess, in which the writer, in a discussion of the "color problem," said:

"Any step forward in the field of political and social equality, however desirable and imperative, is merely a palliative as compared with the final remedy. Tues. 9-3-46

"Nothing will be conclusively done until all is done. All will be done only when the bedrooms open and the two bloods mix freely in many marriages, free from blame and bane.

"If science is trying hard, and hopefully, to contrive an artificial heart, I would be at a loss to understand why it should be overbearing or nonsensical to exact from science the lesser miracle of an artificial skin. There should be some means, by inoculation or rays or other nondescript process, to discolor the Negro. . . . A proposition of this kind should be the leading thought of humanitarianism and science in their next phase of growth. . . . Mixed marriages would be insured against racial nemesis by the knowledge that the treatment that was inexpensive and successful for the parent will be no less so for the progeny, with other and less definite differential characteristics of the races merging by-and-by much more easily in the multiple miscegenation of the border zones. This would make a substantial and positive—not nominal, not utopian—bequest by us to children and grandchildren. The color line should blur almost past recognition in the course of the very next generations."

We who support the Boswell amendment oppose the objective mentioned in the article quoted.

Your charge that the Boswell amendment empowers registrars to arbitrarily disfranchise white people is not well founded. If it were true, it would be no obstacle to the adoption of the Boswell amendment, inasmuch as any person not qualified by the registrar has a right to appeal to a jury without giving security for costs and without hiring a lawyer, and have a jury find whether or not he should be registered.

Those who oppose the Boswell amendment manifestly and obviously evidence a lack of confidence in the right of trial by a jury. That is one of the priceless privileges of every Alabamian. Every child attending school has to stand an examination to satisfy the teacher that it knows enough to be advanced before it can be promoted. Your criticism of the Boswell amendment which confers a similar power on a board of registrars to find out whether a voter knows enough to be entrusted with a ballot means you would relieve the adult Negro of conditions imposed on a 7-year-old child.

Since when has The Birmingham News become so distrustful of the right of trial by a jury?

Do you advocate conferring a franchise on anyone who does not understand the duty and responsibility of good citizenship under a republican form of government?

Perhaps The News advocates universal suffrage. Perhaps you advocate allowing the criminal, insane, the feeble-minded and immature youths to shape the policies of our state by their ballots. If you do not advocate universal suffrage, why discriminate against this large group of unfortunates in favor of a group who do not even understand and appreciate the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship under a republican form of government? By opposing the Boswell amendment you necessarily advocate the amalgamation of the races. By expressing your opposition to the Boswell amendment as you have expressed it you necessarily show a contempt for the right of trial by jury. By your cartoon you furnish evidence that you believe the Negro superior to the white man and far in advance of the white man in some ways. This causes me to wonder why you do not renounce your American citizenship and move to Liberia, the Negro nation in Africa whose constitution provides that only Negroes can vote.

Perhaps I am wasting time arguing with a newspaper that claims that the Ethiopian is better than it is. The newspaper knows more about itself than I do.

HORACE C. WILKINSON

Loyal Opposition

The fight over the Boswell amendment has become an intra-party fight among the Democrats of Alabama. Any hopes that may have been held by supporters of the dangerous legislation to make the issue a straight partisan affair with all loyal Democrats aligned behind the amendment have been dissipated. The final blow has been delivered by the organization of a state committee of Democrats to lead the fight against the proposal to tighten up on voter qualifications. Birmingham News 9-10-46

Heading that committee is Richard T. Rives, Montgomery lawyer, supporter of James E. Folsom for governor in the May and June primaries, campaign manager of the late Gov. Bibb Graves, and a man looked upon by Atticus Mullins, veteran political writer of *The Montgomery Advertiser*, as "the most powerful and one of the sanest figures . . . in Alabama politics." Others associated with him in this fight for a better democracy include Harry M. Ayers, publisher of *The Anniston Star*, a delegate to national Democratic conventions; Charles G. Dobbins, editor of *The Montgomery Advertiser* and former president of the Alabama Press Association; R. R. Wade, president of the Alabama Federation of Labor; Mrs. Albert Thomas, Auburn, past president Women's Joint Legislative Council of Alabama, and Henry McDaniel, a prominent lawyer of Black Belt Demopolis. Alabamian

Behind this group, largely unorganized, but steadily becoming more vocal and coherent, are thousands of other Alabama Democrats. They are loyal members of the party. Consistently they have supported the party in national elections and its nominees in state elections. But they see the danger that exists for democracy in the Boswell amendment. They oppose the efforts of a group of party leaders to foist upon the people of Alabama a system that could spell political discrimination against every minority in the state, whether it be racial, religious, political or economic. Tuesday

Opponents of the Boswell amendment are not disloyal to the party. Rather they, and not the supporters of the amendment, are the more loyal to the principles of the party. They are the closest followers of Thomas Jefferson, who said that he knew of "no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves, and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education." They know that the Boswell amendment, under the guise of saving democracy in Alabama, would weaken democracy here and in the nation and in the world.

The call from the anti-Boswell committee is a call to genuine democracy. It is a call to rescue the party from those members of it who apparently do not recognize that they could kill the party through limiting it too closely, who do not see that by hand-picking voters they would ultimately destroy the very principles of the party. 9-10-46

This is a fight within the Democratic Party to protect the highest principles of democracy. And those who oppose the Boswell amendment are on the side of right.

The Date's The Thing

The Times Birmingham, Ala.

Many are the signs encouraging hope that the Boswell amendment will be rejected on Nov. 5. The brilliant leadership of Richard T. Rives, who has thrown himself into the fight with all the fervor of a crusader, has been reenforced by the position which men like Sen. Hill and Gov.-Nominate Folsom have taken. The real meaning of this proposed constitutional change is becoming clear to most Alabamians. It seeks to revive requirements which the constitutional convention of 1901 refused to approve. It seeks to impose on the state's future the heavy handicaps and tensions of prejudice and fear. Sun. 10-6-46

One phase of the great argument in connection with this amendment has to do with the point raised by Mr. Rives touching the effect such a change could have upon the right to vote of persons already registered. Mr. Rives has contended from the outset that the amendment looks to giving registrars sweeping and arbitrary authority. With that premise, he now directs attention to the fact that the amendment has as its effective date Jan. 1, 1903. He directs attention, furthermore, to the law requiring that the voting lists be purged every two years for reasons, among others, contemplated under the amendment. What is, therefore, Mr. Rives asks, to prevent registrars from using their authority to strike the names of those who do not or cannot qualify under the new tests of the Boswell amendment?

The suggestion has been spurned by supporters of the amendment, but Mr. Rives' reasoning is persuasive. It is now proposed, he maintains, that, after *Jan. 1, 1903*, registrants must be able to "understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States" and must be persons "who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government." If the registrars are in a position to apply these tests to those who apply after Nov. 5, 1946, why can't they do so with reference to everybody else who has registered since Jan. 1, 1903? Under the law, they would have the power to take this course. On what ground is it to be assumed that they will not use their power?

That is the way it appears to many laymen and since Mr. Rives is an outstanding member of the Alabama bar there seems to be good legal basis for scrutinizing the date of this amendment. This may look like making a great ado about a technicality. But where the right of suffrage is involved, the most precious democratic right is involved. If the Boswell amendment expressly deals with the right to register of all persons since Jan. 1, 1903, it might imperil the standing of voters now on the lists. In view of all other flaws, is not the effective date a clinching reminder of the unworthiness of this amendment?

PRAYER FOR INTEGRITY

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

This morning a letter has come to me asking this question, "Is not the world in the condition it is in largely because 'those who pray will not face issues and those who face issues will not pray'?" A general statement of course, but one which seems pertinent in thinking of the Boswell Amendment. Centering around our churches are the largest groups of praying people, and yet with few exceptions a question like this amendment is altogether without the area of discussion for church groups. "It might be controversial"—therefore we cannot even pray together about it. Montgomery, Ala.

To many of us the Boswell Amendment is not so much a political issue as it is one of moral integrity. In reconstruction times our fathers took action which they thought to be necessary to maintain their way of life. We feel that they did what they believed to be right, but ways of life change and their South is not our South. Moreover, we have placed ourselves before the world as the champion of democracy. We have taught our children to give allegience to "one country, united, with liberty and freedom of all;" at the same time we have connived to undermine our constitution and have given freedom through education to part of our children at the expense of the children of those to whom we have denied the right to vote. Sun. 10-20-46

And now at this time when more than ever before we are seeing that moral integrity is the only foundation upon which peace in any area can be built, we undertake to strengthen the pattern of deception we have practiced.

Might it not be that if those who pray, could pray together for wisdom to face the issues and strength to see them through, there would come for us a greater willingness to act for the good of all and a clearing away of those fears which have so beset us.

CLARA HARD RUTLEDGE
1 Edgemont, Ridgecrest
Montgomery, Ala.

Negroes To Pray For Boswell Plan Defeat

The Advertiser

MOBILE, ALA., Oct. 30—(AP)—The Negro Baptist Ministers' Conference, of Mobile, today set aside Sunday, Nov. 3, as a date of prayer for defeat of the Boswell amendment to tighten up on voter qualification.

In an appeal to "the white religious constituency" of the State, the conference labeled the proposal "wicked and unjust" and said if passed it could be used to deprive any citizen of his political rights regardless to race, religion or any other reason if desired. Montgomery, Ala.

"We regard being so ungodly in principle, that we are appealing to the religious leaders and church folk, and every one who has an idea of justice and fair play, to use their influence in defeating the passage of this cruel instrument, which would make this amendment as possible for those in authority to keep any citizen from using his Godgiven rights." Thurs. 10-31-46

Objections To Boswell Amendment

Birmingham, Ala.

An Editorial in The Montgomery Advertiser

There are several amendments to the State Constitution to be considered by the Alabama electorate next Fall. One of them is the Boswell Amendment. That amendment was frankly designed to make it more difficult for voters to register. The present registration law requires, among other things, that the prospective voter be able to "read the Constitution of Alabama." The proposed amendment would require that a prospective voter be able to both "understand and explain" the Constitution.

In early January a resolution was passed, unanimously if memory serves, by the State Democratic Executive Committee endorsing the Boswell amendment. This was done following action of the committee to eliminate the specification, "white" in the call for the present primary, a move designed to make Alabama's primary conform to a decision of the Supreme Court.

Richard T. Rives, an able and respected member of the Alabama bar, recently took a hard and long look at the Boswell amendment and decided that upon close inspection it did not look so good. He urged its defeat next Fall.

Next Fall is a long time off but it still would be a good idea for Alabama's political leaders and thoughtful citizens to take another look at the Boswell amendment and carefully weigh some of the points made by Mr. Rives.

These are the major objections to the amendment as seen by Mr. Rives:

First, the amendment would give to the board of registrars virtually unlimited right to refuse to qualify any prospective voter who did not please them. (Who is to say what a proper "explanation" of the Constitution might be?)

Second, because the obvious intent of the amendment is to keep Negroes unfranchised, then the way would be opened for endless court actions of a most sensitive sort. It would serve to keep feelings on both sides rubbed raw and would inevitably breed bad feeling between the races.

Third, it would open the way for taking these certain-to-come court actions directly to the Federal Courts because of the discriminatory intent of the amendment. At present all court actions concerning registration of primary voters must first pass through the State courts. age Herald

Fourth, due to the certainty of such actions and the fact that individual registrars would be responsible for any damages awarded, it would soon become difficult if not impossible to get responsible citizens to serve as registrars. Wed 4-24-46

Fifth, even though the amendment was designed primarily to make it difficult for Negroes to register, it could become a weapon in the hands of unscrupulous registrars to further their own political purposes by denying registration to any and all who did not suit their political taste.

To those The Advertiser could add several objections of its own, but for the moment perhaps it will serve if Alabama's voters and political leaders give thought to those carefully reasoned objections raised by Mr. Rives.

It is a long time until next Fall but before the voting time comes, this issue will be much more thoroughly aired here and elsewhere.

Rives Attacks Boswell Plan, Cites Court Appeal System

the Montgomery Ala. Advertiser Sat. 4-20-46

The Boswell amendment to tighten voter qualifications in Alabama would "encourage Negroes to go to court to enforce their right to vote," says Richard T. Rives, Montgomery lawyer and former president of the Alabama Bar Association.

The amendment, sponsored in the 1945 legislature by Rep. E. C. Boswell of Geneva, would eliminate the present $300 property ownership clause from the State constitution and would require prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" any section of the Federal basic law.

At present they only are required to read the constitution.

The proposed change would give too much authority to boards of registrars, Rives said, adding:

"If we are to retain a government of laws and not of men, we should retain our present simple and definite tests of voting qualifications, and should not vest much arbitrary power in any group of men."

Under the amendment it would be up to the registrars to determine whether an applicant successfully explains the constitution.

Court action, the speaker said, "inevitably breeds bad feeling between the races."

Urging careful study of the measure, Rives declared it was "high time for the citizens of Alabama to bestir themselves and defeat the . . . amendment."

The speaker warned that the adoption of the measure would give opponents of Alabama registration laws strong argument in the United States Supreme Court to strike down Alabama's entire registration system.

He pointed out that a prospective voter can resort now to the Federal courts only after he has carried appeals through all state courts. Sat. 4-20-46

"But this rule," he said, "applies only when the state law itself does not work a discrimination."

"With the Boswell amendment designed to permit arbitrary discrimination, I apprehend that the United States Constitution would hold that an applicant denied registration might at once sue in the Federal courts without first appealing to the state courts and then to the State Supreme Court."

"Thus we might lose the power of our own state courts to pass on our own state laws, one of the most valuable prerogatives. . . ."

He further warned that with registrars subject to suits for damages in the Federal courts, "good and responsible men and women will hesitate to serve as registrars."

In discussing the possibility of increased numbers of Negro registration suits, Rives said that separate registration of voters in congressional elections would be "invited and encouraged."

Pointing to the provisions requiring an ability to understand and explain any article in the United States Supreme Court declared: Sat 4-20-46

"There are almost as many understandings and explanations of the Constitution as . . . of the Bible . . . No doubt Mr. Justice Black thinks that Mr. Justice Frankfurter does not properly understand and explain the Constitution, and Mr. Justice Frankfurter entertains the same opinion of Mr. Justice Black's understanding . . ."

Political leanings of the registrars might "well determine who would be allowed to register, especially if a hotly-contested election were at hand," the speaker continued.

"Unless the average citizen studies the issue calmly and informs himself thoroughly, blind prejudice will cause the amendment to be adopted," he said in closing. Sat. 4-20-46

Rives' address was sponsored by the Museum of Fine Arts Association. He spoke at the museum building.

The Boswell amendment will go before the voters in the November elections.

McCorvey Sees Trouble If Amendment Spurned

The Advertiser

MOBILE, ALA., Oct. 18.—(AP)—Declaring that resignations of registrars in Jefferson and Macon counties "reflect a very serious situation," Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of the State Democratic Executive Committe today predicted others would follow unless the Boswell Amendment is adopted.

McCorvey said existing constitutional law provided in effect that anyone could register who could read and write and had a $300 tax assessment and that registrars had no choice but to register "practically every Negro who presents himself."

"With the Negroes outnumbering the white people approximately five to one in Macon County, a moron can see what is going to happen in that county if the board of registrars register every Negro over 21 years of age who can read and write, regardless of his fitness to vote intelligently on important public issues," he said in a statement.

"Macon County is not alone. There are something like 17 or 18 other counties in Alabama's Black Belt where the same situation exists." Montgomery, Ala.

McCorvey said the Boswell Amendment, requiring voters to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution "would remedy all of this."

"It gives the registrars some discretion, and the registrars are not required, as they are under existing laws, to register practically everything that walks on two legs. Sat. 10-19-46

"I cannot understand how any Southerner with the traditions of our people can think of wishing to continue a situation such as exists in Macon County today, which can only result in trouble for the future."

McCorvey said that since the registration of the Macon County registrars recently, Governor Sparks had appointed some eight or ten registrars but all of them had declined the apointment, and that Negroes of the county were now demanding that Sparks appoint three Negroes.

Heflin Comes Out For Boswell Amendment

The News, Birmingham, Ala. Wed. 10-9-46

LAFAYETTE, Ala., Oct. 9—The proposed Boswell amendment to the State Constitution "will keep scores of ignorant, vicious Negro votes from being cast," J. Thomas Heflin, former United States senator, said in a telegram to The Birmingham News today.

"As one of the surviving delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1901, I feel I should say a few words on the Boswell amendment," Mr. Heflin said.

"The Grandfather Clause in the Constitution of 1901 provided a way for every white man to vote. A different plan was provided for the Negro. It is not as full and complete as the plan suggested and provided in the Boswell amendment. That amendment will keep scores of ignorant, vicious Negro votes from being cast.

"No white man will be embarrassed by the Boswell amendment. It is purely and wholly in the interest of white supremacy. Sen. John T. Morgan, in the last speech he ever made in this state, said the day would come when a man would be elected president of the United States on the platform that 'This is a white man's country.'"

The Boswell amendment, to be voted on in the general election Nov. 5, would tighten voting qualifications so as to require applicants for the right to vote to be able to understand and explain any part of the Constitution.

Folsom Opposes Amendment

The News Birmingham, Ala

Some of Mr. Folsom's friends and well-wishers were puzzled a week or so back when he declined at that time to take a stand on the Boswell amendment. Knowing what he had stood for during the campaign and since, no one could conceive of his favoring the measure. He had courageously spoken against maintaining the poll tax; he had shown that he believed in widening the electorate; he had been supported by organized labor, and he had promised Negro leaders to do all he could to assure their people of equal economic and political opportunities. Yet for a time he refused to speak out strongly against the amendment that is designed to extend authority for further limitations on suffrage in Alabama. Thurs.

But on Tuesday in Birmingham he announced that he is opposed. He is not yet sure that he will make any further public announcement against the amendment, although he said that "it is possible" he may make a few speeches on the matter when he returns from his trip to California in two weeks. His statement was made incidentally in a routine interview. 9-26-46

It is true, however, that Mr. Folsom had said during his campaign that he did not approve the amendment. "I took my stand when it counted, when I was trying to get votes," he says. "I was not afraid of it then, and I am not afraid of it now."

So our next governor joins an ever-growing crowd of Alabama citizens who oppose the shackling provision that would put upon the people of the state the most reactionary voting restriction in all the nation. If Mr. Folsom would make the speeches he mentioned as a possibility with anything like the vigor of his campaigning, he could reach and influence many of the people who voted for him and who may not now fully understand the necessity of defeating the amendment in November.

Training Negro Nurses

The News Birmingham, Ala. Mon. 9-30

Recently Dr. Roy Kracke, dean of the Medical College of Alabama, announced the suspension of training of Negro nurses at Jefferson-Hillman Hospital until facilities for complete segregation were available. It is imperative that such facilities be provided at an early date. The health and welfare of this community long have been impaired by inadequate medical aid to Negroes. One major means of helping our Negro people to better health is the training of Negro nurses. Mon. 9-30-46

The Boswell Amendment

The News

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

The increasing attention being paid to the amendment proposed by Mr. Boswell is evidence of the fact that the people of Alabama are very well aware that the measure is of vital importance, and that, if adopted, it would effect a fundamental and far-reaching change in our political system.

From any viewpoint the plan is regrettable. Its proponents must regret its necessity; its opponents must deplore its method. Whatever our private opinions on the subject of white supremacy, we must all regret the inevitable repercussions in the nation as a whole if we persist in placing upon the statute books such a bald assertion of racial inequality. There is little doubt that the amendment is unconstitutional and there is no doubt at all that it would be poor tactics. The Supreme Court and the federal government would justifiably react with vigor in suppressing such a defiantly reactionary violation of the 14th amendment. Birmingham, Ala.

If, however, the Boswellites have not yet learned that Alabama is a part of the United States and that the supremacy of the national will, whether we like it or not, was established permanently and irrevocably in 1865, they should at least understand that their proposal, far from helping, would prove a very great disservice to the cause of white supremacy. It would be a red tag to the PAC bull, it would outrage liberals everywhere, it would provide a "cause" for the parlor pinks, and it would bring down upon us a veritable avalanche of crusaders determined to save us from our sins and convince us of our iniquities. It would, in, short, produce the damndest nuisance since Sherman.

Although the above arguments are both cogent and imperative, they do not touch upon what is, in my opinion, the great danger inherent in the Boswell amendment. That danger is the concentration of unrestricted political power in the hands of an organized machine. Sun. 9-22-46

I am a small-town merchant. I regard the PAC about as fondly as the Egyptians regarded the seven plagues of Moses. I am about as much of a "left-winger" as Calvin Coolidge. I haven't agreed with Eleanor Roosevelt about anything since she said Hitler was a heel. I am not in favor of racial intermarriage, social equality or the revolt of the masses. And yet I unqualifiedly and sincerely and vehemently oppose the Boswell amendment.

* * *

I oppose this plan for some very conservative and common-sense reasons. In the first place, I do not believe that it is simply a measure to maintain white supremacy in Alabama. Its political possibilities are so abundant, it provides such a deadly and efficient weapon for machine politics, that I cannot accept the pious assertions that it is a high-minded and gratuitous gesture for our own protection. Even if the originators of this subtle scheme are naive enough to be blind to the potentialities of their own creation, I see no guarantee that their heirs in office would fail to perceive and grasp the opportunity to turn this product into a political Frankenstein. This is one gift horse which it behooves us to look straight in the mouth—its teeth are as false as a dime store diamond.

An examination of the possibilities of the plan serves to strengthen the conviction that the racial issues is a red herring designed to divert our attention from the real purpose of the bill. What Mr. Boswell proposes is simply to place in the hands of registrars appointed by the governor the power of determining a citizen's right to vote. The determination is to be made on the basis of the applicant's ability to read and interpret a portion of the Constitution of the United States.

This sounds deceptively simple. Yet for 150 years we have entrusted the task of interpreting the constitution to the Supreme Court—a body composed of the nine most astute and eminent legal minds in the United States. This court has not always been able to agree even within itself, but the public trust it has earned by its character and its efforts has maintained its superiority in its assigned field over both Congress and the president. Efforts to pack the court, to abrogate its power, have met with unanimous and vigorous opposition from the people as a whole, who regard it as the guarantor of their liberties and the bulwark of their freedom. Now Mr. Boswell suggests that we create in Alabama 100 or more small-town, small-time Supreme Court justices, each equipped with a power as important as any reserved to the court in Washington—the power of controlling the exercise of the most fundamental prerogative of the American citizen—the right to vote. Is this logical? Is it legal? Is it justifiable?

* * *

It might be well to remember something which the men who created this nation considered very carefully—the regrettable but obvious fact that liberty is based on and derived from law. Experience has clearly proven that while government, by its very nature, needs no protection from the individual citizen, the citizen very definitely needs protection from his government. This protection was provided for in the constitution by the establishment of a system of checks and balances, in which the three branches of the government were scrupulously set apart and assigned to their own functions. The deliberate purpose behind these provisions was to prevent an amalgamation of political power subject to no practical and immediate restriction. The Boswell amendment would abolish these checks, destroy the balance of power and unify the executive and legislative branches by the exercise of judicial privilege. To be specific, the governor would appoint registrars who would control the votes which would elect the Legislature and the governor. This would constitute a vicious circle of political power—a system of wheels within wheels in which the machinery of government would rotate on its own axis with a beautiful imitation of perpetual motion. In brief, the damn thing has no brakes.

Now the Boswellites will insist that their plan provides a check in the provision that a citizen turned down by the registrars could appeal to a jury. "Since when," asks Mr. Horace Wilkinson in a tone of righteous indignation, "has The Birmingham News become so distrustful of the right of trial by jury?" Since when, I ask in reply, has Mr. Wilkinson thought it right and proper for us to have to stand trial to establish the basic right of an American citizen? With this sort of specious reasoning, would it not be equally logical to require us to establish before a jury our rights to freedom of speech, to freedom of religion, to freedom of assembly, to all the rights which we have always fondly believed were derived from our God and granted by our government? I had thought, my dear sir, that these were the things I was fighting for during the late war. I had thought I had earned, for myself and for my fellow citizens, the right to enjoy these privileges without fear or favor—or trial by jury. If Mr. Boswell is right, then I am wrong. And if I am right, then Mr. Boswell is wrong. It's as simple as that.

Are the supporters of this scheme sincere in their avowals that the right of appeal constitutes a valid and effective check upon the power they covet? Or are they again talking with their tongues in their cheeks? It is difficult to believe that they can seriously maintain that granting to a law-abiding citizen the same right afforded to a law-breaking criminal is anything more than a none too subtle insult. It is even more difficult to believe that they do not realize all too well that this ridiculous provision would involve more trouble, delay and expense than the average citizen is either able or willing to afford. It is obvious that in 99 cases out of 100 the decision of the registrars would be, to all practical purposes, final.

* * *

The proponents of this plan have emphasized the fact that the state Legislature, by an almost unanimous vote, decided to submit the Boswell amendment to the voters in November. Apart from the simple truth that legislators, like the rest of us, are human and can err, this almost unanimous vote is readily understandable. Why shouldn't the "ins" be enthusiastic about a measure which would give them such an insuperable advantage over the "outs"? Why shouldn't they heartily approve a plan in which, with a little cooperation from the governor, they could create a hand-picked electorate ready to do their bidding or be disqualified? Under the Boswell amendment the incumbents could look forward happily to remaining in office until Gabriel blows the last reveille.

The Boswellites, with a cheery contempt for the facts of life, loudly proclaim that their opponents are "visionaries," "theorists" and "impractical do-gooders," while they themselves are practical realists. The truth is that the proposed amendment would require a confidence in the wisdom and probity of a multitude of minor officials that would test the simple faith of a 6-year-old child. Could anything be more "visionary" than the blithe assumption that these backwoods bureaucrats would possess the wisdom of Solomon and the discretion of John Marshall? Is it not a pure case of "theorism"—this happy hypothesis that these underpaid clerks would be automatically invested with the integrity of Cato and the honestry of Benjamin Franklin? And would it occur to the most "impractical do-gooder," as it does to these "practical realists," to entrust an untrammeled and unrestricted power to the very people most interested in abusing that power? It seems painfully obvious that, in this matter, the true realists are those who refuse to submit our future to the unchecked vagaries of human nature—those who insist, regretfully but logically, that there is nothing in our record as people in general and politicians in particular to justify throwing caution to the winds and trusting an unknown pilot to steer the ship of state on an uncharted course in shoal waters.

Speaking for myself, I say that the real issue in the Boswell amendment is not white supremacy, but machine supremacy. That there is no guarantee that an instrument devised to keep Negroes from voting cannot and will not be used to keep white people from voting. That this scheme would insure perpetual power for the next administration and deprive us of any legal recourse in effecting a change. That the end result would be political serfdom for all of us, white and black alike.

The Constitutional Convention of 1787 was unwilling to grant unbalanced, unchecked power to George Washington. I am certainly unwilling to grant that power to Jim Folsom. I have some inalienable rights, as a human being and an American citizen. Not the least of these rights is the privilege to cast my ballot for the candidates and the laws of my choice. I have no desire to relinquish that right to anyone, at any time, for any purpose. I think I would be an utter and complete fool to surrender the only weapon I have and throw myself on the uncertain mercy of politicians. And I frankly think that the people of Alabama will be equally foolish if they do not quickly and thoroughly destroy this transparent bid for potential tyranny. Lest we forget: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

WM. D. LANIER, JR.
Jasper, Ala.

BOSWELL AMENDMENT, BY A NEGRO

To the Editor of The News: The News

Many citizens of Alabama, white and colored, thank you for uncovering the hidden aims and objectives of the much-discussed Boswell amendment to the Alabama Constitution. You, Sen. Hill, Mr. Rives, Mr. Clark Coleman, whose letter appeared in The News of Sept. 18, and all of the people who are saying no to the adoption of this undemocratic measure, are taking the proper course, and we trust that a majority of the Alabama electorate will follow you in helping to defeat this law. Birmingham, Ala.

The majority of the State Democratic Executive Committee claims that, through the adoption of this amendment, they seek, and will get, a more intelligent suffrage. If that is what they seek, all well and good, provided the scheme shall be applied to all citizens alike. Under this amendment all registrants are required to understand the constitution and be able to explain any paragraph to the satisfaction of the registrars. The applicants also must know and answer any historical data that the registrars care to ask them. The News says such amendment "gives the registrars sweeping power to prevent the registration of any person who may be in any way offensive to the registrars." It seems that, as this majority of the committee wants to "tighten up our registration laws," they mean to cut out or prevent the registration of such citizens as they do not want, whether such citizens be intelligent or illiterate, and vice versa if the registrars want them.

I remember quite well the year 1901, when the powers-that-be called a constitutional convention to revise the electorate (disfranchise the Negro) of Alabama. They made it very hard for any Negro in Alabama to register. However, a few came through the mill by answering hundreds of irrelevant questions (the writer was one of them). I have wondered ever since that time why those in authority in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and other states of the South don't want the Negro to vote or take any part in the government which rules over him, and do not want him to take part in any civic activities of the state. Without the ballot no one can be a full-fledged citizen of any state. Thurs.

The American white man, however, never fails to call on the Negro to come and help fight the wars and keep back the enemy from our shores. The Negro never fails to go. He is always willing to go to war, and fight like the devil when he gets there. He has helped this country fight in all of its wars. He has also helped to clear the forests, build the railroads and highways, to plant and raise the crops, and hundreds of other things to prove his worthiness for complete citizenship.

The Boswell amendment, if adopted, will not strengthen but weaken the democracy of our state. It will, in the minds of many, regardless of race, lower the standard of freedom as embodied in the American Constitution. So far as that bugaboo of so-called "social equality" is concerned, leading Negroes don't want it, wouldn't have it. 9-26-46

HENRY D. DAVIDSON,
Principal Emeritus, Bibb County Training School, Centreville, Ala.

I have voted in every election in my county and state for 56 years for the best men and best measures. I have built and for 57 years taught a helpful and outstanding school for my people in my community. I have striven to foster peace and good will between the

Dixon Calls For Ratification Of The Boswell Amendment

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Thurs. 10-17-46

Voters who cast ballots against the Boswell amendment Nov. 5 are inviting the removal of segregation, mass registration by Negro voters, control of elections by Negroes in a number of counties and "the loss of the way of life that your grandfathers gave you," former Gov. Frank Dixon warned a record turnout of Exchange Club members and their guests at the Redmont Hotel yesterday.

Those who want to live in Alabama under conditions that he said would exist with removal of segregation laws can easily attain this desire by voting against the Boswell amendment but in such case, Mr. Dixon indicated, he might buy a ticket for Brazil where he said a large number of Alabamians formed a colony when the carpetbaggers and scalawags had control of the state.

"What senator in a state with a 35 per cent Negro registration would vote against the Fair Employment Practices Committee?" Mr. Dixon inquired. "Do they in Northern states where Negroes vote in blocks?"

The former governor asked his audience if they didn't think there were "venal men" in Alabama who would trade traffic with Negro voters, if these conditions existed, just as he said they do in Northern states where Negroes vote in large blocks. Anyone who thinks otherwise is "naive," he asserted, just as anyone is "naive" who doesn't believe that Negroes would have power in the city hall, fire department and in the county government if the Boswell amendment is defeated.

* * *

THE FORMER GOVERNOR described as "childish trash" the idea that under the Boswell amendment registrars would indulge in purging of voting lists. He declared that whenever a registrar wants to purge a voter from the list the voter is given notice and has the right to appeal to a jury and then to higher courts.

"Just as much protection is given as to a citizen under indictment for murder," he declared.

Mr. Dixon warned his listeners that "mass registration will mean death and destruction of Alabama. He explained that he does not believe a man should be kept from voting just because his skin is black. He also expressed the belief that those who are not qualified should be given the opportunity to become qualified.

* * *

MR. DIXON POINTED OUT that there are 11 senatorial districts which have a Negro majority and several others in which the numbers are very close. There are 18 counties in which there is an actual majority of Negroes with seven more in which they constitute more than 40 per cent, he declared.

On the basis of this, Mr. Dixon argued, there will be 11 Negro senators and 31 House members of that race in the state Legislature. Jefferson County will be threatened with four whites and three Negroes in its House delegation, he predicted.

Montgomery County will be represented by an entirely Negro delegation, both in the Senate and the House, he added.

* * *

IT IS ESSENTIAL, Mr. Dixon argued, that the registrars be given some judicial power in order "to hold the line." There is no way on earth to stop mass registration without giving the registration board some discretion," he contended.

The Exchangeites — business executives and professional men— were further informed that a vote for the Boswell amendment is not irrevocable because it can be changed at any time in the future. But if the amendment is voted down, there will never be a chance of reviving it because the large Negro vote will never vote for a constitutional amendment tightening the registration laws. 10-17-46

Next Wednesday, the Exchange Club will hear an argument against the Boswell amendment from Charles N. Feidelson, contributing editor of The Birmingham News.

Heflin Urges State To Back Boswell Plan

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Thurs. 10-10-46

Former Senator Asserts Time Will Come When Change Will Be Needed

Former Senator J. Thomas Heflin, of LaFayette, in a statement favoring the passage of the Boswell Amendment says "The amendment will keep scores of ignorant, vicious Negro votes from being cast and no white man will be embarrassed.

The former senator is one of the few surviving members of the Constitutional Convention of 1901, the last held in Alabama, and was a young orator then whose talents finally called him to long service in both the House of Representatives in Washington and the United States Senate. Heflin also served in the Alabama House of Representatives from Chambers County.

The former United States senator, in his statement quotes from a speech made by the outstanding and lamented Senator John T. Morgan in which Senator Morgan said that the day would come in this country when a man will be elected on a white supremacy platform.

Several members of the committee, however, have refused to participate in its campaign for ratification and have joined the opponents, most outspoken of whom is Richard T. Rives, Montgomery attorney.

On Rives' side in addition to Folsom are Sen. Lister Hill; Dr. Lyman Ward, of Camp Hill, Republican nominee for governor, and a citizens' committee composed of newspaper editors, educators, political, labor and religious leaders.

* * *

SEVERAL PUBLIC DEBATES have already been held on the question and another is on schedule at Athens on Oct. 19 between former Gov. Dixon and Editor Charles G. Dobbins, of The Montgomery Advertiser. Dobbins has been active against the amendment.

Because of the interest stirred up by the Boswell plan, a heavier vote is anticipated on Nov. 5 than normally is polled in a general election in Alabama.

The voter registration amendment will be No. 4 on the ballot

Boswell Amendment To Call Out Large Vote

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Tues 10-15-46

BY REX THOMAS

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 15—(AP)—An issue so controversial that it has precipitated a Democratic Party split extending even to the governor's office will be decided upon by Alabama voters in the Nov. 5 general election.

It is the Boswell amendment, one of nine proposed changes in the state constitution on which the electorate will vote that day. And from every indication, it will overshadow everything else in the election.

The Boswell plan is an attempt, endorsed by the Democratic party's governing body, to tighten up on voter registration requirements. The controversy centers around two provisions:

1. It would require applicants for registration to be able to "understand and explain" any section of the U. S. Constitution to the satisfaction of county boards of registrars. Under present law they are asked only to be able to read and write it.

2. It would limit registration also to persons of "good character . . . who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a Republican form of government."

* * *

THE LATTER SECTION was written into the constitution in 1901 as part of the "grandfather clause" which expired in 1902.

Advocates of a ratification, led by Gov. Chauncey Sparks himself, say the amendment is necessary to prevent a flood of Negro registration as a result of the U. S. Supreme Court ruling that Negroes cannot be barred from party primaries. In Alabama the primary is the real election.

Opponents of the amendment, at the top of whose list is Gov.-Designate James E. Folsom, contend on the other hand that its provisions are "arbitrary" and could be used to disfranchise whole groups of voters who might not agree politically with the registrars.

* * *

LINED UP WITH SPARKS in support of the Boswell plan are such men as his predecessor, former Gov. Frank Dixon; Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of the State Democratic Executive Committee; Agriculture Commissioner Joe Poole; Atty. Horace C. Wilkinson, of Birmingham; former U. S. Sen. J. Thomas Heflin, and the State Democratic Committee as a group.

Boswell Amendment Argued

The News Birmingham, Ala. Sat. 10-12-46

Gov. Sparks, Poole, Heflin Urge Ratification; Those Against Cry 'Undemocratic, Dictatorial'

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 12—(AP)—Gov. Chauncey Sparks came out this week with his long-awaited statement on the Boswell amendment, and his plea for ratification touched off a barrage of arguments for and against the voter registration proposal.

The governor's appeal followed pretty much the same line taken by other opponents of the move to tighten up on registration requirements in Alabama.

"It must be known by the least informed," he said, "that we have no qualifications for registration now which cannot be met by almost everyone of whatever race."

Under the present law, prospective voters are required either to be able to read and write any section of the U. S. Constitution, or to own $300 worth of property. The amendment, to be voted on Nov. 5, would eliminate the property ownership provision and would make applicants "understand and explain" the constitution to the satis-

Heflin was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1901 which wrote the present law.

On the other side, there arose new appeals from several quarters for defeat of the amendment, which opponents brand as "arbitrary."

The News

DR. LYMAN WARD, Republican nominee for governor, issued a statement from his home in Camp Hill criticizing the requirement that prospective voters must "interpret" the constitution, as he called it.

He suggested, instead, that if a literacy test were desired, it would be better to use a "standard piece of English."

Birmingham, Ala. 10-12-46

A group of ministers representing Protestant denominations in Baldwin County also struck a blow against the vote plan. They adopted a resolution blasting the amendment as a "dictatorial" measure which "involves surrender of the right of franchise of every voter to the control of an unknown group of persons . . . a surrender of all the rights of democracy."

faction of the county boards of registrars.

* * *

THE GOVERNOR'S STATEMENT was followed by an even stronger plea from Agriculture Commissioner Joe Poole, who declared failure of the Boswell plan would lead ultimately to wholesale registration of Negroes and that this would lead to "wholesale bribery and debauchery at the polls."

Others adding their voices to the campaign for ratification included the colorful J. Thomas Heflin, one-time U. S. senator, and the Wilcox County Democratic Executive Committee.

Unwarra

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Much of the fear which has produced the Boswell amendment in Alabama has grown out of the feeling that, if it is not adopted, great numbers of unqualified Negroes will be added to the polling lists, with the result that in some counties Negro domination of local government may follow and in other

McCORVEY'S PAC

The News Birmingham, Ala. Fri. 8-30-46

To the Editor of The News:

On the national level we have three well established political action committees, "The Citizens," "The CIO" and "The PAC of the Arts, Sciences and Professions."

Politics is one of the professions, and the last-mentioned of these three appears to be a political action organization of the "outs" who hope to become "ins" eventually. All three can lobby and electioneer to their heart's content, and consequently they can build up funds for these purposes, and as long as they confine their activities so that they do not come in conflict with national and state laws designed to regulate such activities. This idea of PACs could be extended so that every pressure group among us could have one in the field, and may heaven forbid it, even though it possibly could be construed as democratic.

avowed purpose of electioneering for amendment to the state constitution that is palpably designed to favor the "ins" and to shut out whomsoever the registrars deem it expedient to shut out.

It appears to be perfectly obvious that Mr. McCorvey's proposal that "the State Democratic Executive Committee spend $3,500 in a campaign for adoption of the 'Boswell amendment-the constitutional right of the electorate on 23 under the heading "Is This Democratic?") sought by machine politics of the other hand is a proposal that this committee shall resolve itself into a political action committee for the

This proposal should not be allowed to con- obscure the real issue, which is a very important and controversial one that involves the "ins" and "outs" of the Democratic party. Akron, Ala. BEN T. COUCHMAN

counties Negroes may hold a dangerous balance of power. Sun. 9-15-46

This fear became very active and influential following the Supreme Court's decision in a Texas case holding that Negroes could not be barred from Democratic primaries simply because of color.

Some Democratic leaders in Alabama and other states became convinced that new restrictions were necessary respecting Negro voting. Various moves have been discussed in Southern states. One that has had a good deal of backing would seek to remove Democratic primaries from the jurisdiction of state law. There are strong objections to such a plan, and such an extreme step is not being actively pressed in Alabama. In this state much of the concern centers around what might be the effect of the Supreme Court decision in counties where the Negro population is greater than the white. It is obvious that advocates of the Boswell amendment are not putting it forward as a sound "educational" qualification to be applied without discrimination to all applicants for suffrage, but as a device by which to keep down a flood of registrations which might bring Negro domination in some counties.

* * *

This device would grant boards of registrars a very wide authority under which they could bar applicants on the grounds that they do not "understand" and cannot "explain", the constitution. Obviously registrars could exercise a wide discrimination under such a broad grant of authority. Also restored as a qualification would be a provision requiring that all voters be of "good character" and "understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government."

Now, of course, "good character" is itself subject to wide variation of interpretation, and understanding of the duties of good citizenship under a republican form of government is another proposed provision under which wider latitude would be given registrars—a latitude which, of course, might be extensively abused.

These extreme provisions have been proposed in the honest conviction of many of the amendment advocates that they are desirable as a protective expedient for use, as necessary, to prevent excessive political power being held by Negroes.

* * *

The opposition to the amendment contends that such broad grants of authority would be, in spirit, at least, profoundly in conflict with the Constitution of the United States; that arbitrary power could be exercised under them which would be unjust and dangerous; that the adoption of such means of dealing with the problem would intensify racial tensions.

But, in addition to these grave objections to the amendment, opponents set forth their conviction that such extreme measures are not needed to prevent indiscriminate registration of unqualified persons.

There are, of course, some supporters of the Boswell amendment who are opposed to qualifying any Negro applicants. But we do not believe that is true of a large proportion of these citizens. Most of them, we believe, recognize that it is necessary under the Constitution of the United States and in the name of justice to admit to suffrage those Negroes who can meet fair and reasonable qualification tests.

* * *

There are, of course, qualifications for suffrage under the present state constitution. They stand against indiscriminate registration of voters.

Section 181 of the constitution, which would be amended by the Boswell proposal, declares in its first section that qualification may be met by "those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language, and who are physically unable to work; and those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language, and who have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business or occupation, trade or calling, for the greater part of the 12 months next preceding the time they offer to register; and those who are unable to read and write, if such inability is due solely to physical disability."

Section 182 disqualifies idiots and insane persons and persons convicted of a long list of crimes.

These qualification provisions may not be ideal, but under them there has not been any flood of unwarranted registrations. The Supreme Court decision does not change these provisions. Refusal to register applicants for suffrage has not been based in the past on the broad contention that the Democratic Party could bar voters from its primaries simply on the basis of color. On the contrary, qualified Negro voters have been permitted to participate in Democratic primaries. We do not see that any necessarily dangerous change has been made in this respect by the Supreme Court decision. It has only made explicit what had been more or less accepted as obvious. But so delicate have been relations, so acute have been some fears, that some Southerners have feared that a profound alteration in political control in many parts of the South would quickly result.

We do not look for any such rapid change in Alabama, whether or not the Boswell amendment is approved. But we do believe that its adoption would seriously interfere with the orderly and just meeting of the whole problem of racial relations and suffrage qualifications and might produce dangers far greater than those which are motivating the supporters of the Boswell amendment.

Registration Change Foes Deny Its Claims

News-Age Herald
Birmingham, Ala. Sun. 10-20-46

Opponents of the Boswell Amendment Saturday assailed as "positively erroneous" the claim by advocates of the proposal that there is no retroactive feature in the measure to be voted on in Alabama Nov. 5.

Richard T. Rives, Montgomery lawyer and active campaigner against the amendment; Albert A. Carmichael, also of Montgomery and attorney general - nominate, and others challenged a quoted statement made by the State Democratic Executive Committee that the proposal applied in no manner to any Alabama voter already registered.

Likewise challenged was the committee's further statement, "The franchise of any Alabama voter now duly registered is in no manner endangered by the Boswell Amendment and no re-registration is authorized, permitted or required."

* * *

CITING THE FIRST WORDS of the proposed amendment, "after the first day of January, 1903," Rives and others signing the challenging statement contend that qualifications of any voter who registered since that date could be legally questioned in several ways, if the amendment were adopted.

They contend that the Legislature could require all such voters to re-register, that any voter moving his legal residence from one county to another must re-register and that boards of registrars are empowered to strike from the registration list the names of any electors disqualified.

They state further that the State Constitution guarantees life registration only to those persons who registered prior to Jan. 1, 1903.

Those who issued the challenging statement with Rives and Carmichael were Carroll T. Prince, Mobile; Henry McDaniel, Demopolis; Harry W. Gamble, Selma; Charles L. Hybart, Monroeville; Oscar L. Tompkins, Dothan; Crampton Harris, Birmingham; Vernol R. Jansen, Mobile; Harold M. Cook, Birmingham; George C. Hawkins, Gadsden; Albert A. and Mrs. Ida D. Rosenthal, Birmingham; Ramon L. Farnell, Nesbit Elmore and Jack Crenshaw, all of Montgomery.

* * *

THEIR FULL STATEMENT follows:

The State Democratic Executive Committee, favoring the adoption of Amendment No. 4, known as the Boswell Amendment, has made the following statements:

"There is absolutely no retroactive feature in the Boswell Amendment. It applies in no manner whatsoever to voters who are already registered. The franchise of any Alabama voter now duly registered is in no manner endangered by the Boswell Amendment and no re-registration is authorized, permitted or required."

The quoted statements, in our opinion, are positively erroneous.

The first 10 words of the Boswell Amendment are: "After the first day of January, nineteen hundred and three." (General Acts Alabama 1945, P. 551). That amendment then prescribes as additional qualifications for electors that the elector must be able to understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States; must be a person of good character, and must understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government. If the amendment is adopted, then those additional qualifications would be applicable to every person registered after the first day of January, 1903, whenever such person's right to registration might be legally questioned. Our State Constitution guarantees life registration to those persons only who registered prior to Jan. 1, 1903. (Constitution, Sec. 187.)

* * *

THE QUALIFICATIONS of any voter who has registered since that date can be legally questioned in several ways:

1. The Legislature can require all such voters to re-register.

2. Under the law as it now exists, if any such voter changes his legal residence from one county to another, he must re-register in the county of his new residence. (Code 1940, Tit. 17, Sec. 36, Shepherd vs. Sartain, 185 Ala. 439, 64 So. 57.)

3. The present law (Code 1940, Tit. 17, Secs. 44 and 47) requires each Board of Registrars to meet for one week every year for purging the registration list, and provides that the names of those disqualified as electors under the constitution shall be stricken from the registration list.

* * *

IN THE EVENT of the adoption of the Boswell Amendment, if the qualifications of any voter registered since Jan. 1, 1903, are questioned in either of these methods, and if that voter cannot prove to the satisfaction of the Board of Registrars that he is of good character, understands the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government, and can understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States, then the voter may be disfranchised.

We feel it proper to call attention to the potential use of that power to deny freedom of speech and expression to a prospective candidate for political office, or to any citizen actively opposed to a political boss or machine which might be in control of a board of registrars. Such a candidate or citizen, if he refused to bow to the will of those in control, could be cited to appear before the board, his name could be purged from the poll list, and he could be disfranchised. Whether such a power would long remain in disuse, human nature and practical politics being what they are, is a question to be considered by every elector before he casts his vote on Nov. 5.

A Bad Amendment

News Birmingham, Ala. Wed. 10-26-46

The Alabama Democratic Executive Committee has voted to spend $3,500 for promotion of the Boswell amendment. This decision was reached at the suggestion of Chairman McCorvey and in the teeth of stout protests from at least three committeemen who went on record as objecting to so plain a misuse of party funds. Mr. McCorvey is regarded as the real power behind the Boswell amendment and is quite standably ready to worship at the shrine of his own making, as Mohammed did of old. But that is no reason why the party should have to pay the bill. Yet this action is of a piece with the whole enterprise of foisting upon the state a suffrage regulation which cannot be justified except in terms of a blind adherence to a false "white supremacy." When the United States Supreme Court ruled against the old assumption under which white primaries have been operating, statesmanship of the Alabama Legislature might have led to an honest and enlightened adjustment, with equal facility. For registrars are not in a position to impose valid tests. They are not expected to do that. The Boswell amendment merely gives them additional leeway to indulge in arbitrary winnowing of applicants. It is a mockery to clothe registrars with sweeping authority with respect to something quite different—an intractable issue upon which the Supreme Court renders split opinions.

A provision which allows a person to register under a property qualification is to be stricken. In lieu thereof, would-be voters are to be called on to prove to the satisfaction of registrars that they understand and can explain any article of the Constitution of the United States. This is aimed at Negro citizens, but it can be used against whites with equal facility. For registrars are not in a position to impose valid tests. They are not expected to do that. The Boswell amendment merely gives them additional leeway to indulge in arbitrary winnowing of applicants. It is a mockery to clothe registrars with sweeping authority with respect to something quite different—an intractable issue upon which the Supreme Court renders split opinions.

Boswell Amendment Will Solve No Problems

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 10-23-46

Study of the many arguments relating to the proposed tightening of registration requirements leads to the conclusion that the Boswell Amendment should be defeated at the polls Nov. 5.

The debate has focused attention on the avowed plan to prevent increased Negro voting. This purpose could be served no more than temporarily if the amendment is adopted.

We may as well face the facts squarely. If applicants for registration are required to "understand and explain" any section of the Constitution of the United States, the one relating to "no discrimination because of race, creed or color" will hardly be selected for the test. But it has been made clear by recent Supreme Court decisions that the Federal government has the power to enforce that provision. And it has been made clear by the campaigns of various organizations that nothing will be left undone to have that power enforced.

All voters should be of good character and have an understanding of the duties and obligations of good citizenship, and they should be able to understand and explain the Constitution within the reasonable limits of the education required for average laymen's occupations. But this will not be accomplished through an amendment designed to prevent "mass registration" by Negroes. This amendment can only bring a bitter fight through the courts, and probably physical clashes.

Discretion placed with boards of registrars by the amendment might, or might not, be abused. But the wording of this measure leaves the way open for abuse. There are now suits pending against registrars who have denied certain Negroes registration under the existing provision in the Constitution. The board of Macon County has resigned because of the difficult situation and there are no applicants for the vacancies. Does anyone think the places on these boards will be any more popular if the Boswell Amendment is adopted and they become centers of constant controversy?

Every qualified elector not prevented by illness or other specific reason should inform himself on every issue and vote in every election. But we have many times seen fewer than half participating at the ballot box and seldom more than 75 per cent of those eligible cast votes in an election. If there is a heavy increase in the number of Negroes registered it will at least serve the purpose of making the white people take their citizenship responsibilities more seriously.

Certain minimum requirements for registration would have sound reasoning on their side. Intelligent voting cannot be expected from illiterate persons, whatever their color.

Had this amendment carried provisions that would automatically apply to all alike, just as the resident rules do, then it could be defended and sustained. The element of discretion injected here, with its avowed purposes, opens the way for successful attack.

It is reasonable to eliminate the present alternative that ownership of $300 worth of property or 40 acres of land is qualification for registration. It would appear reasonable to set a minimum education requirement, based on completion of certain standard schooling, or alternative tests, which would automatically apply to all applicants.

But the designers of the Boswell Amendment did not approach the problem in the light of all the known elements affecting it. Even if their objective is desirable, the method will not succeed.—Gadsden Times.

When Lawyers Disagree

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Would the Boswell amendment, if passed, endanger the franchise of persons already registered? The question has been a moot one, but 16 lawyers, including Albert A. Carmichael, attorney general-nominate, have joined in a statement declaring that passage of the amendment would require the reregistration of all voters whose right to vote is challenged by the registrars. Tues. 10-22-46

The 16 lawyers are positive in their statements. They declare that the claim made in advertisements of the State Democratic Executive Committee favoring the adoption of the amendment that "there is absolutely no retroactive feature in the Boswell amendment" is "positively erroneous." Here's the gist of their argument: Under the Boswell amendment, all voters who have registered since Jan. 1, 1903 (and that means the great majority), hold the franchise subject only to the will of boards of registrars. Every year registrars are required to purge the electoral lists of disqualified persons. Voters moving to another county must register in the new county. Because of these two provisions in the existing law, the Boswell amendment would give registrars the right to compel every voter who has registered since Jan. 1, 1903, to prove that he was of good character, understood the duties and obligations of good citizenship, and could understand and explain any article of the constitution.

That is what these 16 lawyers say. Many other lawyers agree with them. Regardless of which view might be correct, adoption of an amendment of such dubious nature would be a grievous error. The very possibility that such sweeping control over the election lists should be placed in the arbitrary hands of a few men should be enough to defeat the amendment.

Undoubtedly some of the aims of those who drafted and passed the Boswell amendment in the State Legislature were good. But the measure is so faulty, it carries so many risks to so many people of so many classes that it should be rejected.

Tell It To Old Grandma

SEES AMENDMENT AS "UN-CHRISTIAN"

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

I find that as a minister I cannot support the Boswell Amendment in a Christian Democracy for two reasons. In the first place, from its intent and purpose, it is doubtful that it is Christian; and in the second place it is surely not democratic.

In a Christian Democracy we profess to believe in the "infinite worth of every individual" and in "liberty and justice for ALL." It needs to be emphasized that Amendment XV still remains which says, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." If a state deliberately, through political chicanery, destroys the foundation upon which it was built, it invites the inevitable discord and strife which follows.

How well I am aware of the abuse of power already invested in County Boards of Registrars which the Boswell Amendment would make supreme in determining the "worth" of individuals to vote. A resident of Montgomery presented his qualifications to the Board. He was a college graduate having done work on his Ph.D. degree. He was a Christian minister, a college professor, director of the U. S. O., and a highly respected citizen. However, according to the Board, he was not "the type" person who should be voting. He was a negro. Under the present laws which are inadequate also, he was finally registered under the protest of the Board, because two white citizens had "vouched" for him. The two citizens were immediately "blackballed." Such a ridiculous situation would only be intensified under a law which left final authority in the hands of a few such demagogues.

The time has passed when citizens of a Christian Democracy should talk about "white supremacy" or "black supremacy." It is now time to stand for "Right Supremacy." We have laws which are impartially administered without regard to race, creed or color. These should be applied to the franchise. We may accept the fascist philosophy which denies the rights of minorities, or Democracy, which recognizes the inalienable rights of EVERY individual. I believe the people of Alabama will continue to choose Christian Democracy.

DAN WHITSETT, Minister
The Methodist Church
Marianna, Fla. Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 10-23-46

* * * *

A FEW "democrats" NEEDED

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

Just a common citizen and democrat thinks that "just the right kind of people" to vote would include a few others than inferiority complexes, intolerants, and hypocrites. In a Democratic primary there should be at least a few democrats, with the little "d."

No needed amendment needs any false declarations. No amendment of "good character" would contain one. Montgomery, Ala.

Amendment No. 4 contains three:

1. **After January 1, 1903,** no person may qualify to vote unless able to **understand** any article in the U. S. Constitution.
2. **After January 1, 1903,** no person may qualify to vote unless able to **explain** any article in the U. S. Constitution.
3. **After January 1, 1903,** no person may qualify except those of **good character.**

Each of these is a false representation of Alabama covering a period of 43 years and millions of citizens.

To ratify this amendment would legalize these falsities, and as falsehood and good character are never compatible it follows, that: Wed. 10-23-46

By authority of the Boswell Amendment (itself) any Board of Registrars may legally disqualify, or refuse to register, any person known to endorse said Boswell Amendment.

Desperately vote-scared politicians are using the Party's money to put over this anti-democratic measure . . .

T. W. KELLEY

Ariton, Ala.,
Rt. 3

FOR COMMON PEOPLE

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

Please publish these few lines for me. I notice in Mr. Roy E. Thorington's letter several days ago that he was against the Boswell Amendment but wanted the present registration board laws tightened up. He said he knew a man that couldn't read nor write that had been voting all these years. Montgomery, Ala. Thurs. 10-10-46

My Dear Mr. Thorington, would you be so little and so unjust to that class of people that have been so unfortunate and hadicapped that they had no opportunity whatsoever to get an education? Just like myself and thousands of others, there are just as good, straight, honest gentlemen in Alabama that can't read or write, as the highly educated. These uneducated people stay at home, work like the devil to make an honest living and to have something to sell to help feed and clothe the world. The most of this class of people pay Federal, State and County taxes. It would be a shame and a disgrace to the State of Alabama to pass a law that would take their birthright away from these good, honest citizens and not let them vote. I am in favor of education 100 percent, but when a man just can't get it, I don't believe in throwing him away.

I never saw many hoboes in my life but what had a fair education. Nearly all the bank robbers and gangsters have a fair education. The penitentiaries are full of young men under 45 years old that have a fair education. Then the very idea of taking a good, honest, hard-working citizen's birthright away from him just because he can't read and write. God forbid! God made us all equal in his own image, not just a few rich crooked politicians, but all of us.

They say the Boswell Amendment will keep the Negro from voting. It sounds to me like Mr. Thorington wants to keep the poor working, uneducated white man from voting. If a Negro is honest and upright and can qualify to vote, let him vote. Give the Negro what justly and honestly belongs to him and make him stay in his place. That's what we will do here in the South, but for God's sake don't take the poor, hard-working white man's birthright away from him just because he was unfortunate and couldn't learn how to read and write. If he has paid Federal, State and County taxes I feel like he has just as much right to vote as Mr. Thorington, Chauncey Sparks, Frank Dixon, or Bud Boswell.

Well, I hope and pray to God I can live to see something on the front page of the paper besides Henry Wallace, the Boswell Amendment, the atomic bomb, and the O. P. A. I don't believe Mr. Bonner, of Camden, Ala., believes the Negroes will ever have control of his county or any county in the State of Alabama. I am just like Mr. Faulkner says about the Boswell Amendment.

ALLIE SANSOM

425 Herron St.,
Montgomery

P. S.: It don't take education and fine clothes to make a gentleman or a lady. I have seen just as fine a gentleman in blue overalls as I ever seen in broadcloth, and I have seen just as fine ladies in a homespun dress as I ever seen in silk or satin. So there you are, don't knock the poor common people—we are God's people.

State Press On The Boswell Amendment

Birmingham
Oct 16, 1946

BY J. F. ROTHERMEL

A majority of the newspapers of Alabama which have expressed themselves on the subject are opposed to the Boswell (No. 4) amendment. Counting only the newspapers of general circulation, 15 are opposed to the amendment and 13 are for it. Added to the newspapers in opposition could be counted several weeklies of special circulation, including representatives of the religious and the Negro press.

The figures above include only those newspapers which have taken positive and definite stands in regard to the issue. The papers represent a good cross-section of Alabama thought, although it must be noted that only a minority of the press so far has taken a position. Why more of the 19 dailies and the 133 weeklies of general circulation in the state have not expressed themselves on this important and controversial issue is difficult to answer.

A larger percentage of dailies than of weeklies have lined up either for or against the constitutional change. Six dailies are definitely against the amendment and five are for it. Among the general circulation weeklies, nine are against it and eight for it. At least three newspapers of special circulation are opposed to it.

Daily newspapers against the amendment are The Montgomery Advertiser, The Anniston Star, The Decatur Daily, The Huntsville Times, The Birmingham News and The Birmingham Age-Herald. Dailies for the amendment are The Dothan Eagle, The Selma Times-Journal, Opelika Daily News, Alabama Journal and Talladega Daily Home.

Weeklies against the amendment include: Baldwin Times (Bay Minette), Lee County Bulletin (Auburn), Brewton Standard, Piedmont Journal, Hale County News (Moundville), DeKalb Times (Fort Payne), Cullman Tribune, Florala News and The Jacksonville Record. Weeklies for it are: Shelby County Democrat (Columbiana), Clarke County Democrat (Grove Hill), Marion Times-Standard, Cleburne News (Heflin), Greenville Advocate, Franklin County Times (Russellville), Sylacauga News and Etowah News-Journal (Attalla).

Naturally, the positions of these newspapers are varied. They represent many shades of opinion. But let the papers speak for themselves. What follows represents an attempt to give a fair expression of each paper's viewpoint.

* * *

For the amendment:

Talladega Daily Home—"Despite the hue and cry of every 'liberal' and leftist influence in the state, the Boswell amendment is designed simply to keep the government of the state and its subdivisions in the hands of the white man. To that end it gives a wider grant of authority to registrars to withhold qualification for suffrage. . . . We invite every Alabamian to consider those who are most vigorous in opposition to the amendment, and then to consider what giant strides already have been made in destruction of ancient safeguards."

The Dothan Eagle—"Opponents of the amendment, rising mainly from the ranks of the so-called 'liberal' elements . . . at present are centering their attack on one section of the amendment. That section would bestow broad powers on boards of registrars in determining what new voters should be added to the list. We concede that the amendment would establish broad authority. But we don't agree that it is the bugaboo that opponents of the amendment try to make it out to be. . . . The scare . . . falls pretty flat."

The Selma Times-Journal—"The constitutional change proposed to place the voting franchise under desirable restraints in this state is not the vicious and dangerous measure it has been pictured. . . . The Black Belt faces a grave menace in the possibility of unrestrained voting." (The Selma paper attacks efforts against the amendment as "the ill-directed ardor of youthful visionaries.")

Alabama Journal—"This is the Halloween season, but don't let the excitable opponents of the Boswell amendment scare you. . . . Vote for (it) as a new guarantee of self-determination to yourself and to your children."

Opelika Daily News—"We are at the moment inclined to vote for the Boswell amendment, in which event we shall never cease to publicly demand that the provisions of the proposal, if adopted into law, be strictly observed and enforced among both races. It would be inexcusable sham to register a white man no more familiar with the constitution than a colored man appearing at his side seeking registration. And we need not kid ourselves that the U. S. courts will not be keeping a close eye on this point."

* * *

Sylacauga News—"In spite of the fact that we believe the Boswell amendment to be a poor substitute for more intelligent legislation, we will support it as the choice of two evils. . . . (We) put our faith and trust in the Legislature of Alabama, hoping they will use the amendment, if enacted into law, as a basis for new legislation that will be fairer, less prejudicial and more democratic."

Franklin County Times—"We have no grudge against the Negro. . . . But they, if the present plan is let alone, at least many of them, will become tools in the hands of the Communists . . . and . . . will undertake to destroy our form of government."

Greenville Advocate—"(The members of the Alabama Legislature) thought it best to amend the constitution in this manner, and we agree."

Marion Times-Standard—"From The Times-Standard's point of view, the proposed amendment is class legislation, directed against the Negro, and is therefore neither democratic nor honest if we place a strict interpretation upon those words. We recognize the Boswell amendment as a legal ruse, but one that is born of necessity and designed to serve the best interests of both races. It is the only means short of intimidation and violence by which the people of the Black Belt can preserve the political and social conditions which have enabled the white man and the Negro to work and live in peace in Alabama."

Shelby County Democrat—"The provisions in the Boswell amendment seeking to raise the qualifications for voting privileges seem to us very necessary ones. . . . We stress education in every walk of life. Why should we discard 'intelligent understanding' on the part of the electorate? . . . We can think of no more disastrous end to our democracy here in Alabama than to turn the decision of our destiny over to ill-informed people who can be easily emotionally swayed or commercially controlled by high-powered leaders."

Clarke County Democrat—"When our 'liberal' leaders come forward with a plan which will assure the proper safeguards for those counties with a dominant Negro population, we will consider supporting such a plan. We would have preferred some control measure fashioned along different lines from the Boswell amendment, but as we consider some control measure necessary, and this is the only one available to us at this time, we shall support it."

* * *

Cleburne News—"The amendment is being opposed vigorously by socialistic and left-wing elements in Alabama. They want to see our old election rules done away with. They want to gain control of the ballot through a mass Negro vote. This group is being championed by The Birmingham News-Age-Herald and The Montgomery Advertiser, whose radical philosophies are well known."

Etowah News-Journal—"Adoption of the Boswell amendment is the only course short of violence to maintain a white ballot. Alabama people are determined to keep their Democratic primaries free of the carpetbag racial disturbers. . . . With but three exceptions, every daily newspaper in Alabama is owned and controlled by carpetbagger politicians."

* * *

Against the amendment:

Anniston Star—"It seems safe to predict that Alabama voters will reject the iniquitous Boswell amendment. . . . The amendment embodies several provisions which, in our opinion, are extreme. . . . Wide exercise of the franchise offers one of the surest safeguards against corruption in public office; therefore, our efforts should be aimed at extending the right to vote, not at curbing it capriciously. . . . Ostensibly, the Boswell monstrosity is calculated to keep the Negroes from voting. But really it is to keep the vote of all Alabamians restricted because . . . it is easier to control an election if the vote is small."

Decatur Daily—"We are against the Boswell amendment because there is already sufficient constitutional safeguard in Alabama concerning voting. Moreover, the amendment would serve minority and not majority causes. Alabama needs more voters. Alabama needs more voters to vote."

Huntsville Times—"The basic objection to the Boswell amendment is that it substitutes for law the whims of three men in each county. . . . Registrars should not be vested with such broad powers of discretion. . . . The social equality issue is without point, and just a red herring designed to befog the real issue. . . . The Boswell plan . . . is aimed specifically at Negro voters, but in taking a swipe at them it also endangers the suffrage of white men."

Montgomery Advertiser—"There should be no mistake about the real issue at stake in the Boswell amendment. It is democracy versus oligarchy. . . . We oppose the amendment on principle. We contend that this piece of legalistic mumbo-jumbo offers no honest test of any voter's qualifications. . . . Let every citizen read the amendment for himself and decide: Is it honest? Is it necessary? Is it democratic?"

Brewton Standard—"The Boswell amendment . . . is a haphazard piece of legislation. It would be impractical to enforce it in either spirit or letter, and it would permit unscrupulous men to build a statewide organization for keeping themselves in power. . . . The amendment is not the solution for the delicate problem facing nearly every county and city in Alabama."

Lee County Bulletin—"The Boswell amendment would place in the hands of a few people the absolute power to say whether or not an applicant shall be allowed to register. Only the most naive would hold that such power might never be misused or lead to corruption of the ballot. . . . Our present registration laws are safeguards aplenty against wholesale registration of unqualified applicants."

Baldwin Times—"The Times regards the amendment as thoroughly undemocratic and probably unconstitutional because it is designed to limit the use of the ballot to those voters favored by those who are in political power. Its potentialities for abuse are tremendous and dangerous."

Piedmont Journal and Jacksonville Record—"As well-meaning as may be the purpose behind this amendment, its adoption would place unprecedented and arbitrary powers in the hands of . . . registrars. . . . We do not relish adopting such a fantastic scheme of class and political discrimination which, in the hands of unscrupulous politicians, might work to deplorable embarrassment and nuisance to many humble but worthy citizens."

Hale County News—"Moundville is in the Black Belt section of the state, but The News does not believe the Boswell amendment solves any problem. . . . It should be defeated for it will turn out to be nothing but an unworkable farce."

Space does not permit quotations from other weeklies of general circulation, or from Negro or labor papers also opposed to the amendment. The minority point of view that one finds in most of these can be summarized, perhaps, by a single quotation from The Catholic Week, which is the official organ of the Mobile Diocese (Alabama and West Florida) for the Catholic Church: "Such authority as granted by the Boswell amendment would give the registration boards arbitrary powers with which they could rule the state with totalitarian effect. Not only could they rule out the undesirable Negro, but also the undesirable whites."

Voice Of The People

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Fri. 10-18-46

NO WHISPERING CAMPAIGN

To the Editor of The News:

We have two weekly newspapers published in Hale County. One at the county seat, The Greensboro Watchman, indorses the Boswell amendment, while the other, The Hale County News, of Moundville, opposes it, saying, "The News believes that the Boswell amendment should be defeated, for it will turn out to be nothing but an unworkable farce."

I would say that this, coming from The Moundville News, which is in the Black Belt section of the state, is somewhat like "shouting from the housetops." Surely it is not what even the State Democratic Executive Committee would call a "whispering campaign." The committee's literature warns voters to beware of "whispering campaign."

As the U. S. Constitution figures largely in this controversy, the purposes its framer's had in mind should not be overlooked. Every word in the preamble thereto has a direct bearing on the subject under discussion as well as the entire present situation the world over. Here is the preamble:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Putting my view of the Boswell amendment mildly, I simply cannot reconcile its purposes, which are openly avoked, as conducive to the "general welfare" or any other of the worthy purposes set forth in this preamble, which begins with "We the people."

Akron, Ala. BEN T. COUCHMAN.

200-Member Board Is Named To Boost Boswell Plan Vote This Evening

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 10-20-46

MOBILE, ALA., Oct. 19—(AP)—Appointment of a 200-member advisory committee to help direct the fight for adoption of the controversial Boswell vote-restricting amendment was announced tonight by Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of the State Democratic executive committee.

Included in the group of well-known Alabamians were Gov. Chauncey Sparks, Former Gov. Frank Dixon, and four of the six living members of the 1901 Constitutional Convention which set up the present voting requirements.

The four are A. H. Carmichael, Tuscumbia; Judge Norvelle R. Leigh, Jr., Mobile; Erle Pettus, Birmingham, and Massey Wilson, Oak Hill. In addition, McCorvey said a fifth member, former U. S. Senator J. Tom Heflin, of LaFayette, had endorsed the proposal.

The committee included:

H. R. Batchelor, Anniston; Robert K. Bell, Huntsville; G. Clairborner Blanton, Selma; W. Taylor Boyd, Gadsden; Rep. Frank W. Boykin, Mobile; John Brandon, Montgomery. Montgomery Ala

Lucien P. Burns, Selma; A. D. Carmichael, Dothan; Silas D. Cater, Montgomery; R. H. Cochrane, Tuscaloosa; William E. Crawford, Decatur; B. P. Crum, Montgomery; Frank S. Daniel, Tuscaloosa; W. C. Farmer, Dothan; Hunt Frasier, Selma; W. G. Hardwick, Dothan. The Advertiser

Malcomb Harper, Montgomery; Norman W. Harris, Decatur; Rep. Sam Hobbs, Selma; DeVane K. Jones, Tuscaloosa; George Bliss Jones, Florence; Alto V. Lee, Dothan; R. J. Lowe, Huntsville; John A. Lusk, Jr., Gadsden; Mrs. A. Y. Malone, Dothan; Wallace D. Malone, Dothan; Thomas H. Maxwell, Tuscaloosa; James A. McCollum, Tuscaloosa; John D. McQueen, Jr., Tuscaloosa; Attorney General William N. McQueen, Montgomery; H. D. Merrill, Anniston; Walter J. Merrill, Anniston; J. W. Mustin, Jr., Tuscaloosa; Lawrence T. Oakley, Dothan; Robert Linn O'Neal, Huntsville; Agriculture Commissioner Joe N. Poole, Butler Springs; Walter J. Price, Huntsville; Lew A. Sanderson, Montgomery; John B. Scott, Montgomery; Ed F. Taylor Montgomery; Rutledge S. Thomas, Decatur; Hayse Tucker, Montgomery; Jesse M. Williams, Jr., Montgomery; C. H. Young, Anniston.

Sun. 10-20-46

DEVIOUS DEMAGOGY

The News Birmingham, Ala

On this the day before Nov. 5, little which is new can be said about the Boswell amendment. The arguments are in. After all the clamor pro and con, the voice of the people will now be heard. It isn't hazarding much to say that if enough voters go to the polls, this amendment will be snowed under. It is by now revealed as a fraud, based upon a delusion and intended as a snare. Urged as a device to bar Negroes from voting, it is actually a thrust at white Alabamians. Albert Carmichael made that clear enough in the eloquent statement he issued Sunday. The old trick of shouting "white supremacy" and knifing the progressive forces of the state is being tried again. But it will not succeed because the intelligence and decency of our people have gone into action.

That intelligence and decency cannot help noting the lavish use of funds by supporters of the amendment. Radio time, advertising space and wide distribution of literature cost money, more money than the $3,500 egregiously appropriated out of party funds by the state executive committee. Where has all this lucre been coming from? Sen. Hill was berated when he asserted that certain interests have gone to the rescue of their old friends in the Black Belt. It begins to look as though he knew what he was talking about. The Boswellians have not been using hay to bolster up their campaign. Anyone with eyes to see and ears to hear must realize that organized backers of the amendment have plenty of coin of the realm.

But that will not avail them, though they have the courthouse politicians behind them and though they have charge of the election machinery. It will not avail them because they are fighting the moral sense of the community. The cry of "Vote right, vote white, vote Christian," was answered the other day by the Baptist clergy of Birmingham, who declared: "We as Christian ministers decry the appeal to Christianity as the reason for support of the Boswell amendment." And as though to clinch this repudiation of an effort to exploit religion for an unrighteous cause 80 Alabama churchmen of all creeds went on record Friday in a denunciation of the amendment. News 11-4

That is not surprising, because many pro-amendment appeals have shown the stigmata of Ku Klux Klan thinking. It is not surprising, because these men of God are also aware of the fascist animus which impels some of the Boswell exhorters. The issue of this contest is now plain enough. It involves a choice between hysteria and common sense, between retreating 50 years and living up to our best instincts, between yielding to reactionism and facing up boldly and constructively to the major challenge of Southern life. The Boswell amendment is a symbol of all which has held this section down and should be rejected in proof of the courage and understanding with which Southerners of this generation are confronting their future.

Proponents have had to rely exclusively upon an emotional appeal. They haven't a leg to stand on when logic or reason comes into play. That is why they have been driven to distorting facts. They conjure up a horrid vision of mass voting by Negroes as though our whole system of registration were non-existent. They keep on talking about the Supreme Court decision about primaries, although it has nothing to do with registration. They ask Alabamians to accept their nightmares as realities. They set up straw men and knock them down and expect the rest of us to join a movement so obviously unnecessary, dishonest and backward-looking. Our state has seldom seen a campaign comparable to this in calculated misrepresentation deliberately aimed at arousing fear and prejudice as the basis for political action.

It is a desperate venture, as the shrillness of its orators demonstrates. They see the handwriting on the wall. They know that what they propose has been weighed in the balances and found wanting. They have a premonition of what people will say on Tuesday. They move in the darkness of their own blind passion. Like Robert Frost's neighbor, they repeat the nonsense of their old war cries. But it will not profit them. The Boswell amendment is a more or less conscious effort to substitute for rational consideration of a grave issue the passion-tearing which has been the stock in trade of demagogues like Talmadge until his very name has come to mean something distasteful in the eyes of reasonable Southerners. To deal with the problem of democracy, as affecting both whites and Negroes, we do not have to rave with Rankin or bleed with Bilbo.

PRAISES GOVERNOR SPARKS

The Advertiser

Editor, The Advertiser:

Gov. Sparks' answer to the questionnaire of some Northerners a few days ago, I think is the soundest, the most commendable, and by far the most common horse sense attitude taken by any one on the issues and arguments brought forth by the writers and speakers of either side in the much discussed Boswell Amendment controversy.

It is so simple, so matter of fact, I like to have it so said that a dullard could see the efficacy of it. If the Eleanors of the North would keep their fingers out of our pie, all would be well down here in this sun-kissed land, where the gulf breezes blow, and the mocking birds awake us in the dawn of each new day. Montgomery, Ala

The understanding between the two races in Alabama is 98 per cent perfect, with less than one-half of one per cent friction. I commend Gov. Sparks for his forthright views.

JOE W. KING

Sun. 11-17-46

Pinckard, Ala.

Folsom Opposes Boswell Plan

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Plans Stump Battle On Vote Restriction

Sat. 10-5-46

BIRMINGHAM—Big Jim Folsom, Alabama governor-elect, who won his campaign on a social reform platform including poll tax repeal, went a step further than was expected last week, when he declared that he will take the stump against the Boswell amendment to the state constitution.

Observers close to the wealthy insurance magnate predicted earlier that he would fight the proposal, which seeks to tighten voting qualifications, utterly disfranchising Negroes. It will be voted on in the Nov. 5th general election. The governor-elect not only condemned the measure in the first formal statement he has made on it since May, but announced that he will tour the state speaking against it.

To Speak After Tour

The statement came just before Folsom left for an American Legion convention in California. He told reporters that he would arrange a speaking schedule when he returned to the state.

The controversial measure would repeal the $300 property ownership provision for voting in Alabama, but the joker in it is that all applicants must interpret the U. S. constitution to the satisfaction of registrars. Such a device, Negro leaders pointed out, would completely disfranchise Negroes and poor whites, along with anyone else opposing a Bourbon power bloc.

The fight over the Boswell amendment has split the Democratic party in the state, with incumbent Governor Sparks, who favored tightening voting requirements, promising stump speeches on the measure. The state Democratic Executive committee also favors the amendment.

Program Fight Looms

Meanwhile speculation has centered around the liberal Folsom platform which calls for poll tax repeal, $50 old age pensions for people over 65, and $1,800 annual minimum salaries for school teachers. Folsom announced that he would visit all members of the legislature to explain his program. Clarence Inzer, lieutenant governor designate, who will preside over the Senate, and will make committee appointments said he will place no barriers in the path of Folsom's program.

Both branches of the legislature have promised Folsom a fair hearing on his legislative proposals. Opposition is shaping up around legislative reapportionment, the tax fight and a possible constitutional convention. However, throughout the state, Negro leaders have backed the poll tax repeal fight, and the campaign against the Boswell amendment.

Boswell Plan Blasted Anew By R. T. Rives

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Fri. 9-27-46

Attorney Says Voters Under 69 Face Loss Of Life Franchise

"If the Boswell Amendment is passed, the franchise of every Alabama voter under the age of 69 will be in danger," Col. Richard T. Rives, prominent Montgomery attorney who has been actively campaigning against the proposed amendment, declared yesterday.

Speaking before the Exchange Club at the Whitley Hotel, Rives attacked the controversial proposal on five counts, calling it arbitrary, unnecessary, dishonest, undemocratic and dangerous.

The so-called Boswell Amendment, which will be referred to a popular vote at the general elections on Nov. 5, would require that eligible voters be able to read and explain any portion of the state and federal constitutions, be of good character, and understand and perform the duties of a good citizen.

"If passed, the amendment will be retroactive to Jan. 1, 1903, the date on which the present state constitution was adopted," Rives explained. "Consequently, no voter in the state would be guaranteed of a life franchise unless he had registered prior to that date, and only those voters who are 69 or over could fall in that group." Fri. 9-27-46

"It does not even require an act of the State Legislature to call a re-registration. The law requires that the registrars meet once every two years to purge from the lists all unqualified voters, and if the Boswell amendment is adopted, any voter who has registered since 1903 could be called up before the registrars for reconsideration and asked to explain the constitution."

Emphasizing his belief that the amendment would be dangerous, Rives pointed out that it would be possible for an unscrupulous administration to appoint sympathetic registrars which could limit eligible voters to the extent it would be impossible to oust the corrupt administration.

Rives reiterated his stand that passage of the Boswell proposal is unnecessary in maintaining white supremacy, which he termed "an ugly issue, one which would be brought up only in the most extreme circumstance."

"Although the maintenance of white supremacy is the avowed purpose of the proponents of the amendment, its passage could very conceivably endanger the voting privilege of an overwhelming majority of the white voters of the state," he declared.

Guests introduced at the Exchange Club meeting were Edward Faulkner, of Birmingham, Mrs. Neal Spendiff, and Henry L. Lyon.

President G. E. Suddith announced that the program committee for October would be made up of John Chisholm, chairman, Rev. Samuel R. Jones, Walter fuss, Joe Petranka, and Charles Bragg Smith, Cantwell Mucken-Burns

State's Voters Go To Polls Decide On Boswell Issue

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Tues. 11-5-46

Amendment No. 4 Is Storm Center Of Today's General Election; Ballot Lighter Than In Primary Expected

Alabama voters went to the polls today beneath low hanging clouds which early held the threat of rain to elect a governor and other state and federal officers and to decide the fate of nine proposed amendments to the constitution, including the controversial and vote-restricting Boswell proposal.

While the outcome of today's election was hardly a secret so far as the election of new officers and the ratification of most of the pending amendments were concerned, result of balloting on the Boswell amendment remained uncertain long after the polls opened.

Although Alabama voters set a new all-time voting record in the May 7 Democratic primary and almost duplicated the record in the June runoff, indications were that today's voting, despite the raging controversy over the Boswell amendment, would fall far short of primary records.

Estimates were that slightly more than one-third of the vote cast May 7—something more than 366,000—would be turned in at the state's more than 2,300 polling places today. On that basis the total should be around 150,000.

* * *

TODAY'S BALLOTING FOLLOWED a raging controversy between proponents and opponents of the Boswell amendment which extended to every county in the state. The amendment, which would make it virtually impossible for Negroes to register and vote, held the spotlight throughout the pre-election campaign. Campaigning for and against the proposal continued until the eve of today's election.

Campaigning for and against the Boswell proposal came to a close with rival radio broadcasts. Opponents delivered their final shot at the amendment in a state-wide appeal in which Gov.-Nominate James E. Folsom, Atty.-Gen.-Nominate Albert A. Carmichael, Richard T. Rives, Montgomery attorney, and Charles Dobbins, Montgomery newspaper man, were heard. Former Gov. Frank Dixon delivered the closing appeal for ratification, also in a statewide radio hookup.

Earlier yesterday the campaign against the amendment was accelerated by adoption of a resolution, 57 to 13, by the Birmingham Pastors Union, condemning the Boswell amendment as unworthy of consideration.

Action of the voters in today's election was merely a rubber stamping of the outcome of the May and June Democratic primaries as far as state and federal officers are concerned.

Folsom, who defeated Lt. Gov. Handy Ellis, in upset races last May and June, was certain to be elected governor—by a wide margin—over his Republican opponent, Dr. Lyman Ward, of Camp Hill.

* * *

REP. JOHN J. SPARKMAN, of the Eighth District, was unopposed for U. S. senator, but had opposition in Arthur South, Florence Republican, for reelection as congressman. Sparkman was expected to achieve the distinction of being one of the few men to be elected to two high offices in the same election. He plans to resign as congressman between now and January and is scheduled to be succeeded in the House by Judge Bob Jones, of Scottsboro, the Democratic nominee, who will be elected in a special general election in the near future.

In the other state and district races at stake in today's election the candidates were as follows:

Lieutenant governor, J. C. Inzer, Gadsden, Democrat, and W. J. Kennamer, Woodville, Republican.

Attorney general, Albert A. Carmichael, Montgomery, Democrat, and Murphy, Huntsville, Republican.

The News

State auditor, Dan Thomas, Winfield, Democrat, and Charles H. Hembree, Mobile, Republican.

Secretary of State, Miss Sibyl Pool, Linden, Democrat, and Cyrus Kitchens, Oneonta, Republican.

State superintendent of education, Dr. A. R. Meadows, Montgomery, Democrat, and Fred Allen, Calera, Republican.

Birmingham, Ala

Commissioner of agriculture and industries, Haywood Paterson, Montgomery, Democrat, and James N. Dennis, Clanton, Republican.

Public service commissioner, Place No. 1, Jimmy Hitchcock, Democrat, and A. L. Isbell, Albertville, Republican.

Tues. 11-5-46

Public service commissioner, Place No. 2, G. C. Owen, Tuscaloosa, Democrat, and H. R. Horton, Ft. Payne, Republican.

Chief Justice Lucien D. Gardner, and Associate Justices A. B. Foster, J. Ed Livingston and Davis Stakely, of the Supreme Court, and Charles R. Bricken, Robert B. Carr and Robert D. Harwood, of the Court of Appeals, have no Republican opponents.

* * *

DEMOCRATIC NOMINEES for congressmen in the Fourth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Districts had Republican opponents.

Rep. Sam Hobbs was opposed by Roger S. Bingham, Republican, in the Fourth; Rep. Carter Manasco had a Republican opponent in M. H. Woodard in the Seventh; Sparkman and South were on the ticket in the Eighth, and Laurie Battle, who ousted Rep. Luther Patrick in the May and June primaries, was opposed by J. G. Bass, Republican and former postmaster of Birmingham.

Polling places opened at 8 a.m. and were to close at 6 p.m. in urban areas. In rural sections the polls opened at 8 a.m. and were to close at 5 p.m.

The resolution adopted by the Birmingham Pastors Union in opposition to the Boswell amendment was as follows:

"The Birmingham Pastors Union reaffirms its belief in the sufficiency of Christian principles applied to: (1) sacredness of human personality, (2) love for all humanity, (3) democratic principles of government that express themselves in laws implementing these ideals, and does not regard the proposed Boswell amendment as worthy of support in that it does not offer a sufficiently Christian approach to the problems which its proponents set out to solve."

In addition to the Boswell Amendment—No. 4 on the ballot—other proposed amendments to the state constitution up for action in today's election were:

No. 1, permitting Decatur and Cullman to levy a special school tax and Morgan County a special tax for hospital purposes.

No. 2, permitting the state in cooperation with federal and local governments to acquire, build and opearte hospitals.

No. 3, authorizing Haleyville to increase its ad valorem tax rate.

No. 5, authorizing municipalities whose tax rates are limited to less than 1¼ per cent of the value of property assessed for taxes to increase their rates to that figure.

No. 6, authorizing 36 "legislative day" biennial sessions of the Legislature instead of hte present 60 "calendar day" sessions.

No. 7, authorizing the state to construct, improve and operate public airports.

No. 8, permitting the governing bodies of counties other than Mobile and Montgomery to call on petition signed by at least 100 votres an election to decide whether or not a tax not to exceed 10 mills shall be levied.

No. 9, permitting Mobile County to extend its constitutional debt limit for public buildings, roads and bridges.

WHO'S WHISPERING

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

I am sure that it surprised most opponents of Amendment No. 4 (the so called Boswell Amendment) to have Gessner McCorvey charge them with conductiong a "whispering campaign" against the Amendment. The charge of gumshoe tactics" is equally surprising.

The facts are that the opponents of the Boswell Amendment are out in the open and that, far from whispering against the Amendment, they are speaking out loud, so that all may hear. Montgomery, Ala.

The opponents of the Boswell Amendment seek its defeat because they believe it is unnecessary and undemocratic. Col. Richard Rives, to whom McCorvey referred specificaly in his statement, has been scrupulous to keep his argument against the adoption of this amendment on a carefully reasoned plane. He has appealed to reasonable men to study this measure and to see its dangers.

Jim Folsom, who I suspect does not know how to whisper or gumshoe, came out openly and vigorously against Amendment No. 4, calling it undemocratic. Lister Hill, who is equally averse to pussy-footing, only this week called again for the overwhelming repudiation of the Amendment, stating that it would be "ridiculous to require a voter to explain the Constitution of the United States to the satisfaction of a local Board of Registrars when from the beginning of our government the Supreme Court of the United States has differed and divided on the proper explanation of the Constitution and its many provisions." Wed. 10-2-46

I could list many other prominent citizens who have taken the same stand as the distinguished men I have mentioned. I could name many hundreds of loyal Democrats, members in good standing of the same political party for which Mr. McCorvey presumes to speak, who are aware of the dangers in the Boswell Amendment and are opposing it openly and with all the vigor which they can bring to that task.

If there has been any whispering in the campaign, it has been on the part of those supporters of Amendment No. 4 who are using fear and bigotry as their weapons instead of reason. When one listens to the wild charges of speakers for Amendment No. 4, compared to the reasoned argument, calm and dispassionate, of men like Dick Rives and Charles Dobbins, one is inclined to think that the attacks on the Amendment have been on a far higher plane than that chosen by its defenders.

The opponents of Amendment No. 4 are not whispering. They want the issues to be discussed freely, fully and openly, so that every citizen of Alabama may know just what he has at stake in this proposal. When he knows, he can vote intelligently on November 5.

ELLIS C. STEWART.

604 Boyce
Montgomery, Ala.

FOR PARTY INTEGRITY

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

One writer to Grandma says (about the Boswell Amendment): "We elected a state committee of good Democrats who are supposed to do the best thing for the party, then why not follow them?"

It is a fatal mistake to see nothing in the Boswell Amendment but a "party." It is not a question of a party but the honor and good of the whole people. The adoption of that amendment would help to build up a set of Bourbon politicians, entrusted with autocratic powers, who could control and corrupt the electorate. We don't want rule of men in Alabama as this Amendment would permit, but rule of law. If we have not seen enough of rule by the fickle will of men among the nations, instead of rule by constitutional government, then our senses of observation and experience are blind.

Talk about giving three persons the power to register or not to register every person in a county, is absurd. I wonder how three registrars would know whether I can understand and explain the meaning of everything in the Federal Constitution and the Alabama Constitution when they don't know it themselves. If the blind lead the blind, both will fall in the ditch. Why is it that some political trickster, as it might be, who gets himself appointed as registrar is supposed to know more about constitutions than other persons who may have three times his education and intelligence? Montgomery, Ala.

If it is just to exclude the Negro from voting, as in fact it is, then this method is unnecessary, deceptive, and based on falsehood. For the State to practice a lie will raise a generation of liars. Governments, the same as individuals, should see honest and speak the truth. That Amendment if adopted and honestly enforced would exclude a large part of the Democratic Committee from voting and might catch Mr. Boswell himself for he does not know the meaning of everything in the Federal Constitution if you put a smart lawyer on the other side.

We ought to have an educational qualification for voting, and not a fine spun legal test which the lawyers themselves cannot pass if the rule is honestly applied. Intelligence and a record free from crime are the right qualifications for a voter whether he is white or black. The real gist of this Amendment is based on hate, not on ideals or good citizenship. Wed. 10-2-46

L. E. BARTON

1607 S. Hull
Montgomery, Ala.

THE AMENDMENT LEADS

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala

On the basis of returns from 1,325 boxes out of Alabama's total 2,362, voters favoring adoption of the Boswell Amendment lead by some 7,500 votes. The vote as of this writing is 58,332 for, 50,956 against.

Whether or not returns from the remaining 1,037 boxes confirm the trend, or reverse it, The Advertiser is proud to find that so many Alabamians, withstanding all pressures, voted according to their unshakable belief in democratic principle.

When one considers that this contest was waged against virtually the entire Democratic party machinery in Alabama by a loosely organized group of independent citizens, the close vote is surprising and heartening. Thurs. 11-7-46

Of particular interest is the strong opposition vote in Montgomery County. It was the disappointing performance in Imperial Jefferson County which went far toward giving a lead to Amendment No. 4.

The Advertiser calls attention once more to the indefensible delays in reporting vote totals from the various counties. What excuse can there be for election officials who, 24 hours after the polls close, still hold back their count of the votes? Such tactics give rise to suspicions that weaken the confidence of the people in their elec-

Hon macauley.

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Alabama (Boswell Amendment--RESULTS)

Ballot Lack Claimed In Boswell Bill Vote

Birmingham, Ala. News-Age-Herald Sun. 11-24-46

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 23 — The much-debated Boswell amendment has been proclaimed the law of the land, but just the same, apparently authentic reports echoed in capital gossip centers this week indicating that in at least two anti-amendment counties in North Alabama the Nov. 5 vote on the Boswell and other amendments was restricted.

Heavy voting DeKalb County polled about 10,000 votes in the general election but Democrats and Republicans alike report that a "shortage" of amendment ballots allegedly prevented many from voting in the amendment election. Only one-third of the total vote cast for sheriff and other candidates was tallied up for and against the Boswell proposal.

In another North Alabama county — Franklin — which cast about twice as many votes in the general election as it did for and against the amendments, election officials reportedly did not issue amendment ballots to absentee ballot applicants unless they specifically requested them. Only about 10 amendment absentee ballots were tallied, but in the general election more than 400 absentee votes were chalked up.

Just how many votes would have been cast for or against the Boswell amendment in DeKalb County had it not been for the reported ballot shortage remains problematical, but one authoritative source in DeKalb County estimated that "between 3,000 and 4,000 DeKalb Republicans and a great many Democrats" would have voted against the proposal. Official returns disclosed that the amendment was defeated in DeKalb by a 482-vote margin.

* * *

THE DeKALB COUNTY SOURCE—Editor J. A. Downer, of The DeKalb Times, weekly Republican newspaper published at Fort Payne, was consulted via long distance after reports were first heard of the alleged ballot shortage from equally reliable Democratic sources.

Editor Downer disclosed that many persons—he identified two of them—had informed him of the scarcity of ballots. At the same time a prominent DeKalb Democrat reported that election officials said only 5,000 amendment ballots were received and voters had complained that the ballots were improperly allocated.

The newspaper editor said he had heard complaints of the shortage of ballots from several boxes, particularly from boxes in Precincts 16 and 19, and the Democratic informant said he had been told that many small boxes received an excessive number of ballots and larger boxes a correspondingly limited number.

"The first I heard about it came from two Republican candidates," Editor Downer declared. "One of them voted early on the morning of Nov. 5 and was told the amendment ballots had all given out. The other said that, when he voted, the amendment ballot supply at his box was just about gone. Since then, I heard the same story from quite a few others."

E. C. Mitchell, a candidate for probate judge, and John W. Bowman, board of revenue candidate, Editor Downer added, were the candidates.

General election and amendment ballots, it was ascertained here, were printed by the Brown Printing Company of Montgomery. A company official declared that an ample supply of ballots both for the general and amendment elections was forwarded to DeKalb election officials in Fort Payne.

* * *

DeKALB COUNTY CAST only 3,476 votes for and against Amendment No. 4, of which 1,497 were for and 1,979 against ratification. Nearly 3,000 more than that number voted for John J. Sparkman who was unopposed for United States senator and 5,850 votes were cast for Albert Rains for congressman.

DeKalb chalked up a vote total of 9,541 in the race for circuit judge, 9,424 for member of the Alabama House of Representatives and 9,824 for sheriff.

The Franklin County vote for and against the Boswell amendment totaled 3,036 with 1,216 voting for and 1,830 against. Franklin cast almost as many votes for unopposed Sparkman as it did for and against the explosive Boswell proposal and in the only state race in which the official returns are on file in the secretary of state's office—for associate member of the Public Service Commission — the tally amounted to 4,940.

In other races involving county offices, the poll was between 5,700 and 6,000.

* * *

SEVERAL OTHER NORTH ALABAMA counties voted against the Boswell amendment with slight totals and at the same time cast heavy ballots in the general election.

Among them were:

Blount, voting 735 for and 827 against for a 1,562 total, and between double and treble that total in the general election.

Cullman, casting 5,903 Boswell amendment votes — 2,915 for and 2,988 against—and polling between 7,000 and 8,000 in the general election.

Jackson, which voted 202 for and 1,005 against the Boswell proposal, polled between 2,000 and 3,000 in the general election. (In the recent special Democratic primary to nominate a successor to Sparkman in the House, Jackson's vote exceeded 7,000.)

Perhaps the most striking impression to be gained from a study of the Boswell amendment vote and the vote cast in the general election is that the vote in pro-amendment counties did not disclose such wide discrepancies between the amendment total and the general election tally. Maybe that's what the Black Belters mean when they crack: "North Alabama has the votes and we have the brains."

Boswell Plan Lead Tops 9,000 Mark

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Two-Thirds Of Ballots Predict Adoption

Tue. 11-8-46

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Nov. 7. —(AP)—With almost two-thirds of the vote in, the Boswell Amendment tonight apeared to have been adopted by a narrow margin, but its fate will not be definitely known until tomorrow when official returns are tabulated from several unreporting counties.

A count of 1,452 of the 2,362 Alabama polling centers gave this score:

For the amendment, 62,600; against, 53,391.

The vote restrictive measure, hotly contested and about the only issue on the Alabama general election ballot that generated much interest, led in 35 counties and trailed in the other 22.

The measure, presented as a means of preventing mass registration of Negroes as voters, was favored in industrial Jefferson County (Birmingham), but was voted down in the other three most populous counties—Montgomery, Mobile and Etowah (Gadsden).

Its advocates argued that the Negro registration question posed an immeidate threat that could be met only by the amendment. Opponents took the position that no such threat existed, and argued that the amendment could be employed to disqualify white persons as well as Negroes.

The amendment would require that a registrant for the vote be able to "understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution. County boards of registrars would pass upon each applicant's qualifications.

BIRMINGHAM, Nov. 11.—Despite the active opposition of Governor-elect James E. Folsom and a coalition of Alabama progressives, the reactionary Boswell amendment aimed at barring Negroes from voting was ratified at the polls Nov. 5. This new voting registration law requires voters to be "literate" and to understand and "interpret" any part of the U. S. Constitution.

The amendment vote at 2,052 of the state's 2,362 polling places was 81,877 for ratification and 70,064 against.

All major cities went against the amendment with the exception of Birmingham. Northern industrial counties voted down the amendment, while Black Belt counties, where the population, including a majority of Negroes, is almost entirely disfranchised, solidly supported it.

Progressives here feel that the growing movement for wider democracy in Alabama received a sharp setback with the ratification, but they are nevertheless encouraged by the large opposing vote, registered in the face of the most vicious Negro-baiting campaign in this state in recent years.

Leading opponents of the amendment have declared that it is unconstitutional, and that a real fight in the courts can result in wiping it off the statute books.

Alabama Passes Vote-Barring Amendment

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Tues. 11-12-46

Special to the Daily Worker

TESTING TIME OF THE AMENDMENT

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

The official canvass of the recent vote on the Boswell amendment shows that Alabamians voted 89,163 for, and 76,843 against the restriction of the suffrage in Alabama. For better or for worse, Alabamians accept the verdict of the majority on the Boswell amendment. Sun. 11-17-46

But 76,843 Alabamians have said by their votes that the application of the provisions in the amendment must not operate to the detriment of the State. Such a number of vigilant Alabamians can constitute a powerful argument for justice regardless of what conditions may evolve in Alabama politics.

A full week after ratification of the Boswell amendment, The Chattanooga Times expressed itself editorially on the adoption of the restrictive amendment by Alabama voters. It reproduced the full text of the Boswell amendment, and then called the attention of Tennessee voters to the dangers of the provisions in the following words:

Under that amendment, registrars can, of course, disqualify most Negroes. But they could also disqualify most whites. The amendment gives a dangerous weapon into the hands of political machines.

There is no reason why politically-minded county registrars should not disqualify such white persons as they choose under the Boswell amendment. Not only must the applicant be able to explain and understand the Constitution, but apparently he must explain it to the satisfaction of a county board of three registrars. Since there are passages in the Constitution which could not be explained by the average white person in Alabama, we predict that this Boswell amendment will be used against poor whites by Alabama politicians.

When a State starts out to discriminate racially, it is liable to find it difficult to pass legislation which would hit one race and leave the other untouched. Such legislation would be clearly unconstitutional. So States pass such amendments as the Boswell amendment, leaving the State wide open for political machines to manipulate the white vote as well as the Negro vote.

The Chattanooga Times' editor speaks out of a wealth of experience with political machines. Perhaps no State in the South is so ridden by so many or such evil political machines as is Tennessee.

In Alabama there is wide concern over the probable use of the amendment. This concern, paradoxically, is felt among both supporters and opponents of the amendment. Opponents have openly expressed their fears of abuse, and sought to forestall that possibility by negative votes; advocates realize that quick, crude use of the discriminatory powers would result in public revulsion.

Those who voted for the amendment in the hope that its arbitrary powers would be used with restraint can find little encouragement in the immediate cry for still additional changes in the suffrage laws. Representative E. C. (Bud) Boswell, of Geneva, author of the amendment, is quoted in Friday's papers as wanting the Legislature to adopt "clarifying statutes." While Mr. Boswell's plans for further suffrage legislation may be entirely constructive, their development will be awaited with critical interest.

The Nation New York, N.Y. Sat. 11-23-46

UNTIL THE LAST GENERAL ELECTION THE state of Alabama had been an island of liberal refuge between the Scylla of Mississippi and the Charybdis of a Georgia which had relapsed into Talmadgism. But on November 5 Alabama voted to adopt the Boswell amendment to its constitution, an amendment which will set up the most highly restrictive voting qualifications in force in any state in the Union. The author of the amendmentment is Representative E. C. (Bud) Boswell of Geneva, in Alabama's Black Belt. Mr. Boswell wanted "to save our Alabama traditions and principles from the frontal attack of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and their radical allies . . . [to] maintain and insure white supremacy in Alabama, by law, for the salvation of both the Negro and white races." The amendment provides that each applicant for the right to vote must appear before the board of registrars in his county and be able to read, understand *and explain,* to the board's satisfaction, any section of the Constitution of the United States. It is a foregone conclusion that registrars will accept no Negro's explanation of any part of the Constitution. The leaders of organized labor and many newspapers opposed the amendment, but the rank and file of labor in the large industrial districts failed to go to the polls. Racial prejudice is probably stronger than loyalty to a union, and every questionable device known to racial bigots was brought forth by proponents. The amendment was the baby of the state Democratic committeemen, and passed by the small majority of less than 10,000 votes out of 200,000 cast. It will, of course, be tested in the courts at the earliest opportunity. Many of the state's lawyers believe it will be held unconstitutional. Meanwhile, Alabama has taken a step backward, much to the dismay of those who have been priding themselves on the advancing forces of progressivism within the state.

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

MR. BOSWELL ON THE AMENDMENT

Editor, The Advertiser: Thurs. 11-21-46

It was thought when the Boswell amendment was adopted by a substantial majority of the voters of the State, that the opposition would gracefully submit to this mandate. Had it been defeated, you would have not heard a squawk from me.

My purpose in submitting Amendment No. 4, sponsoring it in the Legislature and before the people, was, as I believe, in the best interest of the State as a whole and for the peace and betterment of both races. I am not a Negro hater or baiter.

Answering the following paragraph of your Sunday editorial:

"Those who voted for the amendment in the hope that its arbitrary powers would be used with restraint can find little encouragement in the immediate cry for still addititonal change in the suffrage laws. Representative E. C. Boswell, of Geneva, author of the amendment, is quoted in Friday's papers as wanting the Legislature to adopt 'clarifying statutes.' While Mr. Boswell's plans for further suffrage legislation may be entirely constructive, their development will be awaited with critical interest."

My desire for clarifying statutes is for the purpose of relieving the minds of some honest voters who were misled and deceived by false statements and propaganda disseminated by some who opposed the Boswell amendment. I do not believe or claim that the amendment is perfect, that it is entirely self executing, or that it will settle, forever, the race question, forever fomented in Alabama and the South by negrophiles from the North and East, aided by some selfish local politicians; but I do believe that Governor-elect Folsom and the other members of the board who will appoint the registrars for Alabama for the next four years, will name honest, fair and judicial minded men and women on these boards, and that the amendment will be fairly, honestly and efficiently administered to permit orderly registration of qualified applicants and prevent the mass registration of those not qualified without subjecting registrars to damage suits for trying to maintain in Alabama an intelligent electorate.

E. C. (BUD) BOSWELL.

Geneva, Alabama.

ROGERS SAYS:

Boswell Amendment Latest in Series of Efforts to Legally Disfranchise Southern Negroes

By J. A. ROGERS The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

Sat. 11-23-46

ALABAMA voters have written into their State Constitution a law known as "The Boswell Amendment" which will disfranchise Negroes even more thoroughly than the notorious Grandfather Clause of Reconstruction.

The Grandfather Clause, which was outlowed by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1915, ruled that the descendants of anyone who had not the right to vote on Jan. 1, 1867, should be exempt from such voting requirements as owning property, paying taxes and being able to read and write. Of course this left the Negro out in the cold since his father and grandfather were likely slaves or could not have voted anyway. On the other hand, any white man, however illiterate, could vote provided that even one of his great-grandparents had the right to vote on the above-mentioned date. Among the States practising this most barefaced robbery were, of course, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia.

Mr. Rogers

Prior to the election the Boswell Amendment was frankly stressed in speeches as being designed to keep Negroes from the polls. It provides that would-be voters must be able "to read and explain" the Federal Constitution.

* * *

THE BIG CATCH is in "explain." Not even the judges of the United States Supreme Court have been able to "explain" among themselves after a century and a half of arguing what the Constitution really means as regards the rights of the "common" man. Explaining the Constitution is like explaining the Bible. Every individual and every sect make their own explanation and insist they are right. Since Alabama whites are to determine what is the "right" explanation, even in the case of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which give equality to Negroes, every Negro can be barred and every white allowed to vote. To make it easier for the whites, the $300 property qualification has been removed.

And so it is. Each time the U. S. Supreme Court outlaws one of these "Negro-stoppers" a new one is invented. It is clear, therefore, that sooner or later the Federal Government will have to step in and make a uniform voting law for the United States. If the new Republican Government means to show any sense of right and justice it will have to do this. The most elementary concept of democracy demands that all citizens of the United States should meet the same requirement at the polls, especially in the case of Federal offices such as President, senator and representative.

* * *

THE SOLID SOUTH is bent on cheating the Negro of his citizenship rights. There will be no decent Government in this Nation as long as there is a solid South. In olden days a method of punishment was to chain a corpse to a living man and let him perish. The Bible speaks of this "body of death." The solid South is a body of death and unless the right thinking people of this Nation find some way to free themselves from it, all are doomed.

The chief sufferer from this body of death is now the Northern Democratic party. In my opinion, the Northern Democrats have a more advanced sense of human rights than the Republicans. In it are some men with a fine spirit of right such as Henry Wallace and Senator James M. Mead, not to mention such near-Southerners as President Truman and Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico. But what is the actual truth? The fortunes of these good men, thanks to the party system, are tied to those of such unspeakable creatures as Bilbo and Rankin. When you support a good Democrat the chief beneficiary, has been, and is, a rotten Democrat. For instance, the Republican victory will oust Bilbo as "mayor" of Washington and put in his place a Republican, Senator Capper, a very good man for both whites and Negroes. Had the Democrats won, however, even with such excellent men as Mead and Lehman, Bilbo would have remained entrenched.

* * *

SINCE THIS is undeniably the case I think Henry Wallace showed mighty poor logic when he called the Democratic party, the "progressive" party and said that the line between the two parties was "clean-cut." He said Nov. 10, "I don't think there is a ghost of a show for a progressive's winning in 1948." Progressive? Why is Mr. Wallace not now President? Would he say that the way he was knifed by his own party at the Chicago Convention in 1944 was progressive? The truth is because he stands for what is right, he has been kicked around politically by the Southern Democrats as if he were a Negro. One thing, I feel sure that every Negro who thinks clearly on his problem will agree that the Republican victory, since it has ousted some of his worst foes, is a decided step toward more democratic government, reactionary as are many Republicans.

The treatment of the Negro is the key to the whole question of just government in this Nation. And there has been very little clear thinking on that subject since the republic was founded. Thomas Jefferson, a slaveholder, wrote that all men are created free and equal and George Washington and others fought to prove it but still held on to their slaves. Negro slaves were used to build the Capitol at Washington and even to cast the Statue of Freedom on it. Few saw the incongruity of that and most Americans still do not see how the treatment of the Negro gives the lie direct to the democratic rule of which they boast so much. When you get right down to it what is the Federal Government, as it has always been administered, but a jim-crow affair? Good men, like Mr. Wallace, need to pull the facts apart and then assemble them straight. Party lines kill straight thinking as effectively as racial ones. 11-23-46

Eager to Be Citizens

THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT, which the voters of Alabama passed by a relatively narrow margin after a heated campaign, was frankly aimed to prevent the registration of Negroes. It requires that any registrant be able to "understand and explain" any section of the Federal Constitution. The tacit understanding, which might turn out to be an erroneous impression, was that it would be invoked only against persons of color. The judge and jury of the registrant's knowledge as to the verbiage and philosophy of the Constitution are the local Boards of Registrars. There can be no appeal from their judgment.

Thus extraordinary power is given to a small group of men in every county of Alabama. It is conceivable that even so learned a jurist as Mr. Justice Hugo Black could be disqualified as a voter by his local board. The registrars might hold that the constitutional views of the late Mr. Justice McReynolds were the only true and sound interpretations of the intent of the Founding Fathers and therefore Mr. Justice Black is both ignorant and heretical.

Since the local boards are clothed with such arbitrary and sweeping authority, it is easy to envision the peril that confronts the franchise of any citizen whose views the members of the board may oppose. Many white citizens would fail on even an elementary test, even if it were conducted honestly; any white citizen could be disfranchised at the will of the examiners, for they are the sole judges as to what is sound constitutional theory and what is error.

But some of the Negroes of Alabama, we learn from the Associated Press, are going to work earnestly in preparation for the examinations which must be passed if they are to vote. They are organizing schools on the Federal Constitution. In Mobile more than 600 already have signed up and classes will begin shortly. Negroes with college degrees will expound the Constitution and conduct quizzes.

The leader of the movement, a building contractor named J. J. Thomas, says it is planned to invite prominent white attorneys and Democratic leaders to lecture to the students.

"If we don't accomplish anything else," he told the AP, "we will have made our people better citizens by giving them understanding of their government."

Retroactive Feature Denials Challenged By Carmichael

Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser 10-20-46

Albert A. Carmichael, attorney-general nominate, in company with 15 other Alabama lawyers, yesterday issued a statement contending that passage of the Boswell Amendment would require re-registration of all voters whose right to vote is challenged by the registrars.

The statement called attention to a political advertisement by the State Democratic Committee which said, "There is absolutely no retroactive feature in the Boswell Amendment," and commented, "The quoted statements, in our opinion, are positively erroneous. Advertiser

"With the exception of those qualified under the 'grandfather clause', that is, registered prior to January 1, 1903, the statement argues that "the qualifications of any voter can be legally questioned in several ways." Montgomery, Ala.

The other signers of the statement were Carroll T. Prince, and Vernol R. Jansen, Mobile; Henry McDaniel, Demopolis; Harry W. Gamble, Selma; Charles L. Hybart, Monroeville; Oscar L. Tompkins, Dothan; George C. Hawkins, Gadsden; Crampton Harris, Harold M. Cook, Albert A. Rosenthal, Mrs. Ida D. Rosenthal, Birmingham; Richard T. Rives, Ramon L. Farnell, Nesbit Elmore, and Jack Crenshaw, Montgomery.

The statement follows: 10-20-46

"In a political advertisement by the State Democratic Executive Committe favoring the adoption of Amendment No. 4, known as the Boswell Amendment, the following statements appear with the underscoring indicated: Sun.

"'There is absolutely no retroactive feature in the Boswell Amendment. It applies in no manner whatsoever to voters who are already registered. The fran- [illegible] Alabama voter now duly registered is in no manner endangered by the Boswell Amendment and no re-registration is authorized, permitted or required.' The Advertiser

"The quoted statements, in our opinion, are positively erroneous. The first 10 words of the Boswell Amendment are: **'After the first day of January nineteen hundred and three.'** (General Acts Alabama 1945, p. 551). That Amendment then prescribes as additional qualifications for electors that the elector must be able to understand and explain any Article of the Constitution of the United States, must be a person of good character, and must understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a Republican form of government. If the Amendment is adopted then those additional qualifications would be applicable to every person registered after the first day of January nineteen hundred and three, whenever such person's right to registration might be legally questioned. Our State Constitution guarantees life registration to those persons only who registered prior to January 1, 1903. (Constitution, Sec. 198.) The qualifications of any voter who has registered since that date can be legally questioned in several ways: Montgomery, Ala.

"1. The Legislature can require all voters to re-register.

"2. Under the law as it now exists, if any such voter changes his legal residence from one county to another, he must re-register in the county of his new residence. (Code 1940, Tit. 17, Sec. 36, Shepherd vs Sartain, 185 Ala. 439, 64 So. 57.)

"3. The present law (Code 1940, Titl. 17, Secs. 44 and 47) requires each Board of Registrars to meet for one week every year for purging the resigistration list, and provides that the names of those disqualified as electors under the Constitution shall be stricken from the registration list.

"In the event of the adoption of the Boswell Amendment, if the qualifications of any voter registered since January 1, 1903 are questioned in either of these methods, and if that voter cannot prove to the satisfaction of the Board of Registrars that he is of good character, understands the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a Republican form of government, and can understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States, then the voter may be disqualified. Sun. 10-20-46

"We feel it proper to call attention to the potential use of that power to deny freedom of speech and expression to a prospective candidate for political office, or to any citizen actively opposed to a political boss or poll list, and he could be dismachine which might be in control of a Board of Registrars. Such a candidate or citizen, if he refused to bow to the will of those in control, could be cited to appear before the Board, his name could be purged from the poll list, and he could be disfranchised. Whether such a power would long remain in disuse, human nature and practical politics being what they are, is a question to be considered by every elector, before he casts his vote on November 5th."

"Respectfully submitted,
"CARROL T. PRINCE."

Celebrated Alabama Minister Speaks Out For Boswell Plan

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 11-3-46

Alabamians who believe that literacy should be the qualification for citizenship are in favor of the Boswell Amendment, Dr. John W. Fraser, formerly pastor of the First Methodist Church of Montgomery, and presently pastor of the Methodist Church of Greenville, declared last night.

Dr. Fraser

"I favor the Boswell amendment, or Amendment No. 4 for that and a variety of equally tenable reasons," he continued.

"The Boswell amendment does not disqualify the Negro any more than it disqualifies the illiterate white man. To me it means simply the encouragement of enlightened suffrage.

"I think that former Gov. Frank M. Dixon stated the entire question concisely and clearly when he pointed out that the proposed amendment does not bar anyone from the privilege of voting so long as he has the mental agility to learn anything.

"The proponents of the amendment showed acumen and foresight when they selected the Constitution as the test of literacy. Its meaning is clear and it does not require any unusual erudition to understand its broad meaning.

"Obvious Benefit"

"The Boswell amendment is in one sense an obvious benefit both to white and colored people in Alabama, in that it is a challenge to people to enlighten themselves on Government."

At the same time, Jesse M. Williams, Jr., prominent Montgomery attorney, member of the State Democratic Committee, and member of the special committee of 200 who are urging Alabama to approve Amendment No. 4, offered this terse observation on the question to be voted upon Tuesday:

"All that we in the South salvaged out of the Civil War was our self-respect and the right to determine what was an intelligent electorate. Certainly Alabamians don't want that to be infringed upon. I believe it is necessary that this amendment be passed to keep outside influences from taking those rights away from us."

'Turn Out the Vote' Is Cry in Alabama

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga
Sun. 11-3-46

By ROBERT H. DENLEY

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 2 (INS)—Special committees were at work Saturday to "turn out the vote" in Alabama's general election Tuesday—but for a reason thought by many to be more vital than the nation-wide scrap for control of Congress.

The issue in Alabama is the retention of white supremacy.

Alabama voters will elect nine Congressmen to swell the Democratic party in the House.

They also will elect a full slate of State officials, including, as Governor, James E. "Big Jim" Folsom—the six-foot, eight-incher, who campaigned with a hillbilly band, made a reputation with his liberal kisses and won nomination with the largest vote ever given a candidate in the State.

But victory for those candidates is assured in Democratic Alabama. If only they were concerned, interest in the election would be negligible.

VOTE FURORE

The furore of "getting out the vote" has been churned up around one of nine proposed amendments to the State Constitution. Known as the Boswell Amendment after its author, State Legislator C. E. Boswell, the bill would require prospective voters to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution to the satisfaction of local boards of registrars.

The amendment was designed to prevent mass registration of Negroes, which has been particularly feared in the State since a Supreme Court decision permitted Negroes to vote in Texas Democratic primaries.

On opposite sides in the debate over the bill are Gov. Chauncey Sparks, who favors it, and Gov.-Nominate Folsom, who opposes it.

Siding with Folsom have been, among many others, Alabama's senior Senator, Lister Hill, and the Republican candidate for Governor, Dr. Lyman Ward.

SUPPORTERS LIST

Backing the amendment are the State Democratic Committee, former Gov. Frank Dixon, Gessner T. McCorvey, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, and another long list of public figures.

McCorvey formed a committee of some 200 to work for passage; Montgomery Attorney Richard T. Rives previously had formed a state-wide council to fight the amendment.

The CIO, in Mobile, actively opposed the measure.

Oddly enough, the question as to whether the Negro should or should not be allowed to vote has not been the major issue in the heated arguments which have raged for weeks.

Foes of the amendment have held that it would be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, that it is unnecessary since present laws are adequate for the purpose in mind and that it would disenfranchise many present voters. There have been heard argument terming the bill "undemocratic" or "discriminatory."

RABID PROPONENTS

Proponents, denying those assertions, have advanced arguments ranging from the rabid declarations that no Negro should be permitted to vote in the State to the milder theories—of Gov. Sparks, for instance—that the franchise should come gradually to the Negro and that the amendment would treat equally the unqualified Negro and the unqualified white man.

Regardless of the interest in the bill, however, few on either side believe the election will close the issue on white supremacy. If the Boswell Amendment passes, it will get its first test in the Supreme Court, observers believe. And, if it fails, a substitute is expected to be formulated.

Voice Of The People

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Mon. 11-4-46

A FIRST AMERICAN SPEAKS

To the Editor of The News:

Congratulations to you and your editorial staff for the stand you have taken against the Boswell amendment.

I don't profess to know very much about politics but I think the Boswell amendment is one of the most damaging pieces of legislation that has come before the voters of Alabama in 50 years.

I came from a race whose ancestors met Columbus when he found this country. I guess some of my ancestors met the Mayflower and I have not in all my time heard such a howl from the white man about the Negro until some representative we elected who professed to look out for the interest of the common man.

The colored man has striven to qualify himself to be a good American citizen and it seems a catastrophe since he has educated himself according to the white man's laws to have such a turmoil arise to retard the progress he has achieved in the last 50 years. Evidently some white and colored must suffer together at the hands of a few.

I hope that the voters of Alabama will take this amendment under very serious consideration before we set Alabama back 50 years more. Mon. 11-4-46 C. L. BAILEY.

Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

BISHOP SHAW APPEALS

To the Editor of The News:

For 22 years I have lived in Birmingham. I was born in Mississippi. I think I know the tradition and custom of our Southland. I also know that in this Southland of ours we have some of the truest friends of the nation, and because of that reason and among others, I am writing this letter.

The Boswell Amendment No. 4, is now before the citizens of Alabama to be approved or disapproved by its voting citizens. Such an amendment is an awful one. It is awful because it is undemocratic. Any movement in the United States that is undemocratic is dangerous. It is awful because it opens the gate of racial hatred and prejudice wider than ever before in Alabama. It is awful because it is in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. In my humble judgment it does not stop at crippling the Negro's opportunity to live in the four freedoms that were so gloriously pictured to the world by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

If the Boswell amendment is adopted we will lose all the glorious four freedoms as promulgated by the noble late President Roosevelt.

One-third of Alabama's population is made up of Negroes, and only about 1 per cent of that one-third can vote. Does voting destroy democracy? I am of the opinion that voting helps democracy. If the Boswell amendment is adopted it will be done not by the Negro vote but it will be done by the white citizenship of our state. I am, therefore, making this appeal to the religious white people of all denominations and to every fair-minded white person regardless of church affiliation to save the state from the shame and disgrace which will give to it the blackest spot that it has ever had, which only, or perhaps eternity could blot out.

I believe that the majority of the white citizens of our state are willing to see the Negro people make progress, and I cannot lay down behind the walls of fear while the brave and courageous white people are fighting our battle. I feel that I ought to speak in behalf of the thousands of Negro people who have selected me as their leader.

My son who, like the sons of many other fathers, white and black, had an awful experience in the jungles and war zone of the South Pacific. The Negro soldier has fought on every battlefield from Bunker Hill to Okinawa. They were fighting that our flag, the Stars and Stripes, might ever float in the breezes. It is the Negroes' flag as well as the flag of the white people. We have no other flag but the Stars and Stripes, and may I appeal again to our white citizenship to continue to let that glorious flag which is a symbol of our protection float over our people with equal protection that democracy may not perish in Alabama. B. G. SHAW,

Bishop of the First Episcopal District of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

* * *

TRAVESTIES OF DEMOCRACY

To the Editor of The News: The News

Regardless of all the diverging explanations and reasons, the Boswell amendment is essentially a matter of racial discrimination at its vicious worst. True, it can be used against labor. Certainly it makes it more possible for political cliques to wield a small voting populace to their own desires. And because of the clause requiring the registrant to have been "gainfully employed" during the past 12 months it could be used against housewives. But this is not expected in any of these cases. From any angle, the Boswell amendment is directed towards keeping in political slavery an entire segment of our population.

The other night this writer attended a meeting of zealous individuals who wanted to organize to defeat the amendment. Citizens from all walks of life spoke, condemning the nature of the measure, wisely recognizing that used wrongly it could affect the personal freedom of each of them.

At the heighth of the proceedings a group of Negroes entered the room—one of the city's leading business men and several of his associates. As the modest Negroes took a rear seat, the specter of racial superiority arose from the audience as distinctly as if a giant serpent had bared its fangs. Without the utterance of a single word it was apparent that the Negores were out of place. During the remainder of the evening not one white person spoke a word of welcome or appreciation that they had joined in the fight.

This incident brings forth clearly that the defeat of the Boswell amendment is only a minor step in the erasing of the foulest of all our social ills. It is good that we superior whites have joined forces to defeat the legislation. But it is also an avowed truth that many of us are fighting it purely because of its threat to one of our individual phases of security. It is one of our greatest weaknesses that we fight constantly—both nationally and internationally—the boil, not the cancerous matter in the blood stream.

We meet. We organize. We fight the Boswell amendment because it threatens something pertaining to our narrow scope of life. It is good that we do this. But why can't we realize that if we took steps further, constantly and consistently, such travesties of democracy would have no place in our scheme of things?

Why don't we organize to provide more education for the Negro? Why don't we do something about health conditions among the lower classes of both whites and Negroes? Why don't we set up committees to combat machine politics—rather than play ball with them because they give jobs to our cousins? Why don't we set up a fair, uncomplicated

Birmingham, Ala.
Mon. 11-4-46

Set of standards for voting—based on color? Why don't we look into our complicated civic—aside from intelligence, not quality? Find—any means to combat this thing—which gives each of us a sickening attitude of condescend- ing grace towards the Negro?

Ministers Of Three Religions Oppose Boswell Amendment

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Tue. 11-1-46

While 80 Alabama clergymen of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths attacked the Boswell amendment as "undemocratic and unnecessary," a statewide committee of 200 citizens issued an appeal, stating that its adoption "will assure the continuance of the kind of government in Alabama which was handed down to us by our fathers."

The clergymen expressed their stand in a statement signed by them and issued by Richard T. Rives, Montgomery attorney and chairman of a statewide committee opposing the amendment. The clergymen warned that the amendment, to be voted on next Tuesday, would place "arbitrary and undefined powers" in the hands of the registrars and that such powers might be used "unjustly and capriciously."

The Birmingham pastors conference earlier in the week in a resolution decried the appeal to Christianity as a reason for supporting the amendment. This action was taken after advertisements appeared in newspapers advocating support of the amendment as a Christian movement.

* * *

THE STATEWIDE COMMITTEE urging adoption of the amendment which is known as Amendment No. 4, is made up of leading citizens from all parts of Alabama.

Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, issued a statement explaining the reasons for the amendment. Unless the law is changed, entitling Negroes who can read and write to voting privileges, there will probably not be a white county officer elected in some 18 or 20 of the Black Belt counties "where the Negroes in some counties outnumber the white population from five to one to 10 to one," the statement predicted.

In signing the statement by the clergymen, Bishop Thomas J. Toolen, of the Catholic Diocese of Mobile, said that he considers the proposed amendment "unethical, undemocratic and un-American."

The Rev. C. C. Daniel, Montgomery, district superintendent of the Methodist Church, predicted that "adoption of Amendment No. 4 (the Boswell amendment) would set our state back for many years."

"We definitely need clear standards for citizenship, but such standards should be applied effectively and without discrimination to all kinds of people in our state," the Rev. Daniel added.

In the statement explaining the reasons for the amendment, Mr. McCorvey pointed out that, when the Alabama Constitution was adopted in 1901, white supremacy in the state was satisfactorily protected by the requirement that voters be able to read and write, and had a tax assessment of real or personal property of $300 on which they had paid taxes.

* * *

"NOW, HOWEVER, there are but a few hundred Negroes of voting age in Alabama who cannot read and write and the result is that boards of registrars are required to register practically everyone, both black and white, who are over 21, regardless of their ability to vote intelligently," the McCorvey statement continues.

Then warning that this should be changed to avoid the wholesale election of Negroes in the Black Belt counties, the statement asserts that the Boswell amendment meets this need by vesting some discretion in the boards of registrars.

Under the Boswell amendment the registrars are permitted to pass on whether the applicant is of good character and whether he understands the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government and whether he understands the constitution under which we live and can explain it, Mr. McCorvey said.

Registrars, he added, are not going to give a law student examination in constitutional law to applicants to register. He emphasized that the Boswell act is not retroactive and that all citizens who have registered will remain so.

"Negroes possessing the necessary qualifications under the Boswell act should be registered, but there should be no mass registration of Negroes until they are qualified to vote intelligently," the statement continued.

* * *

IN AN ADDRESS TO Birmingham Optimist Club members yesterday, Dr. John Hall Jones, head of the psychology department at Howard College, warned that "discriminatory action against an inferior race means a step toward oblivion."

"It is plain, claptrap foolishness," he declared, "for Southerners to give in to a sectional inferiority complex and to take it out on some one inferior to us.

"How can we, as Southerners, be citizens of the United Nations and the larger humanity if we can't be united in our cities, states and sections?" he inquired.

Jennings Perry
P.M. New York, N.Y.

Look Away, Dixieland

Sun. 11-3-46

For the past six weeks the newspapermen and the party seers have been as busy as bird dogs across the land to scent out how the election is going. By *the land* I mean those teetering states in the middle tier from coast to coast which are "doubtful," in which something of political importance will happen on Tuesday.

Perry

None of these peepers has bothered to peep into the South, for the very good reason that the Southern states cast their dice back in the Summer when the primaries were held. Where the one-party system is fastened, the general election day ordinarily is just another day in November. And yet, this year, one or two things are cooking in the South that will bear watching.

One, of course, is Rep. Helen Douglas Mankin's write-in race for election in Georgia. Though liberal Mrs. Mankin received most of the votes in the primary, she was euchred out of the nomination by the notorious unit count. She is running, nevertheless, "as a Democrat" — probably because she feels the party name has something to do with democracy.

Next door, in Alabama, the poll-tax-attenuated electorate will vote on a proposed constitutional change—the Boswell amendment—to decide whether the state's elections hereafter are going to be more or less of a mockery than in the past.

The Boswell amendment is suavely billed as the countermove of the politicians of Alabama's black belt (black for the soil, not the people) against the Supreme Court's ruling against the all-white primary. It would leave it entirely up to the registrars in all the communities of the state whether the name of any citizen should be placed on the books for voting. As pointed out by the Birmingham *Age-Herald*, to give the registrars this arbitrary authority "means that the white voters (the black ones mercifully unmentioned) could be victimized at the behest of prejudice, partianship, or sheer meanness." Many of the state's newspapers are fighting ratification, as are Sen. Lister Hill, Rep. John Sparkman, Senator-nominate, and Big Jim Folsom, who will be the next Governor.

Alabama's black belt extends roughly from Montgomery, the capital, westward into Mississippi. It is the state's "Shelby County" and is accustomed to political power. Its politicians are backing the Boswell amendment as the only means of preventing "Negro domination at the ballot box." They profess to believe that Big Jim Folsom's pledge to kill the poll tax will be honored by the legislature, and this prospect also is made to ring in their alarm.

The truth, well known in Alabama, is that the poll tax (cumulative) always has rested as heavily upon the white suffrage as upon the Negro suffrage. It is also widely realized that the real aim of the backers of the Boswell amendment is to rivet control of the state in the black belt, thus staving off a long deferred reapportionment which would give industrial Birmingham and the Tennessee Valley counties in the north, the most progressive section of the state, fair representation in the legislature.

Democracy, as Prime Minister Clement Attlee stiffly informed the benighted Russians last week, has become a much abused word "often used by those who have never understood or practiced the democratic principles." The Boswell amendment, drawn by an Alabama Democrat, submitted by a Democratic legislature is advanced in the name of "White Democracy." If ratified (and nine out of 10 of the people can't even vote on the issue), the suffage right of a million and a half Alabamans will be cut loose from even the vague protection in law it formerly has had.

I think what happens in Alabama Tuesday will more importantly affect our form of government than a dozen Congressional elections in the nip-and-tuck states above the 40th parallel.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

The News Birmingham, Ala. Wed.

To the Editor of The News:

Congratulations on your keen foresight to see the grave danger and great danger lurking in the infamous Boswell amendment and the stand your paper is taking to defeat it.

Today millions of persons are dead and countless thousands of others are maimed for life because of the recent conflict between right and wrong, freedom and enslavement. All men should have a right to speak and vote in electing the persons who will represent us in governmental affairs in this our great nation. This right should not be determined by race, creed or color, as Mr. Horace Wilkinson apparently advocated in a letter that recently appeared on this page.

No man has ever been so wrong as Mr. Wilkinson when he says or attempts to influence others into believing that "the one aim and objective of the colored man is social equality and intermarriage." Maybe Mr. Wilkinson isn't big enough to keep abreast of the ever-changing times. 9-18-46

Just as America has advanced in commerce, travel, science and other fields that have gained worldwide respect and admiration for us, Americans have also been doing a great deal of improvement in their thinking. (This applies to people who are progressive and democratic in their thinking and not of the Ku Klux Klan, Bilbo, Rankin, Wilkinson type.)

The intermarriage angle upon which this whole structure of false thinking seems to be based has long been overworked. The two words, social equality, that have been used for too long a time by peddlers like the ones named above, are losing their drawing power.

People like Mr. Wilkinson are also rapidly losing followers. Too many American lives have been lost in the two world wars to let hate-mongers like him take away the very things for which the last shots were fired only a little more than a year ago—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Negroes are not interested so much in the pet phraseology social equality as they are in what present-day Americans are trying to do—see that everyone gets at home and abroad (even here in Alabama) equal opportunity. Why can't Negroes have equal opportunity in education, jobs and government? Is it because, if given an equal opportunity, they may prove to the other people in America the propaganda upon which people like Mr. Wilkinson have thrived so long?

Mr. Wilkinson and all who think like him are as antiquated in their thinking as the pony express and covered wagon are when compared with our modern streamlined trains.

All people who believe in democracy and true Americanism should be willing to support their democratic ideals by defeating any step to deny full citizenship to any citizen.

CLARK R. COLEMAN
217 Eighth Avenue, North.

45e 1946 Alabama (Boswell Amendment)

Is White Supremacy Threatened?

The News

BY J. F. ROTHERMEL

The Boswell amendment is, of course, a move to maintain white supremacy in Alabama. That is the avowed purpose of the amendment, according to Gessner McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee. It is more, however, than an effort to keep Negroes from voting in the Democratic primaries. It is aimed at barring Negroes from qualifying to vote in any election. Birmingham, Ala.

But is white supremacy threatened in Alabama? In order to make sure that white supremacy is maintained, is it necessary to resort to so undemocratic, so potentially dangerous, a system of registering voters as the Boswell amendment would permit? Some facts, frankly and candidly considered, should be of help in answering those questions.

According to the 1940 federal census, out of Alabama's total population of 2,828,961, the Negro population was 983,290, or 34.7 per cent. Fear of Negro domination in Alabama, therefore, amounts to a fear that 34.7 per cent are going to dominate 65.3 per cent.

When persons of voting age alone are considered, the threat to white supremacy in Alabama becomes still more remote. The Bureau of Census estimates that of the total potential voting population in Alabama, those of 21 years of age or over, 1,559,680, only 520,980 in 1940 were Negroes. That percentage is only 33.4, or almost exactly one-third. The fear again is that one-third will control the two-thirds. Fri. 11-1-46

That is the situation as of 1940. If the prospects were that the percentage of Negroes in the state would grow larger, then it could well be that a threat might exist to white supremacy. But that is not so. The percentage of Negroes in Alabama has been steadily growing less.

Here is the percentage of Negroes in Alabama according to the last five federal censuses:

1900	45.2	1920	38.4
1910	42.4	1930	35.7
1940	34.7		

No reversal of this trend is expected. Population experts believe that the percentage of Negroes in the South, including Alabama, will continue to decline. The prospect of Negro domination is remote indeed.

As far as the state government is concerned, Alabama does not need the Boswell amendment to maintain white supremacy.

There are, of course, Alabama counties in which Negroes are in majority. There are 18 such counties, according to the 1940 census, as contrasted with 49 counties in which whites predominate. It is likely that since 1940 the number of Negro-majority counties has declined.

These 18 counties, with their 1940 percentages of Negro population, are:

Autauga	53.4	Lowndes	84.7
Barbour	55.5	Macon	82.1
Bullock	78	Marengo	72.8
Choctaw	53.1	Monroe	52.9
Clarke	52.2	Montgomery	50.1
Dallas	73.8	Perry	71.8
Greene	83.8	Russell	59
Hale	71.9	Sumter	79.4
Lee	56.5	Wilcox	78.3

It will be noted that these counties all lie in a broad belt across the south-central part of Alabama. They include all the Black Belt counties. The other counties in the list adjoin Black Belt counties with the single exception of Lee.

In these counties also the general trend has been toward a smaller percentage of Negro population. In 12 of the 18 counties there were, relatively, fewer Negroes in 1940 than there were in 1930 or in any decade since 1900. Even in the six counties which showed a larger percentage of Negroes in 1940 than they did in 1930 there was a relative decline in Negroes as compared with census years before 1930. Not one of the 18 counties has as large a proportion of Negroes as it had in 1910, the first census year after the present constitution was adopted. The argument that a stricter registration law is needed now does not find support in any changes in population status.

* * *

The fears in these 18 counties are not to be brusquely pushed aside, however. They are understandable. But the question is whether the Boswell amendment is a wise, justifiable solution of their problem.

The 18 counties have a total population of 583,729. That is 20.6 per cent of the state total. Their white population is 214,586, or 11.6 per cent of the white population of the state and 7.5 per cent of the total population. What about the nearly 80 per cent of the state's population who live in counties where there are white majorities? Shall they be called upon to face the dangers of adopting a repressive amendment that threatens every minority in the state?

* * *

(Note—An appeal to voters issued by Gessner T. McCorvey under authority granted by a majority of the State Democratic Executive Committee to spend $3,500 of party funds in behalf of the Boswell amendment says there are only 17 counties with more than 50 per cent Negro population. Presumably the committee omits Montgomery County from its list. Counting out Montgomery and its 114,420 population would greatly alter many of the percentages given above.)

Stage Thunder

The News Birmingham, Ala.

The debate on the Boswell amendment is now in its last week. It is a striking thing that now, as at the beginning of the argument, supporters of the amendment have only one point to make. It is that a flood of Negro votes is impending and that the amendment is the only way in which to prevent this inundation and so to preserve "white supremacy." To support that contention, they have presented statistics intended to frighten and confuse, just as they have brushed aside our present laws on registration as though they were not on the statute books. The strange thing about the Boswellians is that they think about Negro voting much as did the men who wrote the state constitution a half century ago, but show little respect for the work of the hands of those men. Sat. 11-2-46

One proponent of the amendment has emerged from political retirement to lead this crusade. In the speech he has delivered on a number of occasions he submits figures calculated to harrow the souls and freeze the blood of his listeners, making their hair stand on end "like quills upon the fretful porcupine." Without this amendment, he asserts, 200,000 Negro voters will engulf the state, three Negroes will be on the Jefferson County delegation, while similar black ills and perils will descend upon the commonwealth. What this prophet of doom has done apparently is to assume that all bars will be down and that voters and their choices will proceed on the basis of the division of our population into whites and Negroes.

News Birmingham, Ala.

That's nonsense, of course. The provisions for registration we now have are stringent and searching to an extent which most of us do not realize. Implemented by a little additional legislation which can be enacted next year without constitutional amendment, as suggested by Peyton Bibb in his Kiwanis speech Tuesday, they will prevent the mass registration about which there is so much shouting. Even without such legislation, the qualifications now required will serve, as they have done for 43 years, to keep our voting lists free of the deluge which threatens us in the imagination of some. The truth of the matter is that this is largely stage thunder. White supremacy is in no such danger. The customs of the South are not thus imperiled. Birmingham

The Boswellians have a strange logic by any test. Here is Gessner McCorvey, father or godfather of the Boswell amendment, admitting that the proposal has its flaws, but that it can be perfected in a couple of years. Nevertheless, he cries out for approval of the amendment. He grants that the amendment is defective, but he asks the rest of us, who see still other weaknesses, to go along with him on the theory that any expedient is better than none. Expedient against what? Against mass registration by Negroes. But is that a real danger? Are we to approve a constitutional amendment which not only would undermine the rights of white citizens, but is quite gratuitous as a barrier to undue Negro registration?

Ala.

Instead of confirming this inept and bungling amendment in the hope of setting it right in two years, isn't it sensible to wait that time for the formulation of an amendment which does not have to be apologized for? Isn't it sensible, if the people of Alabama want a suffrage amendment, to call on the Legislature to draft something which will not make dictators of registrars and which will stand a good chance of receiving the okeh of the U. S. Supreme Court? If the voters of the state at large are receiving some of the literature which is being distributed in Jefferson County on behalf of the Boswell amendment, they should realize that it is not a good cause which has to be promoted by such intolerant appeals.

Those Who Fear Change

The News Birmingham, Ala.

The history of voting is replete with examples of what is taking place in Alabama today. Every effort to extend the franchise has found opposition in the ranks of those who through the franchise have favored positions. It is so in Alabama today, where much support of the Boswell amendment comes not from a fear of any particular group voting, but from a fear that increasing the total of voters will bring a shift in political power away from those who now hold it.

The Black Belt is the center of support for the Boswell amendment. The Black Belt is also the section of the state that for 36 years has successfully fought all efforts to reapportion the State Legislature as was supposed to have been done after the 1910 federal census and each 10 years thereafter. The Black Belt also failed to get its candidates for governor and for senator nominated in recent elections. Most election portents in recent years have pointed to the diminishing power of the Black Belt in state affairs, where it has ruled so long. Mon. 10-28-

* * *

Now the state again is witnessing a fight that very largely is a test of Black Belt strength. For the Boswell amendment is an attempt to limit the franchise substantially to meet the wishes of those who would lose by change. One effect of the amendment would be to increase the difficulty of putting an end to the injustices of the present system of apportioning the State Legislature by which a vote in one county, Bullock for example, has eight times the weight in state affairs of voters in another county, Cullman for example. The Boswell amendment would tend to continue, even to perpetuate, Black Belt domination of the Legislature. It could well be used to reverse the present tendency of other sections to gain more strength in state affairs through election of governors, senators and other state officials who do not reflect the Black Belt psychology.

Mon. 10-28-46

These criticisms of the Black Belt, however, are not intended to impute to Black Belters such base emotions as greed or selfishness. This paper is convinced that many Boswell amendment advocates are earnest and conscientious. They are convinced that what they are doing is for the good of the state. But in so thinking they are victims of one of the oldest delusions in mankind, the delusion that their good is also society's good. They are confusing, naturally enough, their own welfare with the state's welfare.

Sharp limitations on the franchise always create the danger in the class which has the franchise of thinking that its interests are identical with those of the state. The Black Belt has fallen a victim to that danger. Its citizens are victims even when they are sincere and high-minded, as many of them are. Their present alarm is but illustration of the truth of a statement by Schiller: "Every change makes the favorites of fortune anxious." The Black Belt is anxious and fearful at the prospect of change. It wants to retain the status quo because that is where its strength and power lie. Most of its people cannot see that the welfare and the progress of the state as a whole call for reapportionment and for a gradually expanding electorate.

Voice Of The People

LIKE HITLER

The News, Birmingham, Ala.

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

Las' night I listened to some speaker rant over WSGN about the Boswell amendment till I was disgusted. At that time I had not made up my mind just how I wanted to vote. By the time he finished I knew I was going to vote against it, and so was my family.

I closed my eyes and thought I must be listening to Hitler rave again like he did before we got into the war, when we used to listen to him and then to an interpreter.

If this amendment is passed, all free privileges will be taken away from the lower and middle-class people.

Such abuse as went on over the air last night is enough to destroy all the good feeling that has ever existed between the races in Alabama. If we can't live in a small state like Alabama without such selfishness and abuse, how do you think an agreement can be reached at the conference table? If that amendment passes, we might as well be living in Russia. I am surprised at Southern people. I used to feel embarrassed for Mississippi with her Bilbos and Georgia with her Gene Talmadges, but Alabama now has so many like them I wonder what the end will be.

The trouble is the Southern or Black Belt "bigwigs" can see from now on that good old North Alabama is going to send some men to Montgomery. Wake up, North Alabama voters. Come to the polls and defeat this amendment, No. 4, and continue to live in a free state instead of under county dictators.

R. F. D. 5. Sun. 10-27-46 JOHN BROWN.

* * *

VIEWPOINT OF NEGRO YOUTH

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

We have been doing much reading of the daily paper for our social studies class, and have been stimulated quite a bit with the opinions found in the various editorials. We would like to share our opinion as high school seniors.

A great many people are disillusioned and mistaken about the Negro and social equality. We, as young Negro Americans, do not feel that the members of our race are setting as their goal intermarriage.

We do, as a people, have our aims and desires, which are upon a different scale altogether. Some of our most important goals are equal educational opportunities, equal health facilities, the right to develop our capabilities as normal human beings to the fullest extent, to fill any position for which we are qualified, and the right to vote in a democracy. Are these aspirations too unreasonable to desire?

Anyone who was not denied the right to fight equally for this country should not be denied the foregoing privileges.

Many people do not realize that on the whole we are fundamentally the same, that we all desire the same things, peace, security and the right to vote. St. Paul sums it up for us in Galatians 3:28 when he says, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

THE SENIOR CLASS, 1947,
Lincoln School, Marion, Ala.

* * *

WHAT WHITE SUPREMACY?

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

Since the proponents of the Boswell amendment are basing their entire argument for passage of this rotten proposal on the issue of supremacy of the white race, let's examine the facts concerning white supremacy.

White supremacy as advocated by the Black Belt politicians and their ilk is a myth. They would have us cry on their shoulders because many of their counties have two or three times as many Negroes as white people. But they would have you overlook the fact that they originally gained control of the State Legislature by using these same Negroes as a basis for securing the controlling number of legislators they have illegally held ever since 1910.

When the Legislature was apportioned after passage of the constitution of 1903, one of these periled Black Belt counties secured three legislative representatives and one senator on a basis of having almost 50,000 people within its borders. Here is the amazing fact: Of these almost 50,000 people, only one-fourth were white. They didn't mind using the Negro population to gain control of the Legislature. Since gaining control of the Legislature by using their Negro population as the basis by which to do so, they have defrauded the majority of the white people of this state of their franchise as voters. They have always stood for Black Belt supremacy, instead of white supremacy.

The voter in Jefferson County has never had a voice in the state government because the Black Belt legislators have knowingly, willfully and with full intent deprived him or her of the franchise as a voter. They have blocked at all costs any efforts to apportion legislators in accordance with the population figures as required by our state law. They have thereby deprived our white people of the vote by destroying the meaning of the vote, in that our vote for better schools, Jim Folsom's program, etc., is meaningless unless they, the eminent directors of our state's destiny, see fit to allow the people to have their wish.

Don't forget that under this proposal, if boards of registrars had the desire to register and use every Negro in their counties, theirs is the absolute and unquestioned right to do so. This is a terrifying thing to consider, if you really believe that the right to vote is a sacred thing and should not be handed to every person who wants to register because some agitator had insisted that he do so.

Frank Dixon tells the people that unless they pass the law this November we will never get another chance to pass it. This is an argument for passage; but strangely it constitutes the strongest argument against passage I have heard. If we can get by this political Black Belt monster then, thank goodness we will not be confronted with it again. If this monster is passed and becomes law, it can never be repealed, regardless of how rotten and filthy its administration may be. The same Black Belt boys who have passed it, and who have refused to let the people rule by preventing legislative reapportionment, will never allow its repeal, however sickening it may become. It was passed by them with their own particular benefit in mind and will be used by them for their own selfish benefit, not the people's.

RAYMON J. ROWELL.

WHO PLAYS THE FIDDLE?

The Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

The Boswell Amendment (Number 4 on November 5) is going to be defeated, but the people's victory over this brazen attack on their democratic rights will be hard-won. Thurs. 10-10-46

In this fight over the suffrage (which is not a party fight at all) the money of al Democrats is being used by the State Democratic Executive Committee to put over an Amendment to the State's Constitution on which even the members of the Committee themselves are far from unanimous.

That money is being used freely for newspaper space all over Alabama, and for mailing out hysterical printed matter calculated to stir the race issue.

Desperate before the indictment drawn so ably by Dick Rives, which shows that the Amendment hazards the franchise of every voter, present and future, the Horace Wilkinson-Frank Dixon crowd floods the state with that old voter-getter — "White Supremacy."

And now it seems that the voters of the Democratic Party in Alabama must face the money power not only of the State Democratic Executive Committee but also the propaganda mills of the present State Administration—at the taxpayer's expense.

It is our old friend Joe Poole, State Commissioner of Agriculture, and defeated candidate for Governor, who makes use of a State publication to propagandize for the Boswell Amendment.

Mr. Poole's office puts out a little paper known as the Alabama Farmers' For Sale, Want and Exchange Bulletin. It is an excellent medium of exchange for farmers. On the editorial page are these words: "Items can be accepted from farmers only, and the materials must be farm products, implements, and articles used in the furtherance of the agriculture industry."

But the rules for farmers apparently do not apply to Mr. Poole.

He uses the entire front page of the issue of October 15 for publication of his views on the controversial Boswell Amendment. Mr. Poole, an elected official of the people of Alabama, uses their money to tell them how they should vote!

It matters little, perhaps, that Mr. Poole displays his ignorance of the facts.

Example of his misinformation: "If we do not adopt the Boswell Amendment, we in Alabama will have little choice about who votes in the primaries, because, in view of a decision rendered by the United States Supreme Court in a Texas case, our Boards of Registrars will be forced to register practically everyone who applies for registration."

The fact is that the Texas decision had nothing whatever to do with registration. Instead, it declared that once registered, a voter must be permitted to participate in the primary. The Texas decision leaves intact every safeguard of our present Constitution against mass or indiscriminate registration.

But the people of Alabama may as well prepare for a deluge of such arguments from the political masterminds who are determined to reduce the voting lists and control elections in Alabama. They have money for their campaign, and now Mr. Poole gives them the use of his State-financed publication.

Obviously the big money, fiddling away strenuously at the tune of race hatred, is behind the Amendment. The hope of Alabama is that voters by now have grown suspicious of that worn-out, ugly tune, and look closely at the men who play the fiddle.

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser

REGISTRARS NOT ATTACKED

Some of the supporters of the Boswell Amendment have said that the opponents of this amendment are attacking the registrars. It has been alleged that we have reflected on the integrity of the registrars.

There is no truth in those charges.

Opponents of Amendment No. 4 respect the registrars. Actually, some of the registrars are themselves opponents of the amendment. Montgomery, Ala.

The attacks are on the amendment itself. The registrars, who would have to interpret it if it were adopted, would be victims, along with the rest of us, of the amendment. They would have to bear the brunt of it.

We believe that registrars are, by and large, fine, honest people, selected because of their integrity and intelligence. We hope that the registrars to be appointed in the future will be similarly fine.

The trouble with the Boswell Amendment is that it provides a weagon for somebody who might have other ideas, who might some day appoint registrars for political purposes. Sun. 10-27-46

The simple truth is that Amendment No. 4 is undemocratic and full of dangerous possibilities. For this we do not hold the registrars responsible.

QUINTON JAMES.

807 Yancey Ave.,
Montgomery, Ala.

* * * *

COMPARISON WITH GEORGIA

Editor, The Advertiser:

Every white man in Alabama should vote for the Boswell amendment on November 5. An examination of the situation in our neighboring state of Georgia caused by the mass registration of Negroes there is proof of the necessity of the Boswell amendment passing if we value our homes either sentimentally or monetarily. In Atlanta about 20,000 Negroes registered in a few weeks under Arnall's program.

Now mass meetings are being held in the oldest part of Atlanta in an attempt to keep Negroes from moving in next door to white people, and values of real estate are falling, due to the fact that if this continues many parts of Atlanta will not be fit for white people to live in.

In the forthcoming election Atlanta has barely missed having a Negro coroner. There were 29 white candidates and one Negro in the Democratic primary and with the votes of 20,000 Negroes, just registered, the

Negro would certainly have been elected. It was only by the discovery of the fact that the Negro had a criminal record that his name was removed from the ballot, and even then the registrars fear being sued for removing a candidate's name from the ballot. The Boswell amendment will prevent such situations as this occurring. Alabama has been a good state to live in. A vote for the Boswell amendment will help to keep it so.

J. F. DUGGAR, JR.
Hope Hull, Ala.

(Editor's Note: The Georgia and Alabama situations are not comparable. Georgia dropped her restrictions on registration—all. Alabama has all the restrictions that have been in force since 1901. No "bars" have been erected. If additional qualifications are needed, they should be honest, genuine qualifications capable of fair administration. The Boswell Amendment, crude and unlikely to pass scrutiny by the U. S. Supreme Court, is not a solution at all.)

Poole Supports Boswell Plan To Brake Outside Influences

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 10-9-46

Joe Poole, commissioner of agriculture and industries, losing candidate for governor in the last primary, but who supported Jim Folsom in the second primary, is in favor of the Boswell amendment, thus putting himself squarely against the position taken by Mr. Folsom.

Mr. Poole cites conditions that have arisen since the white Democrats of Alabama adopted the constitution of 1901 and says "Supreme Court decisions and economic conditions have nullified the objectives we attained in 1901 and it is necessary to adopt the Boswell amendment if we wish to retain White Supremacy.

Mr. Poole believes that Negroes who have proven themselves worthy of the ballot should be allowed to vote by our present system of county boards and registrars. But he does not believe the gates should be opened for an inrush into our primaries of many thousands of Negroes who are not yet fitted as citizens to vote.

Mr. Poole fears that if the Boswell amendment is defeated, the result will be an Alabama delegation to the next National convention favoring the nomination of Henry Wallace or some other leftwinger.

Writing from the point of view "of a layman" Mr. Poole presents the following argument for the Boswell amendment: The Advertiser

Cites Qualifications

"I am for the Boswell amendment because, if we adopt the amendment, we, the people of Alabama, through our boards of registrars in the several counties, will be able to determine who will vote in our primaries. If we do not adopt the Boswell amendment, we in Alabama will have little choice about who votes in the primaries; because, in view of a decision rendered by the United States Supreme Court in a Texas case, our boards of registrars will be forced to register practically everyone who applies for registration. At present the chief requirement to vote is the ownership of $300 worth of property and the ability to read and write. In my opinion, integrity, good citizenship and some degree of intelligence should be the qualifications for voting.

Little Choice

"I realize that technically the Boswell amendment provides that you have to be able to understand the Constitution to be entitled to vote, but don't forget that it will be left up to three registrars in each county to decide who will vote. These registrars are appointed by three of your elective officials—namely, the governor, the commissioner of agriculture, and the state auditor. Whereas, if the Boswell amendment is defeated, the registrars will have very little choice as to what applicants they will register.

"Now, I want to say here that I am not a "Negro baiter" and I am not a "Negro hater." I just don't think it is to the best interest of the Negroes to be given wholesale franchise at the present time. On the other hand, all citizens who appreciate the Negro for his real worth should see to it that the best Negroes are allowed to register and vote with their good white folks. Otherwise we will force all the good Negroes away from their white folks into a party sponsored by Republicans, renegades, a few well meaning but misguided people, and a lot of left-wing intellectuals. This, in my opinion, would prove a calamity for Alabama.

The Average Negro

"The reason the present requirements relative to voting were written into the 1901 constitution was to disfranchise the average Negro, because conditions were in such a deplorable state in Alabama at that time the best white people banded together and submitted the present requirements for voting to the constitutional convention. However, Supreme Court decisions and economic conditions have nullified the objectives we obtained in the 1901 constitution and it is necessary to adopt the Boswell Amendment if we wish to maintain "white supremacy" in Alabama. Let me repeat, if we do not adopt the Boswell Amendment, our Boards of Registrars are going to be forced to register practically all Negroes, and this wholesale registering of Negroes means wholesale bribery and debauchery at the polls. With feelings running high, as they usually do in most elections, you can imagine what the condition will be with all of these Negroes voting, a lot of whisky mixed up in the primary and certain outside influences preaching social equality. I am old enough to personally know that the two races are getting along better today than they did back when all Negroes voted before 1901. Montgomery, Ala.

"Misleading Reports"

"Many misleading reports have gone out. In The Montgomery Advertiser of Oct. 1 there is a statement by the Hon. Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, correcting an erroneous statement that has been spread abroad to the effect that everyone will have to register again. Mr. McCorvey says this statement is not true, that everybody who is registered at present and who is allowed to vote at present will continue to be allowed to vote in the primaries. The Boswell Amendment only affects those who have not registered and will register in the future. So much for the Boswell Amendment. Wed. 10-9-46

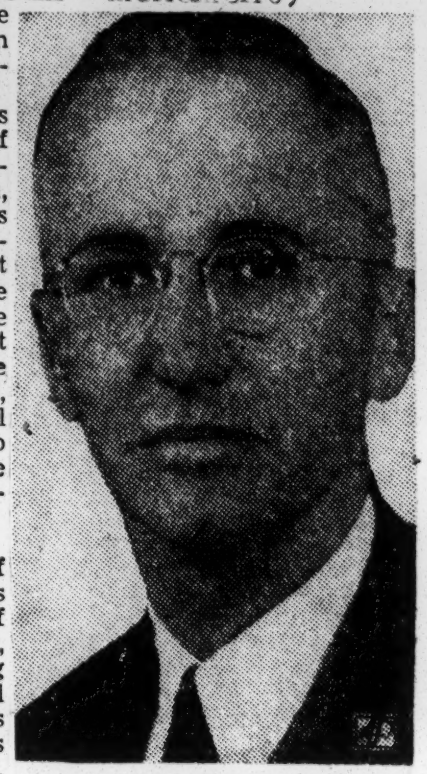
"There are a lot of other issues that will develop as a result of the adoption or defeat of the Boswell Amendment. In my opinion, if the Boswell Amendment is adopted, Alabama will send a conservative delegation to the next national convention, who will be interested in nominating someone for president who will represent all the people—all groups. If the Boswell Amendment is defeated, in my humble opinion, we will send a delegation instructed to vote for Henry Wallace or some other left-winger who is interested chiefly in one group.

Sees PAC Support

"Specifically, I charge the chief support behind Henry Wallace is the PAC and the Communists of America. As you no doubt know, the PAC is a strong, left-wing political organization sponsored chiefly by the northern leaders of the CIO Union. These leaders advocate, stand for, and fight for, not only economic equality, but social equality between the races. Note that I said the northern leaders stood for this. This is not intended to indict the leaders of this organization in Alabama; but, at the same time, we must admit the Alabama leaders are forced in many instances to go along with these northern leaders. These same leaders are the ones who brought on one strike after another during the war when our boys were fighting on foreign battlefields; and, in many instances, they were deprived of sufficient ammunition, equipment, and even food, due to strikes brought about by these leaders.

"The CIO leaders advocate high wages for the members of their organization and always oppose increased prices for the farm groups. The present average income of a CIO worker is more than $2,800 per year. The average income for the farmer, including his wife and two children, is less than $1,600 per year. I do not think that any one group should prosper at the expense of other groups, but all groups should be treated equally and should be allowed to share alike in the fruits of the nation's economy. The CIO-PAC is going all out against the Boswell Amendment. This is one of the strongest reasons why we, who do not share in their political philosophy, should be for it.

"In conclusion, if you want to be dictated to by outside influences who are inspired and coerced by the Negro vote in the North and East, then vote against the Boswell Amendment; but, if you believe in State's rights, in local self-government, and that Alabama is capable of running its own affairs for the benefit of Alabamians, both white and black, vote for the Boswell Amendment.



JOE POOLE

Folsom Declares He Will Vote 'No' On Boswell Bill

The News

Proposed Amendment No. 4 'Undemocratic'; Eight Others Okehed

Birmingham, Ala.

Gov.-Nominate James E. Folsom declared in an announcement issued today from Cullman that he would vote "yes" for all proposed amendments to the constitution scheduled for a vote in the Nov. 5 general election except the so-called Boswell amendment.

"I will vote 'no' on proposed Amendment No. 4, the so-called Boswell amendment," he declared, "because this amendment is undemocratic because it further restricts the right of franchise. At the present time the voting franchise is so restricted that a very small percentage of our citizens are able to participate in our primaries and elections." Fri. 10-25-46

Folsom said in his announcement that "many people have requested my opinion on the various amendments to be voted on Nov. 5."

* * *

"AS THE NOMINEE FOR GOVERNOR of the dominant party in Alabama," his announcement added, "I think it is my duty to make my position clear on each. And in line with that position I have also given the reasons as set out below:

"Amendment No. 1. I will vote yes. Reason: This amendment is of a local nature. Since it was advocated by the legislative representatives of the counties concerned, I favor its adoption.

"Amendment No. 2. I will vote yes. Reason: This amendment will enable the State of Alabama to obtain federal hospital funds for the various counties and communities of this state.

* * *

"AMENDMENT NO. 3. I will vote yes. Reason: This amendment is of a local nature affecting the town of Haleyville. Since the legislative representative of that district advocates this amendment, I am supporting it."

After announcing he would vote "No" on Amendment No. 4, and giving his reasons, Folsom's announcement continued:

"Amendment No. 5, I will vote yes. Reason: This amendment merely allows several towns and cities in Alabama voting privilege on local taxation. Believing in taxation by consent of the taxed, I favor its adoption.

* * *

"AMENDMENT NO. 6. I will vote yes. Reason: This amendment gives the legislators a longer period in which to debate and consider the various issues. I support this amendment because free and unrestricted debate and free and unrestricted elections are necessary to any free people.

"Amendment No. 7. I will vote yes. Reason: Air transport has become a leader in the transportation field. In order that Alabama shall stay abreast in air transportation, it is essential that we have airport facilities. It is necessary for this amendment to pass in order that we may participate in federal funds and acquire Army airfields.

"Amendment No. 8. I will vote yes. Reason: This amendment helps to make available essential hospital service to all the people of Alabama. I favor it.

"Amendment No. 9. I will vote yes. Reason: This amendment concerns only Mobile County. It was sponsored and approved by the legislative representatives of Mobile County, and I will therefore support it."

DR. WARD RAPS BOSWELL PLAN

CAMP HILL, Ala., Oct. 10—(AP)—Urging defeat of the Boswell amendment, Dr. Lyman Ward, Republican nominee for governor, said today that knowledge of the Constitution would be an unfair test of a voter's qualifications.

The amendment would require registrants in Alabama to be able to "understand and explain" any section of the U. S. basic law.

"If the real reason is for a literacy test," Dr. Ward said in a statement, "then some standard piece of English rather than the Constitution should be selected.

"No person seeking the ballot should be called upon to interpret the Constitution while wiser men are uncertain as to its meaning."

Citing the recent disclosure that all members of the Macon County Board of Registrars had resigned following a Negro's lawsuit in Federal Court charging members of the board refused to register him because of his race, the GOP nominee said:

"Under conditions as they are now, an increasing number of lawsuits is bound to spring up. If the Boswell amendment becomes a law, there will be still more lawsuits."

And, he added, it will be "increasingly difficult to get honest, fair-minded men and women to serve on the boards of registrars."

"There is absolutely no retroactive feature in the Boswell amendment," McCorvey said in a statement.

"It applies in no manner whatsoever to voters who are already registered. The franchise of any Alabama voter now duly registered is in no manner endangered by the Boswell amendment, and no re-registration is authorized, permitted or required."

He criticized as "absurd" a contention by Richard T. Rives, Montgomery attorney, that the amendment, if adopted, would be retroactive to 1903 and endanger the franchise of every Alabama voter who has registered since that time.

Foes Gumshoe Plan

Tues. 10-9-46

Amendment Opponents Openly Charged With 'Whispering Campaign'

MOBILE, ALA., Sept. 30.—(AP) —Democratic Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey declared tonight that opponents of the Boswell amendment were adopting "gumshoe tactics and a whispering campaign" in efforts to defeat the proposal.

McCorvey Hits Boswell Plan's

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

The party chairman, one of the leaders in the fight to obtain adoption of the amendment to tighten the State's qualifications for voting, said in referring to Rives' statement:

"Only in desperation would opponents of the Boswell amendment adopt such tactics in their efforts to defeat this very fair and reasonable constitutional amendment.

"We defy those leading this fight to point out any single solitary provision whatsoever, either in our constitution as it now stands, in the proposed constitutional amendment, or in the laws of Alabama providing for, authorizing or even permitting any re-registration of a voter who has already registered."

The amendment, to be voted upon Nov. 5, would require prospective voters "to understand and explain" instead of being able to read any section of the Federal Constitution.

ANTHROPOLOGY

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

If I never write another line please allow me space in which to commend Mr. Horace Wilkinson and his learned academic viewpoint on race as it is concerned in the Boswell Amendment. If I hadn't seen or heard his name anywhere I would have thought his speech came from no less than Ales Hrdlicka himself; though, of course, I know nothing of the latter's viewpoint, socio- or politically, on the graces of the White versus the Black Man. Montgomery, Ala.

There are minds naive enough to believe that since all humans exhibit similarities, possibly identities, that we are all "brothers under the skin." Also, there are those among us who came down South during the bonanza of the gold rush period of the late War, who are NOT Southerners and who hold divergent views on race, the most outstanding characteristic of which is the optical phenomenon of color-blindness. To them, having lived near the cesspool of Ellis Island without benefit of their "first papers," is it any wonder that they do not understand the meaning of White Supremacy? and of the pride (some call it "prejudice") in answering to the genus of Anglo-Saxon? . . . Just as every anthropologist knows, there is race differentiation; and where you have differentiation you will surely find the qualities of Superiority and Inferiority. Wed.

It is no accident that a Negro has never produced an Aristotle. It is no accident that a Negro has never produced a Poincare. It is no accident that a Negro has never produced an Ogden or a Richards. It is no accident that a Negro has never produced a work of abstract thought beyond the crassest superstition. It is no accident that the circularity and sphericity of the earth happened to be discovered by a White Man. Neither is it an accident that Jesus Christ happened to be a White Man. 9-25-46

And however imperfect it may be, it is no accident that it is the White Man who pulled himself—he—AND THE NEGRO—out of the Stone Age and made of this world what it is today.

And if some Atomic Court of the future ever decides that creation of the earth is a botch job. . . . You are right! . . . It will be the White Man who will blow it to bits!

WARREN F. AVERY.

411 South Perry Street,
Montgomery, Ala.

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Montgomery Ala.

WHY NOT REQUIRED VOTING?

Advertiser Wed. 9-25-46

Editor, The Advertiser:

Congratulations for your stand on the forthcoming election and the proposed Amendment No. 4—more popularly known as the Boswell Amendment. This is one bit of proposed legislation that should interest every one in Alabama.

To most of us it matters not if the law is unconstitutional. Leave it to the legal fraternity to debate that. The important question is whither does it lead? Everywhere but in Alabama the trend is toward more liberalized voting laws. Georgia abolished the poll tax only last year and also passed a law permitting 18-year-olds to vote. For some years both North Carolina and Virginia have permitted anyone of legal age to register and vote regardless of race, color, or creed — in accordance with our Constitution—and without the payment of a poll tax. The Advertiser

Judge Wilkinson freely admits that the purpose of the amendment is to prevent the Negro vote. The good judge seems to have forgotten about a Corporal named Adolph, and in his forgetting he would have Alabama take a long step back toward the horse and buggy days that all other States are getting away from. North Carolina with its Negro citizens with voting privileges has never had any "nigger trouble." Virginia, too, has been singularly free of race troubles since the Negro has had this privilege.

So we see that the gentlemen here in Alabama who are sponsoring this amendment are actually setting up straw men and knocking them over like duck pins. They are fighting windmills that do not exist. Then what is their real purpose?

Frankly, I don't know. Whatever the purpose, it is not what they tell us it is . Obviously they are less worried about this one per cent Negro vote than they are about the voting records of certain whites. Under the proposed amendment if they can prevent the Negro registering, they can also prevent anyone else registering. The law will protect no one. You will have no legal rights. Your qualifications will be on a strictly personal basis.

If these gentlemen really want democratic government, why not a law requiring everyone to vote. Let those who fail to do so pay a poll tax. Instead, the men whom we are asked to follow, are leading back toward the Civil War and Reconstruction days instead of marching toward an elgihtened 20th Century. Wise men will think carefully before following them into the by-paths of intrigue whither they are pointing. Yes, some strange bed fellows get into politics.

P. BUFORD HARRIS.

320 Mallory Street,
Montgomery, Ala.

Poll On Boswell Amendment At Troy

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 10-30-4

For this issue we decided to have the students speak not on a national or international issue but on a prominent problem soon to confront the voters of Alabama. Nov. 5, 1946, the voters of Alabama will say "yes" or "no" on nine amendments to our State Constitution. The amendment receiving so much attention and creating such a great controversy is known as the Boswell Amendment. (It will be shown on the ballot as Amendment No. 4.)

Considering the seriousness of the issue, it seemed appropriate to use the following question in this week's student opinion poll:

"Do you think the Boswell Amendment Should Be Passed?"

Auxford Sartain, Jr.: No. I think that the passage of the Boswell Amendment would set back democratic progress 50 years. The stated purpose of the amendment is to prevent Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary. The State Democratic Executive Committee has pledged itself to support "white supremacy." They claim that allowing the Negro to vote in the primaries would result in the election of Negro officials in some sections of the State. As of yet, the Negroes in the South have never voted as a bloc. They have voted as individuals and not as a race.

In regard to the actual provisions of the amendment, I cannot believe that the local boards have the necessary qualifications to determine just which voters are able to understand and interpret the Constitution. I also question their fitness to determine the "moral character" of the individual.

Ollie Baker. No. The Boswell Amendment in its true sense would benefit all Alabamians. But in my estimation it will never be used for that and that alone. If it is passed, an oligarchy will be formed and we will no longer have a democratic way of voting.

The main purpose of the amendment is to exclude Negroes and other persons objectionable to the board of registrars from voting even though they are qualified.

Before we pass this amendment, which would permit the color of a man's face to determine his voting status, we should remember that as Dr. Frank P. Graham, speaking at the Southern Conference for Human Welfare said: "It takes both the black and white keys of the piano to play "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Ann Hadley: No. I do not think the Boswell Amendment should be passed. First, is it a scheme or a trick? It purports to be a general provision on voting qualifications while, as has been admitted, it is designed to exclude Negroes from voting. It is my belief that we should exclude all false, deceptive and trick laws which will in time produce just that kind of citizenship.

I also believe that the Boswell proposal is a sure way to build an oligarchy and produce the worst corruption and injustice possibe. We don't want that in our democracy!

Mike F. Bannon: Yes. The Boswell Amendment will be a restrictive measure with which each individual registry board will wield the right to select who, in their opinion, should vote. The board of registry will judge both white and colored and will make themselves so obnoxious with their constitutional queries that the populace as a whole will finally arouse themselves from their long time political lethargy with such strength as to cause the repeal of the amendment in question, plus other restrictive laws. Sometimes poison has to be cured with poison. The poisonous Boswell Amendment would help as an antidote to purge our poisonous political situation.

Marion Nixon: No. If the Boswell Amendment were passed, I imagine Alabama would be shocked at just how few people would actually qualify to vote. Passing the amendment would bring on an oligarchy which is positively wrong for the people of our State. In fact, I am of the opinion that the voting laws could be made more liberal so that more people could have actual participation in the State's government. We call ourselves a democracy but if we allow this amendment to be passed we are going directly against the ideals of our nation.

Charlie Trussel: No. The proponents of the amendment claim that the sole purpose is to retain a white primary. The amendment says nothing about a white primary, but it has a lot of high-sounding phrases like the understanding of the Constitution, good citizenship and good morals as requirements for voting. If the law makers write an amendment that states one thing and tell us that they expect it to accomplish another, how are we to be sure what to expect from it?

Because of the race prejudice in Alabama, the issue of white supremacy is a good political football, but in this instance it is being used to get an amendment passed that could very easily subjugate the large majority of the people of Alabama.

Joseph D. Barlar: No. The Boswell Amendment should not be passed because it is undemocratic, unconstitutional, and un-American. If passed, the amendment will give a few men the power to decide who can and who cannot vote in Alabama. When a government ceases to function by the people, it ceases to be a democratic government. Any but the blind can see that this amendment is nothing more than an unlawful ruse to keep the Negro from voting. It is contrary to Federal law and I believe that if it is passed and put into effect the Federal government will intervene. Worst of all is the fact that it is un-American. Negroes, Jews, Japanese-Americans and whites have fought alike for this country. Surely all of us should at least be able to vote in it. How can any true American say to a man because his skin is black, "You cannot vote. You have no right to say how this state is to be run. You are to do as I say because your skin is black and mine is white." Is this the American way?

As college students and potential leaders it is our duty to know what goes on in our State government and to oppose the things we think will be bad for them. Through my faith in the fairness of the people, I believe the Boswell Amendment will be overwhelmingly crushed on Nov. 5. — The Tropolitan, student newspaper, Troy State Teachers' College.

The Old Order Labors To Impede Progress

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Thurs. 11-7-46

ONE of the unhappiest results of Tuesday's elections was Alabama's adoption of the "Boswell Amendment" of its State Constitution. Here is another of those futile and desperate efforts by so many people in the Old South—the people who elect the BILBOS and TALMADGES—to set a block in the path of advancing democracy.

The amendment frankly was designed to restrict suffrage; specifically, to keep Negroes from voting. It was seized upon when it became obvious that the poll tax is passing and sooner or later will be gone everywhere. It was urged to get around the Supreme Court rule that it is unlawful to bar Negroes from primary elections. It provides that in order to vote, a man or woman must "understand and explain" the United States Constitution.

This is not necessarily evil in itself. But the amendment goes farther. It gives to local boards of registrars the power to be judge and jury in the matter. Alabama's own Justice HUGO BLACK could be barred, if his board decided it didn't like his explanation. Every person who became a voter since 1903 would be subject to the test.

Something of the sort was tried in North Carolina around the turn of the century, but died of its own iniquity when a highly qualified Negro made a test of it. It is part and parcel of the labored efforts of South Carolina—and now, EUGENE TALMADGE promises, of Georgia—to take primary election laws out of the statute books and permit the Democratic Party to make its own rules to admit only whites to the polls. These are all efforts that

But all is not as bad as it seems. It was encouraging that the opposition to the amendment was so logical and articulate and representative. Among those who the Klan and Senator LISTER HILL, challenged it were Governor-elect FOLSOM and The margin of its approval was more than 100,000 votes. More and more there is this protest for such patholess than 10,000 in a total of more than 100,000 votes.

Denial of fundamental civil rights, and nothing more, will be doomed, because they are directed to the old order is slipping, to be made of them.

Judge Dismisses . . .
Daily World
Alabama Suit
Atlanta, Ga.

MONTGOMERY — (SNS) — The suit brought by William P. Mitchell against two former members of Macon County Board of Registars on a charge of discriminating against him because of his race, was dismissed by U. S. District Court Judge C. B. Kenamer in District Court here Thursday Sat. 12-21-46

Judge Kenamer said Mictnell had failed to show tat there had been discrimination because of race.

Before handing down his ruling the judge said that it was a settled law that under the federal constitution, 'you cannot discriminate against a group because of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

Negro Voters Incorporated, Get Charter

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Thurs. 11-21-46

Veteran Group Okehed Following Objection From KKK Secretary

Tues. 11-19-46

MOBILE, ALA., Nov. 18.—(AP)—Probate Judge Norville R. Leigh, Jr., announced today that he had granted a charter for incorporation of an organization known as the Negro Voters and Veterans Association of Mobile after receiving an objection to issuance of the charter from an official of the Ku Klux Klan.

The group filed incorporation papers in the County Probate Court last week listing among its objectives to "assist and encourage" members to vote. J. J. Thomas was listed as president, and he identified himself in an interview as a Negro building contractor.

Judge Leigh said he received a telegram from William Hugh Morris of Birmingham, secretary of the federated Ku Klux Klan there, asking that a charter be denied the petitioning organization "in the interest of continued white supremacy and common sense."

The jurist said he had notified Morris the application contained "nothing violative of the laws of the State of Alabama" and that "as required by law, charter was this day granted."

Morris sent Judge Leigh the following telegram:

"If the Negro Voters and Veterans Association is allowed to incorporate under the protection of the laws of Alabama, they will only add fuel to the already dangerous conflagration of discord and distrust that threatens to erupt into open conflict at several points in our State.

The Advertiser

"Therefore, in the interest of continued white supremacy and common sense, with all Klans in Alabama concurring, we ask that this petition for incorporation be denied."

Montgomery, Ala.

Incorporation papers described the association as a "social club, not organized for profit."

President Thomas said in an interview that "our purposes are mutual benefit and uplift, as set forth in our constitution and by-laws."

Tues. 11-19-46

600 Negroes Study Constitution.

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Mobile, Ala., Nov. 20 (AP)—The leader of a newly-formed Negro organization which has as one of its objectives "to assist and encourage" members to register and vote reported today almost 600 persons had signed up for classes on the Federal Constitution.

Thurs. 11-21-46

Negro Group Seeks To Vote By Studying U. S. Constitution

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Thurs. 11-21-46

MOBILE, ALA., Nov. 20.—(AP)—The leader of a newly-formed Negro organization which has as one of its objectives "to assist and encourage" members to register and vote reported today almost 600 persons had signed up for classes on the Federal Constitution.

J. J. Thomas, 55-year-old building contractor and president of the organization, said inquiries were being received from other cities in the state regarding plans for the organization, which was set up following adoption of the Boswell Amendment in the Nov. 5 general election.

A corporate charter for the organization, the Negro Voters and Veterans Association, was protested by the Alabama Ku Klux Klan on grounds that it would "add additional fuel to the already dangerous conflagration of racial discord and distrust."

"Our race has never had an organization which has aroused so much interest among our people here as this one," Thomas said. "A lot of the applicants are war veterans and many of them are college graduates."

The Boswell Amendment, approved by a 10,000 vote margin after a heated campaign, requires that a registrant for voting be able to "understand and explain" any section of the Federal Constitution. County boards of registrars would pass upon each applicant's qualifications.

Endorsed by Gov. Chauncey Sparks and Democratic Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, the amendment was presented as a means of preventing mass registration of Negroes.

"With this amendment we had to proceed to do something to qualify for the ballot so we decided to start these classes," Thomas said.

"Now, since so much interest has been created, we feel that if we don't accomplish anything else we will have made our folks better citizens by understanding more about their Government."

Thomas said plans for selecting teachers and starting classes would be made Monday night. He added that prominent white attorneys and Democratic Party leaders would be invited to lecture and to offer ideas for qualifying Negroes for the ballot.

McCorvey said in a statement following adoption of the amendment the ballot would be extended to Negroes "just as soon as they have qualified themselves to vote intelligently."

Mobile Negroes Form 'Registration' Group

The News Birmingham, Ala.

MOBILE, Ala., Nov. 21—(AP)—Intense interest has greeted the formation of a Negro organization designed to "assist and encourage" members to register and vote, President J. J. Thomas says.

Almost 600 persons here have signed up for classes on the federal constitution and inquiries are being received daily from other cities in the state regarding plans for the organization, the Negro Voters and Veterans Association, he added.

Thurs. 11-21-46

"Our race has never had an organization which has aroused so much interest among our people here as this one," commented Thomas. "Many applicants are war veterans and many are college graduates."

The association was formed following the adoption of the Boswell amendment to the state constitution requiring registrants for voting to be able to "understand and explain" any section of the U. S. Constitution. The amendment was endorsed by several state leaders as a means of preventing mass registration of Negroes.

The Alabama Ku Klux Klan protested granting a charter to the organization on the grounds it would "add additional fuel to the already dangerous conflagration of racial discord and distrust."

Negroes Chartered To Aid, Encourage Members to Vote

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Tues. 11-19-46

Mobile, Ala., Nov. 18 (AP)—Probate Judge Norvelle R. Leigh, Jr., announced today that he had granted a charter for incorporation of an organization known as the Negro Voters and Veterans Association of Mobile after receiving an objection to the charter from an official of the Ku Klux Klan.

The group, which filed incorporation papers in the County Probate Court last week, listed among its objectives to "assist and encourage" members to vote. J. J. Thomas, president, identified himself in an interview as a Negro building contractor.

Judge Leigh said he received a telegram from William Hugh Morris of Birmingham, secretary of the Federated Ku Klux Klan there, asking that a charter be denied "in the interest of continued white supremacy and common sense."

Voters' Organization Wins Ala. Charter in Spite of KKK Protest

MOBILE, Ala. — Although the secretary of the federated Ku Klux Klan objected, Probate Judge Norvelle R. Leigh Jr., last week, granted a charter to the Negro Voters and Veterans' Association, J. J. Thomas, a building contractor, president.

The Klan official said the charter should be denied in the "interest of white supremacy and common sense." One of the objectives of the organization is to assist and encourage members to vote.

Mobile, Ala. Register November 21, 1946

Colored Citizens Join New Group

Organization Plans Study Of U. S. Constitution

By The Associated Press

The leader of a newly formed Mobile colored organization, which has as one of its objectives "to assist and encourage" members to register and vote, reported Wednesday almost 600 persons had signed up for classes on the federal constitution.

J. J. Thomas, 55-year-old building contractor and president of the organization, said inquiries were being received from other cities in the state regarding plans for the organization, which was set up following adoption of the Boswell Amendment in the Nov. 5 general election.

A corporate charter for the organization, the Negro Voters and Veterans Assn., was protested by the Alabama Ku Klux Klan on grounds that it would "add additional fuel to the already dangerous conflagration of racial discord and distrust."

"Our race has never had an organization which has aroused so much interest among our people here as this one," Thomas said. "A lot of the applicants are war veterans and many of them are college graduates."

The Boswell Amendment, approved by a 10,000-vote margin after a heated campaign, requires that a registrant for voting be able to "understand and explain" any section of the federal constitution. County boards of registrars would pass upon each applicant's qualifications.

Endorsed by Gov. Chauncey Sparks and Democratic Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, the amendment was presented as a means of preventing mass registra-

Voting Rights

Washington Post, D.C.

Believers in equality of voting rights, as provided in the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution and reaffirmed by the Supreme Court, will rise to a challenge contained in a recent statement by Governor Laney of Arkansas. Negroes will not be allowed to vote in Arkansas Democratic primaries this year, Mr. Laney has ruled. "We will conduct our primaries for State officials as we have always done," he asserted. "The Justice Department can crack its whip."

In an effort to prevent Negro voting in primaries for State offices, the Arkansas Legislature last year passed a law divorcing such primaries from those for Federal officials. Mr. Laney's invidious statement is a particularly insolent reminder that Arkansas political leaders intend to maintain white supremacy by defying Federal law with every maneuver possible. In this they have apparently ignored the example of a number of more progressive Southern States which have gone along with the Supreme Court's 1944 decision and have ceased to bar Negro voters from Democratic primaries—all, we might add, without the dire social effects foretold by the rabble rousers. The latest State to join this fold is Georgia, whose Governor has taken an active part in bringing about recognition of Negro voting rights.

The Department of Justice has announced that it will prosecute anyone who attempts to bar a person from voting because of color. This is the test which will determine whether the Constitution is to be enforced or to be passed off as mere eyewash. Clearly the Arkansas program, if carried out as planned, is a mandate for Federal action. We trust that the Justice Department will meet Governor Laney's challenge to crack its whip by vigorous prosecution of officials in high places. Sun 4-14-46

Negroes Vote In Arkansas Extra Primary

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 7-27-46

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Negroes voted for the first time in a Democratic Primary last Tuesday for members of Congress without any incidents, but they will be barred from a second primary to select a governor and other State officials on July 30.

Separate dates for the two primaries were made final when the State Supreme Court upheld a new present State law separating the two elections to prevent Negroes from voting for State officials. This legislation was passed after the Supreme Court decision outlawing the white primary and was held unconstitutional by a lower court.

Lee Whittaker, Fort Smith war veteran, who filed the suit to have the "extra" primary law declared unconstitutional, was a candidate running against Congressman Fadjo Cravens. The attempt to unseat Cravens was unsuccessful and all the State's Congressmen won renomination.

RULING ENCOURAGES VOTERS IN ARKANSAS

Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

LITTLE ROCK—(ANP)—Arkansas' 5,000 qualified Negro Democrats, members of the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association, expect to go to the polls during the summer Democratic State primary elections, leaders here declared last week following announcement of new department of justice's ruling on Negro voting.

Based on the United States Supreme Court decisions upholding the right of Negroes to vote, the department ruled that in the future denial of voting privileges will be subject to Federal prosecution under the criminal code. Negro leaders here disclosed they had expected such a ruling "in keeping with the trend of events."

VOTED IN PRIMARY

W. D. Jones, secretary of the Negro Civic organization of North Little Rock, said "a very appreciable number of voters cast their votes in the primary election April 2, and it shall be our concern to vote in all coming elections."

The Rev. E. C. Dyer, pastor of the First Baptist Church here, expressed apprehension "at an apparent belief of some officials that there is still hope of denying qualified Negroes the franchise through the double primary system."

"There is no fear of mass or bloc voting," declared J. H. McSonice, ex-secretary of the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association. "The Negro only wants a voice in government and his full State citizenship. It is to our benefit to see that only qualified Negroes are allowed to vote as independent individuals. Our Democratic organization has been built up with this in view." Sat. 4-20-46

IN 18 COUNTIES

The Association has organizations and committeemen in eighteen counties, including Pulaski, Drew, Desha, Jefferson, Sebastian, Phillips, Lee Hempstead, Conway, Bradley, Arkansas, Miller, Jackson, St. Francis, Ouachita, Lenoke, Mississippi and Hot Springs.

GOV. LANEY BARS VOTE BY ARKANSAS NEGROES

Mon 4-8-46 New York Times, N.Y.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., April 6 (AP)—Gov. Ben Laney said today that Negroes would not be permitted to vote in the Democratic primaries in Arkansas this year and added: "The Justice Department can crack its whip."

His statement followed a declaration by Solicitor General Howard J. McGrath in Washington yesterday that the Justice Department would prosecute "any State or party official who attempts to prevent a person from voting because of color" in a primary or general election.

Mr. Laney, nominal head of the Democratic party in Arkansas, said:

"We will conduct our primaries for State officials as we have always done." Mon 4-8-46

The Arkansas Legislature last year passed an act which separated Democratic primaries for State offices and those for Federal offices. Legislators frankly admitted the act was planned to prevent Negroes from voting in elections for State offices after the Supreme Court had held they could not be barred from voting for Federal officers in primary elections.

Resolutions on the subject of Negro voting included a denunciation of acts 107 and 108 as unconstitutional in separating federal and state primaries advice to voters "to observe order and to refrain from intemperate language and intolerance,' suggestions for selecting candidates, an appeal to Negroes to back the labor movement, and "organizations working to secure federal aid for regions economically unprepared to supply educational advantages." 6-29-46

"I don't believe there will be any attempt to prevent you from voting," said Atty. J. R. Booker, "but the department of justice wants you to fill out affidavits against any election official who refuse a qualified person the right to vote."

The affidavits, to be circulated if the state supreme court should hold the separate primaries law constitutional, will include the name of the voter refused, number of poll tax, number of years residence in the state, county and precinct, precinct in which an attempt was made to vote, statement that voter was refused ballot, and name of the election official involved.

"There is nothing in the 1945 act which stipulates that a Negro or any other nationality shall not vote in the Democratic primaries," remarked Dr. J. M. Robinson, president of the association. "It is my belief that this act was a mere smokescreen infiltrated with the shadow of intimidation and coercion." Houston Press

The association is not seeking soocial equality, he continued, but "we seek only those rights guaranteed to us by the bill of rights in our constitution. We seek the enforcement of law and not pretend enforcement of the law. We do not even seek to repeal of the poll tax.'

Dr. Robinson expressed the opinion that "a man who is too trifling to pay a $1.00 poll tax for the support of his schools is too trifling to make an effort to vote under any circumstance."

ARKANSAS KEEPS BAN ON NEGROES IN STATE VOTING

The Arkansas Supreme Court has upheld a legislative act designed to ban negroes from voting for state officials in Democratic primaries.

The act, passed last year, sets up separate primaries for state and federal offices. Negroes can vote in the primaries to nominate federal officials.

The federal preferential Democratic primary will be held July 16, with a run-off August 6. Primaries to nominate state officials are scheduled July 30 and August 13.

Lee Whittaker, of Fort Smith, candidate for Congress, challenged the act after seeking to force the Democratic State Committee to place his name on the state primary ballot.

Negroes Vote In Arkansas Prmary

Daily Worker Atlanta, Ga.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—(ANS)—Reports of early balloting showed that Negroes were voting apparently without challenge Tuesday in Arkansas' Democratic preferential state primary. They were casting votes in Sebastian, Pulaski and Garland counties. 7-31-46

Negroes Vow To Vote Or Take Court Action

Dreamland Houston Texas Sat. 6-29-46

LITTLE ROCK—(ANP)—At least 5,000 Arkansas Negroes are ready to vote or ready to take court action against any election official that denies them voting rights.

That sentiment was expressed here last week during a meeting of the Arkansas Negro Democratic association, attended by 75 delegates representing eight counties, at the Dreamland theater.

Arkansas Primary Fight Looms

The Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 2-2-46

By ENOC P. WATERS JR.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — Whether between 30,000 and 40,000 qualified Negro voters in Arkansas will be allowed to vote in the state and county Democratic primaries July 30 has Negro leaders here on edge.

Apprehension stems from two previous attempts to bar Negroes since 1944 when the U. S. Supreme Court handed down the Texas primary decision. In the first attempt the state central Democratic committee flatly declared Negroes ineligible because of race. Officials were afraid to enforce this defiant decision. The second attempt was through legislative enactment, the effectiveness of which has been damaged if not destroyed by a recent state supreme court ruling.

Astute Atty. J. R. Booker said the court edict nullified the law. He notified Dr. J. M. Robinson, president of the Arkansas Negro Democratic association to urge all qualified Negroes to the polls in the primary.

Affidavits Provided

The Negroes have been provided with affidavits to fill out if they are denied ballots, for filing with the Justice department in Washington.

Aside from fairly uniform residential requirements, the elector need pay only a $1 poll tax per year, not retroactive. Dr. Robinson does not oppose the poll tax here because he believes any person "to trifling" to pay it will not try to vote anyway. He is not unanimously backed in this attitude by his organization.

The Negro is usually challenged here after he appears at the polls. In a primary immediately after the U. S. Supreme Court ruling. Texas primary decision, Negroes in their attempt to crash the primary asked two questions: "When did you last vote? and "Will you support Mr. X if he is nominated?" X was invariably the most unpopular candidate to Negroes. Many disqualified themselves by answers to these questions.

A small number of Negroes were allowed to vote here before 1944 in the primaries. Approximately 500 voted in Little Rock alone as long ago as 1928 without trouble. Now among the whites is that with all bars down, white control of nominations will be lost. The tendency of the whites to split allegiance and of the Negro to line up solidly behind one candidate might give the Negroes power to swing any election.

Fear **Supported Al Smith**

Dr. Robinson came into promi-

AMERICA REVISITED

DR. J. M. ROBINSON

nence in 1928 as a Negro Democrat, with support of Al Smith for president, despite bitter opposition here because of religious prejudice. He lost much of his following because of the unpopularity of the Democratic label and because he was forced to go to court to cast a ballot in the Democratic election. The state supreme court ruling in his case might have an important bearing on Negro participation in future primaries.

Since the federal Texas decision membership in Robinson's Democratic organization has climbed to unprecedented heights. Class and economic lines have been cut across as interest in qualifying to vote grew.

In February, 1945, the state legislature alarmed at increasing numbers of qualified Negroes, passed acts 107 and 108 designed to bar them from the Democratic primaries. The first provides "for separate party primary for nomination of candidates for federal offices in which Negroes could vote." The second gives every organized political party right to prescribe qualifications for voting in its primaries.

Attacked Constitutionality

A white congressional candidate named Whittsker attacked 107 on ground that it violated the 14th amendment of the U. S. constitution. In its decision in this case Booker said the state supreme court ruled out 108, that was specifically directed at Negroes. The court ruled in effect that the Texas primary decision takes precedence over any state statute. It is quite possible that the court did outlaw 108, the Jim Crow voting device, even though it was not challenged.

Booker also laid stress on the decision in which he said a possible precedent was set to invalidate the "Democratic club technique" used by South Carolina to circumvent the federal court decision in the Georgia Primus King case.

Favorable as all this appears for the right of Negroes to participate in the state Democratic primary, the interpretation cannot be regarded as absolute until Act 108 is tested itself on its constitutionality. This is precisely the importance of the July 30 primaries.

45e 1946

How Would Suffrage in Washington Affect Us?

Calif. 2-1-46

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—Proponents of suffrage for the district have been asked to consider the disadvantages which would accrue to Negroes under the plan to give the district a vote. Sponsoring local government officials would be inclined to further southern policies, regardless of the number of Negro voters in the district, it is claimed, and the overwhelmingly majority would be quick to institute further segregation thereby depriving Negroes of the few civil rights they enjoy in the capital.

Employment, this objector stated, would wilt because most of the jobs now held by Negroes are in federal service.

Setting up a local government would bring local political leaders imbued with southern ideals they would quickly put into practice.

Pointing out the jim-crow schools of the district, the jim-crow theaters, restaurants and recreational facilities, this objector said the jim-crow pattern would be extended further and applied more strenuously than in other southern cities, just because this happened to be the capital.

2-1-46

Jerrymandering would be restored to prevent Negroes from having full and fair representation, even with the creation of new Negro ghettoes in the northeast and southeast sections of the city.

This big Negro vote potentiality has scared off any plans for suffrage in the district, but with the population increases showing that whites have gained while Negroes lost, the puny representation of Negroes in any elected body in the district would be equivalent to the puny registration in congress, this spokesman said.

"No Citizens Vote In D. C.," Says Bilbo

Birmingham, Ala. Negro

HATTIESBURG, Miss., May 9—(AP)—The citizens of Washington will never be permitted to vote, says Sen. Theo. G. Bilbo, of Mississippi, while he remains chairman of the Senate District of Columbia committee. Thurs 5-9-46

Bilbo, campaigning for the Democratic renomination, told a rally here last night that "there's a great fight being made to give the people of Washington the right to vote, which would mean the nation's capital would be turned over to the Negro race to control and operate."

"I think I can assure you that as long as I am a member of the Senate and chairman of this (District of Columbia) committee," he continued, "this will never take place.

"If we ever let the Negroes take charge of Washington a white man from the South will have one hell of a time to stay in Washington, because you would have a Negro mayor, a Negro board of aldermen, a Negro chief of police and Negro everything." 5-9-46

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D. C.

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Tuesday

"I read all the Negro newspapers and they do not hesitate to say what their plans are. They say the nation's capital should be 'thoroughly democratic,' and to do that we have got to make it black."

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As long as he is chairman of the Senate District Committee, Bilbo told his audience, the people of Washington would never be permitted to vote. That would mean giving control of the Capital to colored people, he said, only he used no such polite language.

5-14-46

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Two get offices in new suffrage organization

Tribune Los Angeles

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Two Negroes were elected officers of the newly organized Central Suffrage Conference of Washington at its first annual formal meeting here last week. Calif.

They were Oliver T. Palmer, vice-president of the local Industrial Union Council (CIO) and business agent for the United Cafeteria and Restaurant Workers, Local 471, vice-president; and Woolsey Hall, president of the Federation of (Negro) Civic Associations, treasurer. Two Negroes were also elected to the board of trustees.

Palmer said the Suffrage Conference, which plans a drive for at least 70,000 members, "is the most potent organization to fight for local suffrage and national representation that ever has been achieved in Washington. 5-25-46

Whites in Washington Vote Against Franchise for Selves to Keep Negroes From Getting It

Pursuit of Democracy

Pittsburgh Courier

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

Sat. 11-16-46

THE real citizens of the Nation who went to the real polls on election day to vote against the Democrats were probably too busy to notice that the non-citizens of the Negro high school students of voting, the Washington were going through a practice plebiscite. But any outsider who tried later in the week to improve his understanding of local sentiment on the issue of suffrage in the District of Columbia would WHAT WASHINGTON papers refrained very carefully from saying as they strained to give the impression that for the District of Columbia would have been confused by our local papers from saying as they strained to give the impression that have been interpretations of the mock balloting.

Miss McKenzie

Washington papers said that a (70 to 30) vote in favor of self-rule and an (86 to 14) majority for national representation was both good and bad. They said that a total registration of 169,654 persons out of a potential 600,000 eligible voters was both "gratifying" and "disappointing." They claimed that so the 30 percent objection dropped the Board of Trade's stunt, repeated for the first time since 1938 when it was sponsored by the Negro Conference, would lend itself to gerrymandering and proponents of the suffrage movement in Washington, D. C. Suffrage hinder the prospect or action racial drawback. Yet even without pictures of white people, both help and Congressional drawback in the ballot. It is not considered good taste in Washington among either Negro population, there is seeing the Negro people and thus enhance both their own and the nation's prestige in international affairs.

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How Would Suffrage in Washington Affect Us?

Courier 2-1-46

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* * *

AMUSINGLY little human interest stories of Negro octogenarian voters were scattered throughout all the papers. The racial spectre never once got off this cosy, manageable, unfrightening level. It must be admitted that throughout the experiment a great deal of tact, discipline and restraint was used to keep things cool. For example, it was instantly and quietly conceded that no statistics on race or sex would be taken. This fear and unwillingness to face the problem for what it really is, is a sad commentary on our inverted morality and on our picayune faith in our professed political ideals. We find such comfort in expediency. Always are we willing to leave the sleeping dog of reaction undisturbed, though our conscience clamor within us.

The vice chairman of the Plebiscite Executive Committee is quoted as having expressed the egregious opinion that Republican control of Congress will have no effect on such a bipartisan issue as the enfranchisement of the District of Columbia. In view of the significance of the racial issue, a logical estimate of the situation would be just the opposite if this gentleman dared say so. The Republicans can afford to recognize and talk out loud about the large potential Negro vote here. They could see in the Districts' suffrage fight a change to feather the nest for the homeward looking (and flying) Negro angels. If instead of making a few flashy appointments, the Republicans were to pick up this issue for what it really is and sponsor it, they could square themselves nationally with the Negro people and thus enhance both their own and the nation's prestige in international affairs.

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Pursuit of Democracy

The Courier

Pittsburgh Sat. 11-16-46

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Negro Control

Campaigning for renomination in the Democratic primary July 2, he referred to himself as "ex-officio Mayor of Washington," and told a rally:

"There's a gerat fight being made at this time to give the people of Washington the right to vote, which would mean the nation's capital would be turned over to the Negro race to control and operate.

"I think I can assure you that as long as I am member of the Senate and chairman of this

ance and expression of an ex-slave—the implication being that here was a harmless old fellow who probably didn't know what he was doing anyway.

* * *

AMUSINGLY little human interest stories of Negro octogenarian voters were scattered throughout all the papers. The racial spectre never once got off this cosy, manageable, unfrightening level. It must be admitted that throughout the experiment a great deal of tact, discipline and restraint was used to keep things cool. For example, it was instantly and quietly conceded that no statistics on race or sex would be taken. This fear and unwillingness to face the problem for what it really is, is a sad commentary on our inverted morality and on our picayune faith in our professed political ideals. We find such comfort in expediency. Always are we willing to leave the sleeping dog of reaction undisturbed, though our conscience clamor within us.

The vice chairman of the Plebiscite Executive Committee is quoted as having expressed the egregious opinion that Republican control of Congress will have no effect on such a bipartisan issue as the enfranchisement of the District of Columbia. In view of the significance of the racial issue, a logical estimate of the situation would be just the opposite if this gentleman dared say so. The Republicans can afford to recognize and talk out loud about the large potential Negro vote here. They could see in the Districts' suffrage fight a change to feather the nest for the homeward looking (and flying) Negro angels. If instead of making a few flashy appoint-

WASHINGTON VOTERS DEMAND VOTING RIGHT

Defender Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 11-16-46

WASHINGTON—Although the 169,659 people in voteless Washington who turned out at the polls Tuesday to cast ballots for suffrage fell short of the expected quarter million mark, Negro communities led the way, with three precincts voting unanimously for local rule and national representation.

According to plebescite officials, Negro voters gave suffrage a larger majority than white citizens participating in the balloting which showed 139,727 or 84 per cent for suffrage. Precincts 22, 38, and 41 voted unanimously for full election rights for local and congressional representation.

Precinct 22, with voting booths at Cardozo High School, cast 2,793 votes for home rule and 2,790 for national representation. Precinct 38, with headquarters at Merrit School, recorded 697 votes to 0 on both issues, while the 41st precinct checked at the same place showed 937 votes to 0 for both propositions.

One of the oldest citizens voting in the plebescite was 104-year-old former slave John Wesley Washington, who walked to the polls. Washington cast a vote for the District's representative, 75 years ago, but lost his election privilege when he moved to the capital during World War I.

Washington Dramatizes

The Courier-Journal

IN CALLING national attention to their voteless plight, residents of the District of Columbia have been successful in their mock election. But it must have come as a surprise to many of them that sentiment for a real vote was not even more nearly unanimous.

The government of the district is, of course, unique in the United States. For here is a community whose citizens have, practically speaking, no voice in its control. They do pay taxes—although the U. S. Treasury annually supplies half the district's revenue—and this gives substance to the Washingtonians' complaint that they, like the early Colonists, are victims of unrepresented taxation.

The philosophy which fathered this system which seems so undemocratic to the Washingtonians, contemplated that the District, belonging to all the citizens of the United States, should be administered by them, through Congress. It may have been foreseen, even, that Washington would become the capital of special interest and bureaucracy, as well as of statesmanship. Louisville, Ky.

In short, there may have been an uneasy feeling that here, where national politics are supposed to flower into statesmanship, everybody could get along just as well without the diversion of local politics.

That makes sense if one envisions a District of Columbia owned by the Nation. But what galls the Washington residents is that not all of it is so owned, and they pay taxes on their real estate, and licenses on their businesses, just as the home-owners and the merchants of Baltimore do, but they are unwilling capons when it comes election time. Many nominal Washington residents maintain legal domicile in their home States, and vote in them. But that does not solve the dilemma of bona fide Washingtonians, of whom there are thousands. Thurs.

Since the mock election returns show that sentiment favoring a District vote on National officials, including congressmen, is greater even than that favoring election of District city officials, it appears that Washington people want a Constitutional Amendment. They obviously have a good argument for the vote. But they would be wise to consider the effect on their taxes should the rest of the country say, in effect, "All right, run it yourselves," and withdraw the very material share the Treasury pays to subsidize the District of Columbia. 11-7-46

Florida

Florida Prepares For Negro Voters

Tampa, —(SNS)—The Florida Democratic Executive Committee has taken steps to give Negroes the vote in the primaries of the state, in order to comply with the SSupreme Court in the Texas primaries.

The committee defined the qualifications of a Democrat as one who believed in the principles of the part one who will support and vote for the nominees of the party in the coming election, and one who is registered as a Democrat.

The committee asked counties to set up separate polling places for those Negroes who are registered as a Democrat.

Republicans Seek To Keep Negroes From Democrat Fold

By HAROLD PREECE

NEW SOUTH FEATURES

MIAMI — On the 137th anniversary of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, Miami's Negro Republican leaders were making frantic efforts to hold Florida's newly enfranchised Negroes, registering by the thousands for the Democratic primaries, within the fold of the GOP which has since abandoned everything of Lincoln but his name.

"The sheep found a pasture with greener grass and they're loping toward it," one Negro Republican told me sadly. "There's nothing we can do but cuss since the Florida Democratic Executive Committee said that Negroes could vote in the primaries even if they laid down a rule about Jim Crow booths. And cussing won't change a single mark on a registration slip."

Slated for eclipse in the new day which is dawning for Florida Negroes are many of the state's conservative Negro leadership who went along with the Republican Party because it meant a few minor jobs during GOP national administrations and a few delegate's badges at the party's nominating conventions. Fighting to keep a toehold in the state's political life was Publisher Sam B. Solomon of the Miami Whip, whose violent attack on Negro Democratic leaders are now equalled only by his attacks on organized labor and his praise of open-shop industrialists like Andrew J. Higgins of New Orleans.

In a desperate effort to hold enough Negroes to constitute a base for further patronage and favors if and when the Republican Party returns to power, leaders of the Negro Republican Club are circulating 15,000 copies of a pamphlet supposedly to give information about registration and the primaries — but meant actually as a last minute effort to hold Negroes to the party which honors Lincoln's ghost but not his spirit.

But acting quickly to set up a political organization which could line up Negroes to cinch the victory that they won with the state committee decision, Miami Negro leaders who fought for the right to vote in the primaries have set up an association of Negro Democrats. This organization is led by Dr. E. A Ward and an executive committee of 15 outstanding Miami citizens out to mobilize the Negro vote which may reach 20,000 here in Dade County for a maximum vote in the coming May primaries.

No Mortgage Our Future

This organization has its feet on the ground and is giving no mortgage on the Negro's future to the Democraitc Party as such. Its leaders emphasize that much of the Negro's trouble in the past was due to his blind allegiance to the name "Republican" and that the Democratic Party is worthy of support only so long as the Negro can make really democratic gains through it.

Its philosophy is expressed pretty well in a letter sent by Harry T. Moore, executive secretary of the Progressive Voters League of Florida key organization in the seven-year fight against the white primary, to the state's Negro citizens and voters. The letter said in part:

"It now appears that we stand on the threshold of golden political opportunities. For the first time, Negro voters of Florida are recognized as members of the Democratic Party. Thus, if we are properly registered, we may now vote with the party that has held a virtual monopoly on the election of state and county officials during the past 50 years. In this way, we may help to select those officials who have direct control of our everyday affairs"

"Help to select those officials" — these are the magic words with which the newly arising Florida Negro leadership is able to persuade the state's Negro population that registering Democractic is the best strategy for colored ctiizens. Thousands of Negroes are learning for the first time that they can register as anything but Republican; thousands of them bound to the Republican Party for traditional reasons are realizing that a Republican ballot in one-party Florida is necessarily a Jim Crow ballot.

"I like the Republican Party because I was born in it," Willie Smith, 23-year-old Negro seaman and member of the National Maritime Union, CIO, told me at the NMU hall in Tampa. "But I'm registering as a Democrat."

Voting Out Lynch Sheriffs

"When we Florida Negroes go into the Democratic primaries, we can help vote out sheriffs like Lonnie Davis over in Madison County who left the jail door open for the men who came in and lynched one of our people, Jesse James Payne, on October 1. We'll be able to cast our vote for school trustees, maybe some of our own people, who will back us up in getting better schools for our children. We'll be able to vote for city councilmen whom we can influence to give our communities better streets and better sanitary conditions."

"We can help vote out the Florida congressmen who helped kill the FLPC because the big Florida citrus and other agricultural interests want cheap Negro labor. We can make our voices heard in Tallahassee, the state capital and in Washington"

CIO Helping

Meanwhile, the CIO, of which Smith is a proud member, was concentrating through its political action committees in Miami and Jacksonville on getting a full turn out of voters of both races in the primaries and of helping to register Negroes as Democrats.

"How long we'll keep on being Democrats nobody can tell," said Seaman Smith in Tampa. "I was talking politics to some friends in the barber shop the other night. They were saying that there'll never be another Republican like Lincoln or another Democrat like Roosevelt."

Mystery Threats Fail To Stop Registrations

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—(ANP) —Jaxons of color are finding their way to the county courthouse and registering as Democrats despite threats believed to have come from members of the Klu Klux Klan.

According to reports, Porcher L. Taylor, newspaperman, received three aponymous calls by telephone threatening harm if his publication continued to urge Negroes to register to vote. Taylor stated that the calls came at night and were similar in threat.

Floridians recently were granted the right to vote in Democratic elections in compliance with the Supreme Court decision in the Texas case. The state Democratic executive committee in a Tampa meeting three weeks ago ruled that Negroes may vote, but that they were to be restricted to separate polling booths.

Reports of threats failed to stop registration. When the registration books opened last December, Negro registrants were reported as follows: Democrats, 3,214; Republicans, 5,523; Independents, 495, and Socialists, 2. Since the December compilation, it is estimated that at least 5,000 Democrats have been added to the rolls. Registration has proceeded daily.

Way Is Cleared For Negro Demo Voting

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—(SNS) — The way was cleared this week for the Democratic primary campaign in Jacksonville and Duval County.

Rules were made and the primary dates—May 7 and 28 were officially set by the Duval County Democratic Executive Committee Wednesday night, at a meeting in the courthouse.

One of the regulations adopted by unanimous vote was to permit Negroes to vote in both primaries providing they shall have been registered as Democrats. They will also ballot on seperate voting machines.

The other regulations adopted at the confab were of lesser importance to Negroes and mostly concerned rules governing candidates for the various offices, their conduct, how they should advertise and in what type of publication, and the like.

WORD 'WHITE' DROPPED

Resolution No. 7, by merely dropping the word 'white' established the right of all qualified persons, regardless of color, to vote in the primary, if they subscribe to the principles of the Democratic Party and are previously registered as Democrats.

Ninth and last resolution requests county commissioners, "whenever advisable, to provide seperate voting places for Negro citizens who qualify as members of the Democratic party and are entitled to participate in primary elections in May."

Negroes Must Cast Ballot Jimcrow Style

Florida Democrats Make Ruling In Monday Meet

TAMPA, Fla. (SNS)—Negroes of this state who have qualified to vote as Democrats may do so in the primary elections of May 7 and 28, the Florida Democratic Executive committee said in session here Monday, but the committee ruled that they may do so only in separate polling booths.

The committee also defined the qualifications of a Democrat and set the State party assessment against candidates for office

Prospective voters, said a resolution adopted by the committee, are Democrats if they are registered as such and believe in the principles of the Democratic Party and will support and vote for the nominees of the said party in the ensuing general election.

NEGROES MENTIONED

The resolution mentioning Negro Democrats, which drew only a couple of "No's" from the 100-odd members of the state Committee, pointed to a U. S. Supreme Court ruling allowing Negroes to vote in the Texas primaries.

The Committee set at two per cent of one year's salary of the office sought the party fee to be paid to the State Committee by any candidate seeking state office—an office requiring that votes be cast in two or more counties.

Resolutions adopted by the Committee promised President Truman "unanimous cooperation in the struggle in which this nation now is involved," and approved plans for Jackson Day dinners to raise funds for the party on March 23, with 25 per cent of the revenues earmarked for the State Treasury.

Orders Jim Crow Poll Booths

Deletes Word 'White' As Definition of A Democrat

Special to Journal and Guide

TAMPA, Fla. — With the lifting of the ban on Negroes voting in the Florida Democratic primaries in May by the state executive committee, the committee, in simultaneous action last week, asked all counties to set up segregated polling places.

The long-sought opportunity of Florida colored citizens to vote in the leading state political party primaries came when the committee voted to drop the word "white" from the definition of a Democrat.

Instructions to all counties to provide jim crow poll booths were sent from the Hillsboro Hotel where the committee met.

"Whereas the laws governing primary elections in the state of Florida are similar to those of the state of Texas and,

"Whereas the Supreme Court of the state of Florida has ruled that Negroes are entitled to participate in primary elections in such state;

"Whereas the Supreme Court of the state of Texas has ruled that Negroes are entitled to participate in primary elections in the state of Texas; and

"Whereas the laws governing primary elections in the state of Florida and Florida Supreme Court's decisions, which left the committee no alternative.

The resolution stated: "Whereas the Supreme Court of the state of Florida has ruled that Negroes are entitled to participate in primary elections in such state;

"Whereas the Supreme Court of the state of Texas has ruled that Negroes are entitled to participate in primary elections in the state of Texas; and

"Whereas the laws governing primary elections in the state of Florida and Florida Supreme Court's decisions, which left the committee no alternative.

Only a few "Nos" came from the nominees of the such who "believe in the principles of the Democratic party and will support and vote for the said party

"Now therefore be it resolved that the county commissioners in the several counties of the state of Florida be, and they are hearby, requested to provide separate voting places for such Negro citizens who qualify as members of the Democratic party and entitled to participate in the primary elections to be held in May, 1946."

Among the outstanding state political figures at the meeting were: ex-Gov. Cone, ex-Gov. Holland, and Attorney General Tom Watson.

Floridians, Heedless of Threats, Register

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—Despite threats believed to have come from members of the Ku Klux Klan, colored persons in Florida are daily registering to vote in the Democratic elections.

Taking advantage of the recent Democratic executive committee's decision, in line with the Supreme Court's ruling in the Texas primary case, more than 3,214 colored persons have registered for the spring elections.

'Democratic Vote Will Get Rights,' Says Leader

PENSACOLA, Fla. — The destiny of the Negro in the South lies in the intelligent use of the ballot . . . to vote the Democratic ticket!

This is the unswerving opinion of prominent Rev. R. A. Cromwell, pastor of the Mount Zion Baptist Church and organizer of the Pensacola Improvement Association, a progressive local civic group.

Further explaining his position on this issue, Rev. Cromwell declared:

"The greatest hope for the Negro in Florida is to vote—Democratic. Here in Pensacola we have seen favorable results already. The Negro citizens have voted in the City Democratic primary. They supported a slate of candidates that won."

RESULTS COME QUICKLY

"Forty-eight hours after the election," Rev. Cromwell continued, "We were given a $35,000 Community Building, which is now in the process of construction, and we have been promised all the advantages of a post-war, city-planned program for parks, playgrounds and paved streets.

TO VOTE IN MAY PRIMARY

For the first time in modern history, Negro citizens of Florida will cast their votes in the Democratic primary in the coming month of May. In this primary, a U. S. Senator, members of Congress, and various sundry county and State officials will be elected, since nomination as a Democrat is equivalent to election in this Sunshine State.

The pattern for this new milestone of progress in the political history of Florida's Negro citizens was, of course, the U. S. Supreme Court's decision in the Texas primary case.

FORCED BY COURT ACTION

This advance in political equality did not happen by accident; it has happened because a group of Negroes of this city organized themselves, laid their money on the table, secured an able attorney and took court action to force it. This action resulted in an unanimous opinion handed down by the Supreme Court of Florida which held that Negro citizens were privileged to participate in all elections held in the State.

GROUP ORGANIZED BY PASTOR

The organization sponsoring this action in Pensacola is the Pensacola Improvement Association. It was organized by the Rev. R. A. Cromwell, who served, together with Rev. O. E. Chavis, as one of the principals in the suit.

The militant and liberal counselor in the action was Atty. J. M. Coe (white) whose father and grandfather were both members of the Confederate Army.

Rev. Cromwell, when interviewed by The Pittsburgh Courier, declared that the decision of the Democratic State Committee to abide by the State and Federal Supreme Courts, can mean more to the Negro citizens of Florida than any single thing since the Emancipation.

DESTINY IN POLITICS

Rev. Mr. Cromwell's statement in follows:

"It is the conviction of the lead ers of this group that the politica educational, social and economi destiny of the Negro in Florid lies in his participation in Dem cratic politics. The Negro hei needs to help choose the sheriff mayors, school boards, and supe intendents, congressmen, gove nors, etc. For it doesn't make great deal of difference to a Neg in Florida whether the Preside of the United States is a Republi can or Democrat, so long as the white Democrats of his State have the final say on all that is most important in his life. Thus, ir Pensacola, a campaign is now in progress to register every eligible Negro voter as a Democrat, and it is our hope that Negro citizens throuhgout the State will follow the same procedure.

NEED PULPIT AND PRESS

"In this campaign for registration, The Pittsburgh Courier, which incidentally has the largest circulation of any Negro newspaper in the State, can be of inestimable service, for it is largely through the pulpit and the press that the great majority of our people are reached. It is also to be hoped that the ministry of all denominations in the State will direct and encourage their people to register —as Democrats.

Bans Lifted

Statewide Registration Drive Open

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—The political pot is boiling throughout the State of Florida—and Negroes are figuring predominantly in what is being "cooked up" by the bigwigs of both the Democratic and Republican parties in their desire to court the votes of colored citizens who have already indicated, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that they will take advantage of their newly-won right of franchise guaranteed by the U. S. Supreme Court in the Texas primary case.

The trend was dramatically revealed last week in Tampa, Fla., where, in the Hillsboro Hotel, Florida Democrats adopted a new election rule which declared the right of Negroes to vote in the hitherto "lily-white" Democratic primary. The unprecedented action, marked with certain safegaurds, defined the qualifications of a Democrat, urged the sixty-seven Florida counties to provide separate polling places for Negroes registered as Democrats, and set the State party assessment against candidates.

QUALIFY WHO ARE DEMOCRATS

According to resolutions adopted in the Tampa conference, prospective voters are Democrats if they are registered as such and believe in the principles of the Democratic Party and will support and vote for the nominees of the Democratic Party in the forthcoming primaries in May.

When the actual vote was taken, there were only two votes from the more than 100 members of the Florida Democratic State Executive Committee against allowing Negroes to vote in the Florida State Democratic primaries. This clearly shows that the party bigwigs recognized that they had no alternative but to permit colored registered voters to cast their ballots in the primaries, in accordance with decisions by both the U. S. Supreme Court and the Florida Supreme Court.

SEPARATE POLLS

Under present arrangements, separate polling places are to be provided for colored voters, and supervisors of registration are to prepare duplicate lists of qualified voters so that the separate polling places will have no difficulty or delay in keeping check of the voters.

Though disclosures of what took place are unrevealed, Florida Republicans, oddly enough, also convened in Tampa at the same time as State Democrats. The GOP brigade assembled in the nearby Tampa Terrace Hotel.

REST OF STATE ALERT

In Miami last week it was estimated that there will be more than 40,000 Negroes qualified to vote in future elections. Progressive trends are also indicated in West Palm Beach, Pensacola and other parts of the State, notably Jacksonville.

Here, in the opinion of Fleming H. Bowden, Duval County supervisor of registration, colored voters are taking full advantage of many factors in "this business of registration." He points out that, first, returning servicemen and women are being pressed with the urgency of their getting qualified. He estimates that, all told, there will be more than 75,000 registered voters in Duval County and, to date, he reports the total Negro registration as 9,234, of which number 5,523 are Republicans; 3,314 are Democrats, and 459 are Independents.

Negro Registration Outnumbers White 2-1

MIAMI, Fla.—According to word reaching party headquarters here the registration of Negro voters for city, county, and State elections in West Palm Beach outnumber whites by almost two to one. It is estimated that of the 2,800 persons who have registered since the books opened Jan. 2, three-fourths are colored. Practically all Negroes are signing up as Democrats.

RESOLUTION

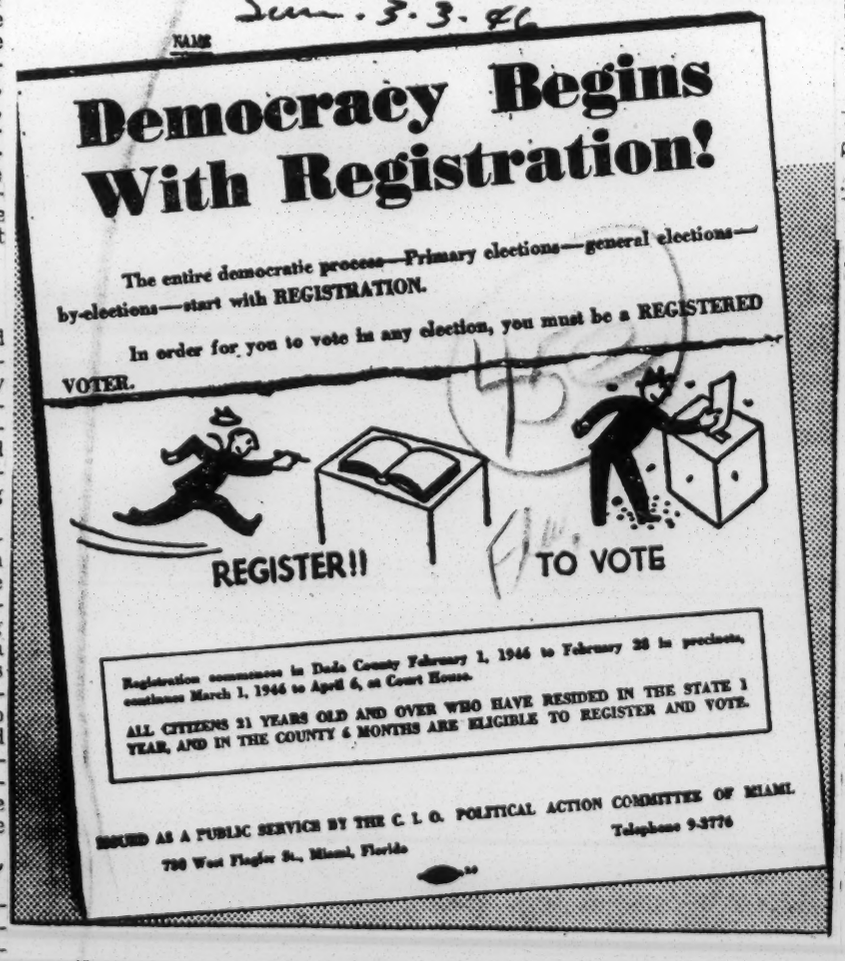
JUDGE T. W. CONOLAY
Chairman, Florida State Democratic Committee
Okeechobee, Fla.

Dear Judge Conolay:

We, the undersigned citizens of Miami, Florida, hereby vigorously protest the decision of the Florida State Democratic Committee to segregate Negro and white voters at the polls in the Democratic primaries. In our opinion such action is a violation of the constitution and a denial of the secret ballot to all voters.

We strongly urge that your Committee take the necessary steps to rescind this decision in the interests of the true principles of Democracy.

NAME



Above is the petition being circularized in Miami by the CIO Political Action Committee demanding an end to the segregation of Negro and white voters at Democratic primaries. Also reproduced is the leaflet distributed by CIO-PAC urging a big registration so that citizens can exercize their democratic rights in the 1946 elections.

Miami PAC Election Drive Widens Fight on Jimcrow

MIAMI, Fla.—The CIO Political Action Committee, swinging into action here, is meeting a tremendous response not only from union members but from outside organizations in both the white and Negro communities.

While PAC has been active on several fronts, the main drive now is registration for the 1946 elections. The Democratic Committee has also decided to try to segregate Negro and white voters at the polls. This also is intended to discourage Negro voting. CIO-PAC is circulating thousands of petitions opposing segregation. All PAC committees in the state are now taking similar action. Local 500 of the Transport Workers Union has an active PAC, led by 35 union members. A successful PAC meeting was held in the Negro community with members of the TWU and the Laundry Workers Union among chief sponsors. There were Negro and white speakers.

The Democratic Party primaries. The State Democratic Committee, on the basis of rulings in other states, opened primaries to Negro voters. However, The CIO-PAC is deluged with calls for information on where and how to register.

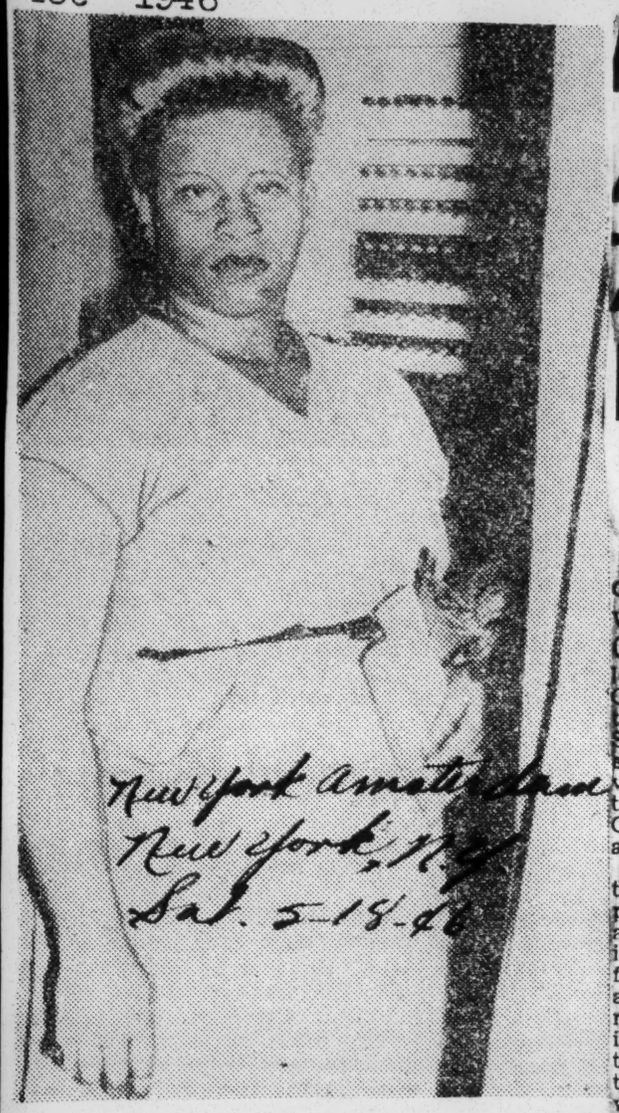
Negro voters from registering at all polls and win- and particularly to discourage them from registering as Democrats.

Previously, registration has been a feature of the Republicans are helping in this by "sorry" telling Negroes they will be eligibles. the final register Democratic." FIGHT SEGREGATION

tions. CIO members have already distributed 100,000 leaflets and 5,000 showcards in stores and windows, urging registration. The CIO-PAC office is deluged with calls from union members and other organizations in the state.

Sun. 3-3-46

45e 1946



New York Amsterdam News New York, N.Y. Sat. 5-18-46

HER FIRST VOTE: Mrs. Bertha Lee Scott, a Free holder, is shown leaving voting machine afte making her selection of candidates in the first Democratic primary open to Negro voters in Florida. It was also the first time Mrs Scott ever voted in her life. The state Democratic executive committee eliminated racial restrictions after the Supreme Court ruled that Negroes cannot be barred from participating in primary elections because of race or color.—Photo by Ray Mills. Sat. 5-18-4

Magnolias Droop As Negroes Plan To Go to Polls

P.M. New York, N.Y. Mon 5-6-46

For the first time since Reconstruction Days, Negroes will go to the Florida polls in tomorrow's primaries. More than 32,000 have registered. Negroes also are expected to vote in the Alabama primaries—an equally astounding event. Primaries also will be held in Ohio and Indiana. In all, two Senate and 49 House seats are on the block. Most incumbents are expected to win. Little chance to get rid of any poll-taxers or reactionaries this time.

Miami Appeals Zoning Ruling

Pittsburgh, Pa., Courier Sat. 4-20-46

By JOHN DIAZ
Florida Bureau

MIAMI—The high tribunal of the State of Florida last week was asked to uphold Circuit Judge Stanley Milledge's ruling that Dade County Commissioners exceeded their authority and violated the United States Constitution when they zoned Negroes from whites in Brownsville, a suburb of Miami. Making this plea before the State Supreme Court were Attorneys L. E. Thomas and E. F. P. Brigham.

Attorney Thomas told the court that sixteen per cent of Miami's population is made up of Negroes and that they are forced to reside in two per cent of the land space, forcing a bulging by Negroes into areas beyond the city. The attorney praised the City of Miami for its efforts to bring about better treatment for Negroes, and added that the housing problem elsewhere in Dade County is a local problem requiring the courage and intelligence of both races.

ASSAILS COMMISSIONERS

Attorney Brigham assailed the attempt of the Dade County Commissioners to maintain racial boundaries. He is representing two colored families arrested for violating the 1945 zoning ordinance by residing in the so-called white area.

In pointing out the housing shortage, the attorney declared that a U. S. Supreme Court ruling calls for equal accommodations when segregation laws exist.

The case is before the high court as a result of Judge Milledge enjoining the County Commission and Cecil A. Turner, Miami zoning director, from refusing to issue building permits to Negro property owners in the Brownsville section.

VIOLATES 14TH AMENDMENT Sat. 4-20-46

Judge Milledge held that the ordinance setting up Negro and white sections, violates the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. He ordered the County zoning director to stop refusing permits for electrical installations, septic tanks or new homes to Negroes.

Suit was filed by Wesley E. Garrison, wealthy white realtor, who previously had filed an injunction against the Board of Commissioners, seeking to refrain it from further molesting the colored property owners in the Brownsville area. It was in this area that the Felton and Willie Mae Coleman covenant case originated, and also the scene of burning Ku Klux Klan crosses. Sat. 4-20-46

The Colemans were jailed for occupying their property.

Florida

The Best Of The News

Age-Herald-Birmingham, Ala.

In view of some of the more sensational news items in the past few weeks, we would like to record some other goings-on that will never be given the same size headlines, but of which readers deserve to be reminded:

Five million, one hundred thousand American passenger trains (more or less) ran several hundred million miles last year without a single fatal accident; there hasn't been a major kidnaping case in the United States since 1942; the increase in marriages continues to be greater than the increase in divorces; Florida taught Negroes to use voting machines in the recent democratic party primaries; 130,000,000 persons in the United States last year did not suffer a single serious accident; American fire losses have at no time equalled the heavy rate that prevailed during the 1920's and 1930's. 5-30-46 Thros.

Also, in case you haven't noticed, the brand of baseball is considerably improved over the wartime variety, of which there used to be so much complaint.—The Christian Science Monitor.

32,000 Vote In Florida

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — More than 32,000 civic-minded Negro citizens of the State of Florida helped make political history Wednesday when they utilized their recently-granted right of franchise by voting in the Democratic Primary held throughout the commonwealth. It was the first time that Negroes had voted in the State and the balloting was marked by harmony and a noticeable lack of friction. 5-18-46

In many instances—even in precincts where the white population was predominant—colored voters outnumbered the white who were waiting to vote. A cordial relationship, however, prevailed and in several cases whites immediately fell in line with Negro voters, even though separate voting booths had been provided.

Opportunity of Outcasts

The News and Courier

Henry A. Wallace, Esq., the New Deal and Rooseveltian martyr, and Claude Pepper, Esq., having been black-listed as speakers for the Byrnes-Truman, or reactionary, "Democratic" party, they are at liberty to speak, yelp or howl at what entertains them. The prospect is that they will yelp at the shins of Dr. Byrnes, champion of the American foreign policy and of the teamsters union.

These two esquires, the Martyr and the Senator, have before them opportunity. In Florida, where the colored vote is numerous and might have the balance of power, might turn the scale, any gentleman offering for an office in the general election might operate as a scalawag, and as long as tens of thousands of persons shall be sucking juice from the federal treasury, as they do in South Carolina, the raw material of scalawaggery will be abundant. In 1876 the number of federal officers in Florida, including postmasters and a few postmistresses who could not vote, was less than 1,000. So it was in South Carolina. Charleston, S. C.

Mr. Pepper has said, seconded by Mr. H. Wallace, that he is opposed to a third party. If Mr. P. is forbidden to speak for the "Democratic" party, surely he will not speak for the Republican party—not with its approbation or consent. Not more than the "Democrats" do they want him.

Third parties already are in operation. In New York, for example, the "American Labor" party, the Communist party and two or three others are active, and one or all of them would give bed and board to Senator Pepper and the Martyr. Wed. 9-25-46

On an FEPC and repeal of poll tax platform any distinguished uplifter and semi-intellectual can gain the colored vote of Florida—and in that state thousands of white uplifters are on the federal payrolls.

FLORIDA CIO EXPOSES PLOT TO BAR NEGROES, STEAL VOTE

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Fri. 9-13-46

MIAMI, Sept. 12.—The executive board of the State CIO Industrial Union Council is planning to acquaint all members with a plot of a private political association to steal primary elections.

The plot, which springs out of the historic 1944 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Texas case, which assured to Negroes the right to vote in the primary elections, involves the proposed repeal of all laws on the Florida statute books pertaining to primaries.

This would have the effect of making the Democratic Party, which in practice is the state's only party, into a private association, with the power to set up any qualifications for membership it desired. It could rule out Negroes, in evasion of the Supreme Court ruling, and ultimately all of the people's political forces. Such a devious method has already been applied in South Carolina.

A bill to accomplish this was introduced in the 1945 session of the Florida legislature, but went down under the pressure of many honest Democrats. In the May primaries of this year it again became an issue, and State Senator John E. Mathews of Jacksonville has pledged he will reintroduce it.

The CIO state executive board will publish a full report of these maneuvers to be sent to all CIO members and other people's political forces, and plans to have a legislative representative on the job in Tallahassee when the legislature convenes again next April.

Voting In 1946 Is Negro's No. 1 Job

The Call Kansas City Mo 6-14-46

By C. A. FRANKLIN

The Negro will be an issue in the national election of 1948. That is inescapable. He cannot pull down the ramparts of the one-party system of the South and crash the gates of employment, without setting in motion the direst opposition his enemies can contrive. The Wigglesworths in the Republican party and the Slaughters in the Democratic party are not made happy by these proofs of the virility and worth of American principles.

Since it is highly unlikely that either party will make an anti-Negro platform declaration, the attack will be indirect, underhanded, skulking, but nevertheless deadly. Remember how Starnes struck at Negro employment by cutting down appropriation for federal agencies by the exact amount they devoted to Negroes?

Friday 6-14-46

The Negro has never had more friends than now. The liberals make a habit of giving him a place in democracy. The church, once the citadel of custom, is beginning to practice brotherhood. Witness the selection of a Negro to preside over the ministerial alliance of St. Louis, and a thousand other instances of including Negroes in church work. In politics the call to real democracy raised by Wendell Willkie is echoed generally. President Truman appointed one Negro to a life judgeship and another to a territorial governorship, both new honors for the race, with the Senate and the public approving.

The Call

Nor are the gains fleeting. Some of them stand on the solid foundation of court decisions. The ballot, employment, travel, housing are better for Negroes because the courts now say they have rights.

Kansas City, Mo.

Like everybody else, the Negro must pay the price of his gains. Anything worthwhile carries a price. Only those have rights who dare maintain them. For the Republican party to repeat its 1944 Negro planks in its 1948 platform, for President Truman to be able to persuade the Democratic party that it should join him in putting through the FEPC, Negroes will have to have demonstrated their voting strength beforehand. Look at your calendar! The only chance Negroes have to cast a vote that will make them considered by the parties, is in the coming primary and general election. The parties will have had their national conventions before there is another chance to show strength. It is now or never!

Labor has its yearly gathering and its continuing organization. The Bourbon democracy is already a working bloc. The prejudiced part of the public keeps its knife sharp. Negroes are in the midst of groups anxious and ready to direct the course of events.

Negroes have one tool, the ballot. Let them use it! In June, 1948, party leaders will be baiting their hook. They certainly will not waste bait where few votes are to be won.

Every person, every agency in the race should put voting at the top of the list of things that must be done. Let's talk voting everywhere we go and keep it up until we all vote. Gains made will be taken away if we let our friends be defeated at the polls.

Remember the Negro will be an issue!

Famed Evangelist Gives 12 Reasons Why Southern Negroes Should Have Right To Vote

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

SHREVEPORT, La. — Rev. Dr Willard Leake, nationally famed A. M. E. Church evangelist, and recognized as among the twelve leading preachers in America, pastor of St. James A. M. E. Church here in a widely circulated pamphlet gave twelve reasons why the Negro in the South should have the right of franchisement.

The twelve reasons are as follows: Atlanta Daily World

1. Because the Constitution of the United States entitles him to it.

2. Because the right of franchisement does not mean social equality. Friday 6-7-46

3. The Negro would not expect or seek social equality through it because of the right of franchisement. Atlanta Daily World

4. Because most Negroes are now sufficiently intelligent to use their franchisement correctly and constructively. Atlanta, Ga.

5. The right of franchisement would increase the Negroes pride, his form of government and nation.

6. Franchisement would inspire love and loyalty to the Stars and Stripes.

7. The right of franchisement would give Negro leaders something with which to fight all foreign doctrine. 6-7-46

8. It would place upon the Negro direct responsibility and make him feel obligated for the same

9. It would require his active interest in federal, state and municipal government. Friday

10. It would prove to members of the dark race all over the world that Democracy is fair and just.

11. It would be the test which would determine that Democracy can work for all people.

12. Because I believe Democracy is the will of God and the right of franchisement for all people is true Democracy.

Tell the Whole Truth, Mr. Talmadge

Atlanta Constitution

Ex-Gov. Eugene Talmadge has an unadmirable habit of dealing in half-truths and of twisting facts to meet his own selfish ends.

Thus it is that Mr. Talmadge is currently citing South Carolina to prove that Georgia can maintain lily-white primaries by the simple expedient of abolishing all state laws pertaining to party elections.

6-7-46-Fri

What Mr. Talmadge is not saying, of course, is that South Carolina does not have the county unit system as Georgia does. Therefore it was not necessary there to repeal any act similar to Georgia's Neal Primary law, wherein the county unit system is provided. Atlanta, Ga.

Nor is Mr. Talmadge telling his audiences that South Carolina's action has been but lately taken, that there has not been time as yet for fraudulent election practices to become prevalent as inevitably they will once those so inclined realize they may stuff ballot boxes without fear of prosecution. 6-7-46- Fri

Mr. Talmadge is ignoring the fact that countless South Carolinians have great apprehension that, by removing party primaries from the influence of the law, they have opened the floodgates to an era of flagrant violation of the canons of honesty and decency. Atlanta, Ga.

Georgia can follow South Carolina's example and maintain—at least for a little longer—its white primary.

But Georgia cannot do it without:

1. Abolishing the law providing for a county unit system.

2. Inviting election stealing on an unprecedented scale.

And that is the whole truth which Mr. Talmadge has not been telling.

BEHIND The HEADLINES

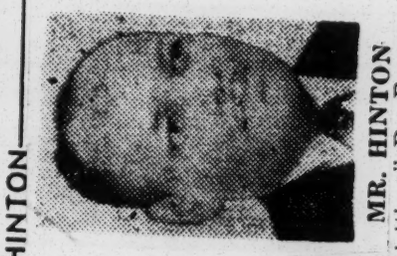
By ALBERT L. HINTON

Atlanta Ga.

The Editor Of A Religious Publication Speaks His Piece

IN ALL probability you have never even heard of the Central Christian Advocate, of New Orleans, La. It is, as its name implies, a religious publication and its editor is Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, of Atlanta, Ga. Dr. Bowen is, of course, a minister but he is not averse to dealing with editorially with religious subjects and when the occasion arises—which it should be.

He took such an editorial excursion recently in commenting upon the "dangers and pitfalls" confronting his newly acquired ballot in those sections where it is a recent acquisition." Dr. Bowen confined himself to a clear cut and common sense discussion of the issues with which Negroes throughout the South are faced as a result of the favorable decision handed down in the Texas white primary case and certain other factors which have more or less smoothed the highway to the ballot box for them. But everything he said might be applied with equal force to the Supreme Court decision last week which outlawed racial segregation on buses in interstate commerce.



MR. HINTON

As Dr. Bowen sees it, the greatest danger facing the Negro now as a result of this newly-found freedom is that "of following leaders who can be bought out for money, or by the offer of privilege or a job." To these "selfish demagogs," white or colored, he warns colored Americans to close their ears and vote their honest, independent convictions. And he very wisely warns against over-rosy expectations of immediate results.

The homespun philosophical views expressed by Dr. Bowen are so pertinent to the issues faced by Negro Americans today, particularly those who live below the

Mason-Dixon Line, the majority of whom are just beginning to sample this new-found political and civic freedom, that I thought it wise to give readers of this column the full benefit of his sage advice.

The editorial, in full, follows:

"We are sure the readers of the Central Christian Advocate will pardon our bringing before their minds a few serious thoughts on some dangers and pitfalls confronting our people in the newly acquired use of the ballot in those sections where it is a recent acquisition. It is not the thought that Negroes alone are subject to dangers and weaknesses; but it is our thought that any new tool requires the development of skill in its use.

"The Negro, because of his minority position, can lose or gain many advantages, according to the wisdom with which he uses the tools of civilization. In nearly every community the Negro voters are a minority, and it will take much wisdom to use the ballot to advance the interests of the race.

"Perhaps the greatest pitfall is that of following leaders who can be bought out for money, or by the offer of priviledge or a job. Now that whi[illegible] will seek Negro votes there will [illegible]ro men who will offer to turn ou[illegible] way needed in return for som[illegible] This handout may be money.

"Sometimes it is certain personal privileges that feed the pride of these leaders, lifting them outside the pale of the common restrictions applied to the race as a whole. Sometimes it is a job offered them, so that the only Negro who stands to gain by the vote of his peop[illegible]ne who gets a job for himself and [illegible]lack brethren go hang.

"The ability to [illegible]ars to these selfish demagogs an[illegible] to the polls and vote our convictions [illegible]l keep us out of our greatest pitfall.

"Another pitfall is big talk. It is so easy for people who have never voted before to talk loud and long about the big things the race is going to do with the ballot. The history of democracy in those nations of longest experience, England, Switzerland, France and America, shows clearly that nothing big or startling need be expected from newly enfranchised people.

"These people are just human beings like the rest and they will struggle along in the old human way, making a step of progress now and then, not always constantly.

"Big talk is mere nonsense. The Negro will have to learn and struggle along like the rest of humanity. Quiet planning, working with friendly sympathizers, real political wisdom are of real value. We can well shut off the big talk before it gets started."

Deep South Speaks

ROBERT DURR
NNPA STAFF WRITER

Negroes voted in the Democratic primary in Alabama on May 7 for the first time in 75 years.

A few weeks before the people of Alabama went to the polls someone, reportedly identified with the Christian Temperance union, caused to be published and distributed throughout the state a statement to the effect that one candidate for the governorship or his campaign workers had gone among Negroes in the Tennessee Valley, urged them to pay their poll taxes and, in the case of GIs, register for voting, and then had transported them to the polls where they cast ballots for prohibition in that area. The wets won.

Robert Durr

The statement referred to was to the effect that the carpetbaggers had returned and the white voters of the state were faced with a "Negro-vote" menace. The implication was that since in some sections of the deep South there are more or as many Negroes as whites, and, since Negroes are gullible, unscruplous politicians with their bags of filthy lucre will take over the government. The circular attempted to create a Negro bogey to the end that board of registrars would make it most difficult for Negroes to register which is a prerequisite to voting after payment of accumulated poll taxes. It was also designed to give grounds for resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan to combat this so-called "Negro-vote" menace.

Prior to the May primary this columnist had got all the candidates for public office in Alabama, except one, to promise not to inject the so-called race issue into the campaign. The writer urged Negroes throughout the state, who were to vote in the democratic primary for the first time in 75 years, to keep their ballots clean; to vote their conscience as a contribution to good government, and to desist from casting their ballots on the basis of race, promises of vengeance or special consideration for any group.

IGNORE REPLY TO ISSUE

One candidate for congress made bold to state that he was the only candidate who, if elected, would [illegible] all in his power to stop colored people from voting, tighten the segregation laws, and maintain white supremacy. We let him rant and rave on the so-called race issue without dignifying his billingsgate by any kind of reply.

When the votes were counted this man, who obviously was backed by powerful interests judging from the tremendous amount of space he bought in newspapers and time purchased over radio stations, got only 5,000 votes in a district in which there are 500,000 people. Two other candidates for the same office got upwards of 40,000 votes each.

Big Jim Folsom, who was the first gubernatorial candidate in Alabama to give me his pledge that he would not inject the race issue into his campaign, ran 11,000 votes ahead of the next highest among the four other candidates, but failed to receive a majority and will enter a runoff election June 4.

Big Jim and Senator Claude Pepper were the two deep South Democrats who supported Henry Wallace for the Vice-Presidential nomination to the very last at the Democratic National convention in Chicago in 1944. Jim is one of these big, friendly country type of men, and the fact that he got more votes than obviously smarter and more experienced opponents is indicative of the fact that the people are tired of smart men in high places unless these men are honest, decent, forthright, courageous and audacious when it comes to facing up to what is right. People, it seems, want good men but not men who are so good they are good for nothing. They want them good but good for something. The day of tricksters are numbered.

NEGROES ARE VOTING

There is no need to get overly excited over the fact that Negroes are voting in the South for the first time in a big way in 75 years. No matter who gets in office in the South—he or she must be able to resist the temptation of governmental racketeering, the exacting of pounds and pounds of flesh from the poorest people in the nation to feed a host of worthless professional politicians.

As I see it now, the Negro is on his way to sharing in the political future of the South, but that does not destroy the fact that there is not enough of what it takes to build and maintain a richer and fuller life for all the people in the South. Sharing control is desirable, if we regard it as a means to an end rather than an end in itself.

The South needs what it does not have—a leadership which can unify the people of the South; breathe into them all, white and black alike, a oneness of spirit and purpose; set them to work manufacturing millions and millions of things the world needs and is willing to pay for; a leadership which understands the importance of good health, adequate recreation, decent housing and adequate medical care for those unable to pay for these necessities; and, last but not least, a leadership which can make the people of the South understand how woefully they need educational facilities superior to those of any other section of the nation because of the South's backwardness in education for 75 years or more.

Politicians have never solved any big problems—they never will. Therefore, it must never be forgotten that our economic problems demand spiritual solutions first.

I hear the cry: "Give me good men to match my mountains, good men to match my plains, good men with empires in their brains and new eras in their purposes."

No Hope in democracy

The Times and Courier Charleston, S.C.

To the mentalities of the Northern highbrows and uplifters the saying will be impenetrable, but we tell them that were 300,000 negroes voting in the general election in a "race" between T. G. Bilbo and one of nature's noblemen, another white man, for United States senator in Mississippi, Mr. Bilbo would receive as many of those colored people's votes as the other man would receive. We have known in South Carolina politicians notorious for their sayings about crimes against negroes, human birds unceasingly damned in the North, to be adored among masses of the colored people. Were Walter White, acknowledged leader of American negroes, to become a citizen of Mississippi, Georgia or South Carolina and to run for governor, he would probably not receive a majority, much less solid support, of the negroes against a cunning scalawag. There is no hope for negroes from "democracy". (Or for white people.

Nothing to Brag About

Times Dispatch Richmond, Va.

VIRGINIANS have reason to be gratified over the size of the total vote in the Democratic primary of August 6, because the number of ballots cast—some 221,000—was by far the largest on record. The previous high mark for a Virginia primary was 193,274, in the gubernatorial contest of 1937.

But this showing was nothing to brag about, as recent election figures from other States should remind us. Virginia remains the lowest-voting State in the Union, so far as effective balloting is concerned—which in our case, as elsewhere in the South, means the voting in Democratic primaries. THE TIMES-DISPATCH in recent editorials has cited comparative figures which demonstrate this fact. Elections held since then furnish additional evidence of our low rank in this respect.

South Carolina provides a striking comparison with Virginia. The Palmetto State has had none too good a voting record in the past. It is probably the second lowest-voting State in the Union. But in the Democratic primary held last Tuesday, South Carolina cast a total vote which was estimated at 300,000. We have not seen the precise final figures, but the incomplete returns at hand indicate that the total was close to the 300,000 mark. The latest figures we have seen show that the count from 1,265 out of 1,539 precincts in the gubernatorial contest was 223,681. That was barely four-fifths of the precincts, and if the ballots in the remainder were in proportion, the total vote was around 275,000. In any event, South Carolina far surpassed Virginia's showing.

This would not look good for the Old Dominion even if the two States were about the same size. But the fact is that South Carolina is a much smaller State than Virginia. In the 1940 Federal census this State had a population of 2,677,773, to South Carolina's 1,899,804. Thus Virginia is almost 800,000 larger in population; or in other words, it is nearly half again as big as South Carolina. Moreover, the Negro population in South Carolina is proportionately much larger than in Virginia, and comparatively few Negroes vote—especially in the Palmetto State.

The Old Dominion should cast at least half again as many votes as South Carolina by virtue of size alone. But actually, though it set a new record for this State, the total vote polled on August 6 was about 20 per cent less than that in relatively small South Carolina a week later.

The improvement shown in Virginia is pleasing, but it is not good enough. Our people are urgently in need of a greater political awakening. If democracy languishes at the ballot box, it may be expected to suffer in other respects.

Political Objectives of Negro Aired Before Nation's Liberals

The Louisiana Weekly New Orleans, La.

Sat 10-5-46

By Luther A. Townsley

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Chicago. — The position, aims and objectives of the Negro voter in American politics were revealed here Saturday by Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, in a keynote address before the nation's leading progressives at Hotel Continental, who assembled here in a two-day conference to map effective national political action in the November elections.

Declaring that 'the Negro vote holds the potential balance of power in 17 states with 281 electoral votes," White said: "The Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case of April, 1944, has greatly extended the influence of Negro voters and at the same time activated democracy for whites as well."

More than "one million Georgians voted, approximately 100,000 of them Negroes, for the first time in history," whereas "until this year the highest number of voters who cast ballots in the Democratic primary of my native state of Georgia never exceeded 300,000," he pointed out.

Negroes are "looking forward not backward," White said, despite the fact that they, "and especially Negro veterans, have been subjected to a wave of incredibly sadistic mob violence during recent months."

The Negro shares none of the tired liberalism of many of his white fellow-Americans and "we are determined to utilize our growing political strength not only to end lynching, the poll tax, segregation, unequal educational and job opportunities, but also every other form of discrimination which afflicts Americans generally," he declared.

He called the Negro vote "an increasingly independent vote," which is not "Republican, Democratic, Communist nor Socialist," "but concentrates increasingly on men and measures and not on meaningless party labels" Negroes have not been "intimidated by the rantings of Talmadge, Bilbo, Rankin or the Ku Klux Klan," he said, "neither are we deluded by the soft words of men like Taft and Carroll Reece.

Other keynote speakers on the Saturday afternoon program beside White were Harold L. Ickes, former Secretary of the Interior under the late Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Heny Morgenthau. Jr. former Secretary of the Treasury. Speakers on the evening's banquet program were James Patton, president of the National Farmers' Union; Jack Kroll, director of the CIO Political Action Committee, and Senator Claude Pepper of Florida.

Kroll, who succeeded the late Sydney Hillman, reflected on "the many lynchings which have taken place in this country since the war's end. The American people want an end to these disgraceful lynchings. They want legislation designed to punish the guilty and prevent recurrence of mob violence. They want an end to those American Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan. They want an end to poll taxes and to all the other means which are being used to deprive minority groups of their basic American rights.

The Weekly

"We all know what the 79th Congress did to the FEPC," Kroll stressed. "We must defeat candidates who refused to support efforts to combat reaction and religious discrimination."

New Orleans La.

Philip Murray, president of the CIO, explained that "attacks upon labor and the attacks upon civil rights of other groups are but part of a single movement which seriously threatens to disfigure and distort the pattern of our democratic society." He joined Pepper, Morgenthau, Ickes and others in urging a return to the foreign and domestic policies of the late President Roosevelt.

Sat 10-5-46

PRIMARIES TEST NEGROES VOTING

Times, New York, N.Y.

CIO-PAC Also Is an Issue as Alabama Selects Senator Arkansas a Governor

Wed 7-31-46

The Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organization and the right of Negroes to vote were issues again yesterday as voters chose Democratic nominees for Senator in Alabama and Governor in Arkansas, The Associated Press reported.

Alabama held a special primary, which means election there, to name a successor to the late Senator John H. Bankhead, whose term expires in 1949.

Five candidates were in the field, including John Sparkman, House majority whip, and Representative Frank Boykin. Mr. Sparkman had the backing of the Political Action Committee, the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers. Mr. Boykin attacked the PAC, saying it was out to "purge" him.

They competed with State Senator James A. Simpson, Red Allen, textile mill worker and Thomas H. Maxwell, a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

If no candidate receives a majority, a runoff will be held Aug. 27.

Wed 7-31-46

In Arkansas, where the primary vote also is equivalent to election, the first test was held of the new State law separating primaries for Congress and State office in an effort to bar Neegroes from voting for State office candidates. Negroes voted in the primary for Federal offices July 16, but in small numbers.

Election officials had planned to challenge any Negroes attempting to vote in the three-man race for Governor. Negro organizations had urged members of their race to appear at the polls.

Gov. Ben Laney sought a second-term nomination. His opponents were J. M. Malone, former Lonoket County Judge, and Virgil Greene of Blytheville.

Arkansas Also Votes Today In White Primary

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

McKellar In Tennessee Is Challenged By CIO; Kentucky's Is Saturday

Tue. 7-30-46

By the Associated Press

Primary election interest swings to the South this week with Alabama and Arkansas voting today, Tennessee deciding a hotly contested senatorial nomination Thursday, and Kentucky selecting party candidates Saturday.

Alabama's balloting today centers on a contest for the Democratic nomination for senator.

Five men, including Rep. John Sparkman, Democratic whip in the House, and Rep. Frank Boykin, are in the race. Sparkman has the backing of the CIO-PAC, United Mine Workers and AFL. Others in the race are State Senator James A. Simpson, of Birmingham; Ted Allen, textile mill worker, and Thomas H. Maxwell. Senator Swift (D), who was appointed to succeed the late Senator John H. Bankhead, is not a candidate for the remaining two years of the term.

In Arkansas Democrats will nominate a candidate for governor in a primary separated from the recent congressional primary under a State law designed to bar Negroes from voting for State offices. Gov. Ben Laney is opposed for renomination by former Judge James Malone, of Lonoke, and Virgil Green, of Blytheville.

Democracy the Negro Enemy

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

In his speech accepting the nomination for governor of Georgia, Eugene Talmadge, Esq., "acknowledged that the negroes had made great progress", that he wished them to have better schools, equal justice, a better health program and so forth, and all of that was excellent comment, but he also said that "the negro has not demonstrated his capability of casting an intelligent ballot."

Conceding that the majority of negroes, the great majority, have not the capability of casting an intelligent ballot, does a white skin prove the capability of casting it? The weakness of the Southern insistence on "white supremacy", is avoidance of direct and honest answer to that question.

Sun. 10-13-46

Southerners will countenance nothing short of white democracy. They hold that no man or woman 21 years old and older—if white—should be deprived of the voting privilege. They further hold that voting is a "right", not a privilege.

There are negroes sufficiently intelligent and responsible to exercise the privilege. They are a small minority in the population. In the white population are men and women, by no means the large proportion that is among the negroes, who are no more to be trusted to vote intelligently than are the great majority of the negroes.

In many communities these white voters are numerous and herdible and constitute a balance of power whereby political masters without scruple are elected and the rule of "rings" is maintained.

The limitation of the ballot to persons who have a little taxable property, a stake in the state, as well as a measure of learning, Southern white politicians say, would be tyranny, and the politicians in the Northern states, especially in their gang-ruled cities, are not less hypocritically servile to democracy, to universal suffrage, than they are.

Therefore, these Northern uplifters, or "Liberals", white as well as colored, denounce the one dollar poll tax that is a qualification for voting in South Carolina as outrageous. What they dislike is that the South does not adopt the loose suffrage that they have and by which they perpetuate their machine control and which, were it extended to the Southern negro masses, would bring back the chaos of the 1870s.

These Northern democrats (note, we are not referring to a Democratic party) are the obstacle to the adoption of customs and laws by which the minority of responsible Southern negroes could be accepted in white parties. In order to erect democracy in the South, they would destroy the right of the states to make their own suffrage laws, would have state rights demolished, and state government transferred to a congress dominated by the great city democracies.

The movement to have poll tax requirements repealed by congress is no more than a first step to deprive the states of the right to adopt property and other qualifications for voting.

Again be it said that democracy is the preliminary step to dictatorship, whether called Communist, Facist or Nazi, as it has been in Russia, Germany and Italy, in all lands throughout the recorded history of mankind. Never has unrestricted "popular rule" been successful anywhere and never anywhere has it lasted long.

The democrats (not the Democrats) are keeping responsible negroes out of white primaries in South Carolina and Georgia. They are ascendant in the cities of the Kelleys, the Curleys, the Hagues and the Guffeys and would entrench themselves in power by attaching to themselves negroes who would be the balance of power in Southern states were the Southern whites to divide.

The 'Yankee' Is Our Friend

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

Candidate John D. Long, one of the 11, said in a speech the other day, "Mississippi and Georgia have nailed the lid down on Yankee domination". Mr. Long's pleasure that the two states have resented outside interference is natural and speaks the heart of an honest Southerner. Charleston, S. C.

It is scarcely accurate to use the word "Yankee". The "Yankees", the old American stock, the people of Maine, Vermont, other Northern states are, with the exception of those holding offices and a few Great City "intellectuals", friends of the Southern people.

Sun. 7-28-46

The Northern persons who would, if they could, "dominate" the Southern states are democrats who, in coalition with Harlemites and Hague machines, would set up another "Reconstruction".

If they could arm the negroes in the South with the ballot in primaries, their scalawags and carpetbaggers might again come into power, and Southern state congressmen and presidential electors would entrench them in government.

History is repeating itself. The plan is a revival of the plan of Ben Wade and Thad Stevens. Negroes voting as a bloc in Southern states would have the balance of power, as they had it in Georgia the other day where the county unit plan made it ineffective.

The South could not have been delivered from the carpetbaggers and scalawags in 1875 and 1876 without the exertion of influence and extension of help by their "Yankee" friends. Many of those "Yankee" Americans are now dominated by "machines" in the great cities which buy, own and herd to the polls the negroes in the Harlems. They need Southern assistance, and that is why Southern states should choose independent electors in the Electoral College.

If Bilbo and Talmadge were pills not desired by the majority of the white citizens in their states, the interfering Northern "Liberals" forced the Southerners to swallow them.

Solving Our Racial Ills

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Sat 8-17-46

Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman from Mississippi, in a Washington interview last week, prescribed a cure for the ills of American Negroes by urging the free use of the ballot by them. "What we need in this country," the Republican spokesman said, "is what I have advocated through my many years of public life, and that is the ballot." Mr. Howard, a rabid partisan, would have the poll tax eliminated as a deterrent to voting and envisions the election of a Republican Congress in 1947 which will give the country "an anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation and a strong fair employment practice commission."

This latest preachment of Mr. Howard sounds a little different from what he had to say a month or more ago when he advised them to stay away from the polls in Mississippi and wait until a republican election comes along. But no matter how it sounds, it is cut out of the identical garment. The thing uppermost in his mind is that nothing can be done to stem the tide of Negroes flocking into the Democratic Party in southern states. He, like so many other republican leaders, suffers from a pathological fear of this trend, despite the fact it is the only hope for Negro advancement and growth in the southern economy. And he, like a few other republican leaders, who have publicily expressed it, appears to prefer the total disfranchisement of his race than to see them integrated into the Democratic Party. But fortunately, his number are few and far between in America today. The great mass of Negroes and all of our sincere Negro leaders know that there is absolutely no hope in reliance upon any program which may be devised or evolved by a republican regime in the southern states. For more than 60 years, they have been doing just what Mr. Howard himself is doing, overlooking the important fact that the South is predominantly a Democratic section and that as such, Negroes must either go along with them and win some economic footing or else they must remain what they have been over these 60 years, politically impotent, until a two-party system can be evolved, which at this time is not even in the remote future.

We are in agreement with Mr. Howard that the ballot can at least help in solving the Negro's problems. But we differ in method. Mr. Howard sees only one way—the Republican way—and would just as soon not have the problem solved if it must be done through integration of Negroes into the Democratic Party. To the contrary, we are for any method which may bring relief to our sufferings and deprivation—whether that be achieved through the Republican or Democratic Party is really not important.

The imporant thing is relief. But in the South there is no active Republican Party.

The only time any casual mention is made of them is once every 4 years when they are about to hold their National Convention. Like the Democrats of the South, let the Republicans get busy and build up local units, rather than going to sleep after their National Conclave.

In Arkansas And Texas

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 8-3-46

Without incident Negroes in Arkansas and in Texas voted in last week's primary elections. News accounts show that an estimated 75,000 voted in Texas, while no figures were given on the exact number voting in Arkansas. In view of the apparent belligerent attitude taken by the governor of Arkansas against the U. S. ruling in which Negroes were permitted to participate in the primaries, interest of a rather widespread nature was attached to that state. On a smaller scale, Negroes had previously voted in each of these states. But last week represented the first time in which large numbers voted. Thus, one by one, southern states are dropping their opposition to the Negro vote and beginning to abide by the judgement of the U. S. Supreme Court.

In Georgia, more than 100,000 Negroes participated in the recent Democratic Primary. This, according to estimates, was the largest number ever to participate in a primary in any southern state. This is especially significant if we consider the speed with which this was done. Six months prior to the Georgia election, less than 50,000 Negroes had been registered. Within that span, the registration of Negroes took a sharp upward turn with over 150,000 being on the the books, including the purges, by the July 5 deadline. Everywhere in the South, even in Mississippi, the Negro is going to become a definite factor in politics.

And despite the protestations of bigots and demagogues, they are going to aid in the fight to bring democracy to the South.

The Great Game Of Politics

BY FRANK R. KENT

STRUGGLE FOR THE NEGRO.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 28. — It was in 1936 that the great Negro vote in the pivotal Northern states, which had been the basic Republican asset since the Civil War, was transferred almost solidly to the Democratic party through the Machiavellian machinations and low guile of the Hon. James A. Farley.

For ten years, covering three presidential and three off-year congressional elections, the Negroes have remained in the Democratica camp, registering Democratic and voting Democratic all the way from 75 to 98 per cent. In this year's campaign—the first since the Roosevelt death—the Republican have real hope or regaining this great group of voters whose defection counted so heavily against them. The Republican sufferings on this score can be easily understood, particularly when it is considered that each Negro vote lost counted twice. It not only had to be subtracted from the Republican total but added to the Democratic.

* * *

And now the Republicans, after more than a decade of futility, are making their first hopeful attempt to recover this practically indispensable party asset, which from 1861 to 1936 helped elect their presidential candidates and since then has been potent in defeating them. Neither time, money nor work will be spared this fall. The effort will be intensive and extremely earnest. All of which makes it pertinent to list, first, the means by which these votes were taken over by the Democrats, and, second, the reason the Republicans believe they can get them back now.

It was Mr. Farley, with Mr. Roosevelt's enthusiastic co-operation, who engineered this transfer in 1936. In the order of their importance he would list the means as follows: (1) The WPA, then under Mr. Harry Hopkins, and upon the relief rolls of which an amazing percentage of Negroes was placed; (2) Mrs. Roosevelt, whose fraternization was exceedingly effective—a million copies of her picture taken with a group of male and female Negro students were distributed among Negroes in ten selected States by the Democratic National committee; (3) Federal patronage a larger proportion of which went to Negroes in the early Roosevelt days than had been given by any other President; (4) employment by the Democratic committee of an unprecedented number of Negro teachers, preachers and speakers who, well paid both as to salary and expenses, traveled the selected states spreading the Roosevelt gospel; (5) the Negro press which, in one way or another, had become strongly pro-Roosevelt.

* * *

By these means was accomplished what Mr. Farley, with reason, regards as the most effective coup in the history of national politics. Now, the Republican grounds for feeling this is the time to "right the great wrong," as some have referred to it, are these: (1) Mr. Roosevelt is dead; (2) the WPA no longer exists; (3) the Democratic party failed to repeal the poll tax or to pass a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act, whereas one was passed by a Republican governor in New York; (4) the Federal patronage has mostly been distributed; (5) the Negro press, like a number of Negro leaders, has become disaffected and is now largely Republican again; (6) the present Democratic chairman, Mr. Hannegan, is many grades below Mr. Farley in skill, judgment, knowledge and tact.

He appears too busy proclaiming himself a "true liberal" and carrying on his personal feuds within the Cabinet to give the necessary time and attention to blocking this Republican effort or to appreciate what its success will mean to the Democratic ticket in about 10 important and debatable states. Checking the first list against the second, it does seem that the Republicans have about 60-to-40 chance of achieving their objective in this struggle for the Negro vote this time. It is one of the basic reasons for their general confidence.

U. S. To Try Vote Bans On Color

Atlanta Ga. Constitution Sat. 4-6-46

WASHINGTON, April 5—(AP)—The Justice Department in the future will prosecute under the criminal code "any state or party official who attempts to prevent a person from voting because of color" in a primary or general election.

The Department's policy was outlined Friday by Sol. Gen. J. Howard McGrath at a press conference.

"It is our position," McGrath said, "that the law has been settled by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals and the denial of certiorari by the Supreme Court in a recent Georgia case in which it was held Negroes were entitled to vote in primary elections."

"There is no doubt that the decision affects local as well as general primaries and elections in all states." Sat. 4-6-46

All test cases have been brought as civil actions.

In a suit brought by Primus E. King, of Columbus, Ga., the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals held that a party primary was an essential part of the state's election process and that party officials were in fact acting for the state in conducting them.

By its refusal last week to review the decision in the Georgia case, McGrath said the Department of Justice took it the Supreme Court "let stand as law" its decision in a Texas case holding that a person cannot be denied the right to participate in a party primary because of color.

"It will be the position of this Department," he continued, "that any state or party official who attempts to prevent a person from voting because of color will be in violation of Section 18 of the criminal code."

The Solicitor General said that persons denied voting privileges also could sue for damages under civil statutes. The penalty under the criminal code is a $1,000 fine or a year in prison.

Prosecutions will be brought on complaints filed by individuals, either direct or with U. S. District Attorneys, McGrath told reporters, adding that the Department has "no intention" of sending observers into the various states, as a voter, he continued, emphasizing that registration and poll tax requirements were not in-

Sat. 4-6-46

Dis- volved in either the Texas or Georgia case. Neither the state nor federal government was a party to the case, which was brought against the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee. "It is hoped," McGrath said in conclusion, "that everyone will abide by the spirit of the courts' decisions."

CIO-PAC, Negro Vote Again Are Issues In Alabama and Arkansas Primaries

Richmond Va. Times-Dispatch
July 31, 1946

By The Associated Press

The CIO-PAC and the right of Negroes to vote were issues again yesterday as voters chose Democratic nominees for Senator in Alabama and Governor in Arkansas.

A light vote had been forecast in both States. The campaigns excited little interest.

Alabama held a special primary, which means election there, to name a successor to the late Senator John H. Bankhead, whose term expires in 1949. It was the twenty-third senatorial nomination this year, with 13 more to go.

Five candidates were in the field, including two Congressmen, John Sparkman, House majority whip, and Representative Frank Boykin. Sparkman had the backing of the CIO-PAC, the AFL United Mine Workers and the AFL State Executive Committee. Boykin attacked the PAC, saying it was out to "purge" him.

Runoff Slated August 27

They competed with State Senator James A. Simpson, four-term State Senator; Red Allen, textile mill worker, and Thomas H. Maxwell, member of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

If no candidate receives a majority, a runoff will be held August 27.

Arkansas' Democratic primary, which also is equivalent to election, was the first test of the new State law, separating primaries for Congress and State office, in an effort to bar Negroes from voting for State office candidates. Negroes voted in the primary for Federal offices July 16, but in small numbers.

Election officials had planned to challenge any Negroes attempting to vote in the three-man race for Governor. Negro organizations had urged members of their race to appear at the polls.

Arkansas is the first State to adopt this policy following the Supreme Court's decision upholding the right of Negroes to vote in primaries for Federal office.

South Carolina, which holds a primary August 13, has eliminated all primary laws from its statute books since the court decision. The Democratic party, which will regulate its own primary, limits participants to white Democrats over 18.

Governor Ben Laney sought a second-term nomination in Arkansas yesterday. His opponents were J. M. Malone, former Lonoke County judge, and Virgil Greene, of Blytheville.

A Congressional Medal of Honor winner, Nathan Gordon, was among three candidates for nomination as Lieutenant-Governor.

Arkansas also provides for runoff primary to be held August 13, in races when no candidate wins a majority.

White: 'No More Shocked Than I'

The Worker New York, N.Y.
Sun. 10-6-45

No American was more shocked nor disheartened by the firing of Henry Wallace from the Cabinet than I and that feeling is shared by Negro Americans generally because Mr. Wallace has been the one member of the President's Cabinet who has spoken out without fear against discrimination and bigotry.

But we are met today to find a solution—if there is a solution—to a specific problem. If that problem is not met head-on and successfully, there is little hope for preservation of the democratic process. What is happening in Greece and China and Trieste is an integral part of the lives and fortunes of us all.

I want strongly to urge upon this conference that it concentrate upon the immediate job before us of doing everything in our power to see that an intelligent and liberal Congress is elected.

I do not think a third party is the answer either in 1946 or 1948. Not long before he died, Wendell Willkie told me that he had made an exhaustive study of the possibilities of a third party only to learn that it would take a minimum of six years to get a third party listed on the ballot of all the states.

I speak to you today as an American but also as a Negro American. Today the Negro vote holds the potential balance of power in 17 states with 281 electoral votes. The Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case of April, 1944 has greatly extended the influence of Negro voters and at the same time activated democrcy for whites as well.

Until this year the highest number of voters who cast ballots in the Democratic primary of my native state of Georgia has never been in excess of three hundred thousand. But in 1946 more than one million Georgians voted, approximately one hundred thousand of them Negroes for the first time in history.

I want to say to this audience that despite the fact that Negroes, and especially Negro veterans, been subjected to a wave of incredibly sadistic mob violence during recent months, the Negro shares none of the tired liberalism of many of his white fellow Americans. We are not disheartened and we are looking forward, not backward.

We are not in the least intimidated by the rantings of Talmadge, Bilbo, Rankin, or the Ku Klux Klan. Neither are we deluded by the soft words of men like Taft and Carroll Reece.

Let us devote ourselves from now until Nov. 5 to the most important single job in America today—driving out of Congress and public life the enemies of democracy who now infest our Congress and substituting for them men and women who really believe in freedom and have the courage to fight for it.

Columbia, S. C. Record
July 31, 1946

Negroes Vote In Primaries Of Two States

By the Associated Press

Rep. John Sparkman of Alabama, Democratic whip of the House, was within sight today of a primary election majority which would guarantee him the Senate seat of the late John H. Bankhead.

Returns from 1,532 of 2,360 voting districts gave Sparkman 67,588 votes for the Democratic nomination to 67,943 for four others. Unless he could overtake their total in the counting which remained, he faced a runoff August 27 with State Senator James A. Simpson.

Simpson had 38,326, Rep. Frank Boykin 28,435, Red Allen of Union Springs 764 and Thomas H. Maxwell of Tuscaloosa 418.

Sparkman had the support of the CIO-PAC and other elements of organized labor. But the ten-year veteran of congress, himself the son of a tenant farmer, obtained his most whopping majorities yesterday in rural areas.

Negroes Vote

Negroes voted throughout the state. The polls were opened to them in some counties for the first time to conform with a supreme court decree that they could not be barred because of their color. In other districts, they had voted for years.

The Arkansas Democratic primary yesterday, involving state offices only, resulted in an easy second term victory for Gov. Ben Laney, who nearly doubled the combined vote of two opponents.

A World War II winner of the Congressional medal was nominated by a similar margin for lieutenant governor. He is Nathan Gordon, 30 year old Morrilton lawyer and wartime naval aviator. Although it was his first political start, he finished far ahead of his nearest rival, Roy Milum, dean of the state senate.

J. Oscar Humphrey rolled up a 3 to 1 victory over the total for two opponents to win renomination as state auditor.

To test a new law which would exclude Negroes from voting for state officers, Arkansas held this primary separately from one July 16, when congress nominees were chosen. Nevertheless some Negroes voted yesterday without reported incident.

THOMAS L. STOKES

Democratic Party Eyes Dixie Primary Results

The Constitution

WASHINGTON — The Democratic Party has a peculiar and unusual interest this year in primary elections in the South.

Ordinarily, nobody in the party's leadership pays much attention to the solid Democratic South in such primaries, except for President Roosevelt's unsuccessful attempt in 1938 to eliminate Sen. George (Georgia) and "Cotton Ed" Smith (South Carolina) in what was referred to as "the Roosevelt Purge." The interest this year is not of that sort.

What concerns them now is the effect of some things that are happening in the South on the fortunes of the party elsewhere, relating in particular to Negroes and labor. Both hitherto were powerful in swinging big urban centers in the East and Middle West to the Democratic ticket.

Atlanta Ga

THE peculiar Southern problem of this new kind of Democratic leaders arises because of the Supreme Court's outlawry of the "White Primary," and the increasing strength of labor in the South. Negroes now are seeking to vote and, in some places, encountering the usual subterfuges, as well as open threats. Labor has intensified its political activity and effectiveness through the organizing campaign now going on in the South. Mon. 8-1-46

Both are running up against old Southern custom and tradition and are bringing pressure here for protection.

The Bilbo issue in the Mississippi Primary Tuesday symbolizes the problem for the moment. It is bound to arise later in other Southern States in the virtual political revolution that has started in the South—and in ways to harass and embarrass national party officials constantly, and put them on the spot.

Sen. Bilbo's appeal for all "red-blooded" Mississippians to rise up and keep Negroes from voting finally got official recognition here, both in the Justice Department and in Congress. Atty. Gen. Tom Clark is expected to take public notice of the situation on the eve of the Primary.

NEGROES hold a balance-of-power vote in several big Eastern and Midwestern cities. The Democratic Party is anxious to hold them in line. The Party's main reliance, both in this year's Congressional elections and in 1948, is in the metropolitan areas in the big so-called "doubtful" States in the East and Middle West. Victory in 1948 depends upon a combination of enough of the big States with the usual Solid South.

It behooves the Administration to show an interest on behalf of Negroes in the South who are denied the franchise. The CIO, now so active in the South, politically and otherwise, has been in the forefront for measures designed to give the Negroes a political voice in the South as well as to improve their economic conditions.

Mon 8-1-46

IN ADDITION to that interest, the CIO also has others directly affecting its own political activity. The influence of the Ku Klux Klan, which is trying to revive itself, has been observed in anti-union activities in the South. This, too, has its effects in politics, notably, for example, in Georgia, where Gene Talmadge has Klan support in an attempt for a comeback. He is raising the "white supremacy" issue in Georgia as Sen. Bilbo has in Mississippi. Pressure has been brought here for the federal government to do something about the Klan.

The CIO also will run up against old-line political machines. It now has, for example, some 30,000 members in Memphis, where Boss Ed H. Crump always has supplied the majorities in Shelby County to put over his candidates. You may be sure that if the CIO does not feel it got a fair count in the August 1 primary, in which it is opposing Boss Crump's candidate, Sen. McKellar, it will raise a fuss here in Washington.

Light in Alabama

The News and Courier

The Democratic committee of Alabama is appealing to the people of the state to cause the enactment of laws restricting registration and voting. Under existing laws of Alabama, any person paying taxes on property assessed at $300 or more can register and vote, whether or not he can read and write. Unless stiffer requirements shall be adopted, the negroes in Alabama, the committee says, will vote and have the balance of power. If the white people of Alabama shall avoid their peril they must make not only literacy a test for suffrage but raise the property qualification. Birmingham, Ala.

Similar amendment of the voting laws of South Carolina will be necessary. Negroes as well as white people are democrats. In a democracy universal suffrage is the rule, and if the propertyless white man shall have the right to vote it cannot long be denied to colored people. Mon.

Whatever necessity or excuse for barring negroes from the polls, by force or chicane, existed 50 years ago has passed. The white people are now a substantial majority in South Carolina and have been since 1930. Fraud is more hurtful to the practicers than to the victims of it. If democracy (the reference is not to the Democratic party) shall prevail in South Carolina the negroes will be the balance of power in elections, as they would have been in the recent Georgia primary when 100,000 of them voted in a bloc had not Georgia's white Democracy been protected by the county unit plan. 9-30-46

In South Carolina laws that would deprive 90 per cent of the negroes of the privilege of voting would deprive a large number of white people, 30 or 40 per cent of them, of it.

Voting is a privilege of citizenship, and assertion that it is a right is nonsense and folly. This, one day our people, white people, will perceive, though it will be education that they will take in bitter doses. They will eventually give it to themselves. Misgovernment is the unescapable result of democracy, and the relief from it is dictatorship, which is a form of slavery (it may be mild and soothing) to all people.

Men, as we are told in the Bible, are created a little lower than the angels. The failure of democracy comes from the fact that so many of them are created so much lower than the angels. The Alabamians begin to see straight ahead.

Voters Control Victory Margin In 58 Districts

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 10-12-46

Surveyed Areas All Non-Southern; Stands On FEPC Shown

NEW YORK—New importance has been given the struggle for the Negro vote in coming elections with the release last week of a survey compiled by the CIO Political Action Committee, showing that Negro voters hold the margin of victory in 58 non-southern congressional districts.

The report shows that the 58 districts are part of 100 marginal areas where the incumbents could have been defeated in 1944 by a switch of five per cent or less of the total vote. Analysis of the Negro vote potential showed that in the first 58 districts it exceeds the present incumbent's 1944 plurality.

Of the 58 districts, 23 are represented by Congressmen who refused to sign the discharge petition that would have brought the FEPC bill to the floor of Congress. Other representatives favor the measure.

Can Oust Reactionaries

In releasing the survey, Jack Kroll, CIO-PAC director, said that Negro voters along with other progressives and organized labor have the opportunity of ousting reactionary Congressmen and electing or reelecting progressives. He cited the example of Rep. Slaughter (D., Mo.) who was defeated in the Aug. 6 primary, after he blocked FEPC in committee. Kroll also mentioned the defeat of Rep. Rodgers (R., Pa.), who opposed FEPC. Both defeated incumbents lost by less than the total amount of the Negro vote.

The report pointed out that the Negro's potential is greater now than it has ever been since he became a factor in the American political picture. The report was based on the 1940 census, and represents minimums that have been increased by wartime migrations and population shifts.

Large Cities Not Covered

Large cities like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit were not covered by the survey, since the Negro voter there has long been recognized as a dominant political factor.

The statistical table of Congressmen who [illegible] sign the FE[illegible] discharge pet[illegible] is as follows:

The Defender

Name	Negro Vote Potential	1944 Plurality
Gillespie (R.-Col.)	5,100	7,000
Bishop (R.-Ill.)	15,800	7,500
Scrivner (R.-Kan.)	18,300	21,000
O'Neal (D.-Ky.)	36,000	20,000
Chelf (D.-Ky.)	14,900	8,000
Spence (D.-Ky.)	5,000	12,600
Chapman (D.-Ky.)	27,600	19,200
May (D.-Ky.)	4,800	3,300
Bates (D.-Ky.)	5,100	7,800
Roe (D.-Md.)	32,000	1,000
Baldwin (D.-Md.)	30,500	23,800
Arnold (R.-Mo.)	5,000	1,600
Scwabe R.-Mo.)	11,000	300
Cole (R.-Mo.)	3,600	1,500
Bell (D.-Mo.)	7,400	15,200
Slaughter (D.-Mo.)	21,150	5,200
Carnahan (D.-Mo.)	1,900	1,100
Cannon (D.-Mo.)	5,400	6,000
Ploeser (R.-Mo.)	8,300	8,300
Schwabe (R.-Okla.)	15,700	3,000
Gross (R.-Pa.)	3,100	5,400
Graham (R.-Pa.)	5,700	1,100
Campbell (R.-Pa.)	11,300	500

Chicago, Ill. Sat. 10-12-46

Negro Voters' Shift?

The Times New York, N. Y.

One estimate of the Negro vote in the North speaks of it as being potentially decisive in a "reasonably close election" in eighteen States with no less than 281 electoral votes. This figure seems high in itself and is to be further weighed in light of the fact that for more than twenty-five years we have had no close Presidential elections.

Nevertheless, the basic fact remains that there were times when national elections were close and the Negro vote may have been a decisive factor in such contests within a single generation after the Civil War. Today it is a question of serious moment whether the Negro voters who went over in large numbers from their traditional Republican allegiance to the Franklin Roosevelt camp are drifting back or not. They can make themselves felt if we ever get back to the close elections of the Grover Cleveland era. Sat. 10-26-46

Few Weigh More

This factor of the Northern Negro vote somehow manages to get itself overlooked in most discussions of Negro disfranchisement in the deep South. We strongly suspect that in Ilya Ehrenburg's report on America to his Soviet countrymen it appears that the Negro is disfranchised everywhere in the United States.

Against this stark picture one might recall the bold thesis suggested by one ingenious native writer. He advanced the paradox that as a result of anti-Negro discrimination in the South the political role of the Negro in the country as a whole has been greatly enhanced. He argues that if the Negro were allowed to vote freely all through the South, along with freedom from all other forms of discrimination, then it is conceivable that the electoral vote of a Southern State here or there might be decided by the Negro vote; conceivable, though not very likely.

But a heavy Negro migration to the North, as the result largely of a denial of political and civic rights at home, has brought it about that three million Negroes in the North actually exercise a more decisive influence in our national elections than if thirteen or fourteen million Negro people in the South had been allowed to vote freely.

Vote For You.

(An Editorial)

The Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 10-19-46

The Chicago Defender is calling upon all citizens, especially Negro citizens to go to the polls on Nov. 5 and cast their votes.

The congressional election of 1946 is by far the most important election Negro Americans will face since the advent of the New Deal 14 years ago. With the substantial increase in the political strength of the Negro voter, we have today a much more powerful instrument with which to carve out our political destiny than at any other time since slavery: five million potential Negro votes for which both Republicans and Democrats are battling.

Through the leadership of the late President Roosevelt, issues which affect our fate for the next generation have been crystallized and clarified. It is no longer necessary for us to flounder when we are asked what we want. We know that our status as American citizens will be determined by the passage of a permanent fair employment practice legislation, anti-lynching legislation, the abolishment of the poll tax and complete federal protection to our civil rights. Only our votes can achieve these objectives for us.

With the full knowledge that the time for decision is here, the Chicago Defender launches a crusade for votes to buttress the fight which we have made and to fortify those representatives of the people who want to carry out the mandates given them by the electorate.

Vote Nov. 5 or deny yourself the right to full citizenship.

Living Today

By ARLIE B. DAVIDSON

The Advertiser

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

In a democracy, the right of people to share in the responsibility of government is fundamental. When this right is denied for good reason, there is no just cause for grievance. When it is denied for no good reason, man rightly raises his voice against such a process of government. This means that he is under a government in which he has no voice in the selection of officers to administer it, and has no opportunity to effect the passage of new laws except in an indirect manner. Montgomery, Ala.

Man is always happier when he feels that he is a vital part of the system under which he lives. Moreover, he will give more of himself spontaneously to make government serve his interests, if not the common good, if he knows he is at least partially responsible for what prevails. Without a vital part in government, man tends to stand off and criticize government, always finding faults which should be corrected. It is a government by others in which he has no personal part to play. Hence, when all does not go as expected he casts the blame on others. Under such a set-up it is difficult for man to give his best to his country as a patriot. Many do not falter in their devotion and loyalty to their government, but they do so more reluctantly than the person who has full right of voting as other citizens.

The question relative to the qualifications for voting has long been a source of discussion and disagreement. Property values up to a certain minimum, payment of a head or poll tax, the ability to read and write certain documents specified, normal intelligence, and freedom from a criminal record, all have been used in the past. In addition, residence, sex, and race have entered in. Still, no one seems to know exactly what should be requisite to vote. If education is required, how much education? If good character is required, what do we mean by that, and who shall decide on the qualification? This one thing is certain: more of the better type of people should be allowed to vote than present provisions commonly permit. Wed. 10-23-46

Colored Voter Is Democratic

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J.—Recent Republican efforts on behalf of FEPC legislation in the senate once again highlight the longstanding Republican party problem of winning the colored vote back into the GOP fold. 2-18-46

These efforts are naturally concentrated upon colored voters outside the Southern states, since the vast majority of Negroes in the South do not cast ballots.

There is no evidence today to indicate that Republican efforts are winning over any great proportion of colored voters in the states outside the South.

In fact, a poll just completed throughout the nation, which included a cross section of Negro voters, finds the colored voters favoring the Democratic party today over the Republican party by a vote of three to two.

The fact that colored voters continue to prefer the Democratic to the Republican party can be explained in large part by economic factors.

HERE ARE THE FIGURES of Negro voters and white voters in comparable occupation groups.

The figures are based on the question:

"If a presidential election were being held today, which party would you vote for—the Democratic or Republican?"

	Democratic	Republican
Colored voters	60%	40%
White voters in same occupations	58	42

The figures above are of those with opinions on the subject. Three out of every ten colored voters, about two out of ten white voters in the comparable group, had no opinion. 2-18-46

AS WAS MENTIONED earlier, the above figure of 58% Democratic for white voters in the same occupation groups as the Negro voters, represents the opinion of white voters in the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled occupation categories. The Republican party is preferred by a majority of white voters in business and professional and farm groups, outside the South, and the two parties are about equally strong among the white-collar workers.

This is not to say that race will not at times be more important as a determining factor than economic status, but the evidence does indicate that until the present economic cleavage gives way, or until the Republican party can convince voters in the middle and lower economic income groups that it represents their best interests, little headway in winning the colored vote is likely to be made.

At the present time, Institute surveys find, only about one out of every ten in the lower economic groups thinks that the Republican party represents his best interests.

G. O. P. Efforts To Win Negro Vote Majority Make Little Progress

Birmingham, Ala. News

Present Inclination Is To Follow Economic Rather Than Racial Lines, According To Poll By American Institute Of Public Opinion

BY GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute Of Public Opinion

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SENATORIAL SITDOWN

Birmingham, Ala. News

To the Editor of The News:

I wish to commend the article of James D Ross in the Voice of the People Jan. 24 on the sitdown strike of our senators, and he should have included most of the congressmen. If anybody can point out anything the lawmakers at Washington have done since Japan collapsed, that is worth one iota to the American people, they are better judges than the writer is. 1-30-46

I thought some home for holidays would try to heed the mandate of their constituents, but instead they start a talk of filibuster to kill legislation that the nation must eventually have before we will have a settled industrial status in America.

I understand that Sen. Carter Glass, of Virginia, has not answered a roll call since 1942, yet he draws his $10,000 plus any extras of the people's taxes. As a whole I think we could cut the Senate down to 50, and Congress down to 200; then cut off at least one-third of all government employes. Let the ones cut off go back to the farm and help raise some badly needed food.

James D. Ross very well portrays the Negro voting needs. Just why should not the Negro vote in the South as well as in the North? Unless the eight Southern states wake up and repeal the iniquitous long out-moded poll tax law there will soon be very few white people voting. There are less than 10 per cent now voting in Alabama and the number is decreasing every year because the old people who have their poll tax paid are passing away and younger people are not paying the tax.

I wish to warn the voters to ask all our Alabama legislators and other officeholders who are offering for reelection in 1946 to show what they have done that has helped Alabama, and make any others running state what they intend to try to do that will help the taxpayer. Maybe some of them will make a true statement and try to live up to it if elected. 1-30-45

1220 Princeton Avenue W. C. BROWN.

From the M. E.

Add Ironies Of Democracy

America has enfranchised the Japanese, giving the vote to every one over 20.

But on our home grounds we still keep the age limit at 21, holding that while young men of 18, ing that while men of 18, 19 and 20 and women of 20 are old enough to fight and die for their country, they are not old enough to vote for it.

And, while we have given the ballot to the Japanese without a dollar sign attached, the poll tax in seven American states still disfranchises millions of our own citizens.

Furthermore, there's no taint of stain of a color line on the new polling booth we've opened to the Japanese, yet in large areas of our own South we still tolerate the "white primary."

—JOHN P. LEWIS

"Negro Vote Will Improve White Vote"

Sat. 3-30-46
Pittsburgh Courier

BIRMINGHAM — (ANP)— Georgia's Governor Ellis Arnall quoted the opinion that Negro voting would make better white voters," in a speech at Birmingham-Southern College here March 18, climaxing the college's Town Hall series.

Governor Arnall is backing the fight in Georgia to ban Negro voting in that State, although two Federal courts have ruled against it. Georgia white Democrats, with the announced support of the Gov-

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

By Drew Pearson

Negro Vote Wavers

Washington Post

The politicians will tell you that political events are cumulative. In other words, one event won't lose an election, but several of them taken together, will. Washington, D. C.

For instance, both Democratic and Republican politicoes agree that Mrs. Truman's "why not?" crack about the race question and the DAR, in itself would not lose her husband the Negro vote.

But when this event is followed by the Southern filibuster again FEPC and the exit of Harold Ickes, chief Negro champion of the old Roosevelt Administration, then the picture changes. Wed 2-20-46

Millions of Negroes remember the day when Ickes invited Marian Anderson to sing on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial after the DAR had turned her down. They know of Ickes appointment of a Negro governor to the Virgin Islands, which Southern Senators are now blocking, and his many speeches in Negro centers during crucial days of past campaigns.

Result of all these events: even more optimistic Democrats will admit that the strategic Negro vote which once went solid for Roosevelt has now slipped over to the GOP column.

Note—Politicians warned the White House that Senator Joe O'Mahoney's record on the race question would hurt his appointment as Secretary of the Interior. O'Mahoney voted against the antilynching bill, and against the antipoll tax bill, and against stopping the FEPC filibuster.

University Will Make Study Of Voting System In South

2-1-46

UNIVERSITY, Ala., Feb. 1—(AP)—A two-year study of the voting process in the South will be made by the University of Alabama bureau of public administration under a grant of $40,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation, it was announced today by President Raymond R. Paty.

The study, which will be in the hands of a full-time research staff, will get under way within the next two or three months, Dr. Paty said, adding that he will soon appoint a Southwide commission of nine to 15 leading citizens of the region to serve as an advisory body in planning and executing the study.

* * *

"THE STUDY WILL BE A FACTUAL one from beginning to end," said the university president. "It will be as objective and scientific as scholarly research can make it. The purpose of the study is not to prove that a certain course should or should not be followed, or that a given thing should or should not be done. Rather, it is to present a detailed picture of electoral practice in the Southern states.

"There is a widespread feeling that this whole subject has been the object of more discussion than thought, that more heat than light has been brought to bear on it. The one and only purpose of this study is to shed light on the electoral process in the Southern states."

Dr. Paty pointed out that certain features of the voting process in the South are unique to this section. Requirements for voting will be analyzed with care, including the poll tax.

* * *

OTHER PHASES OF THE PROBLEM to be studied include the one-party system, the system of nominations with particular regard to the direct primary, the registration of voters, election machinery and voting and other practices in some of the Southern states that in some of those as few as 15 to 20 per cent who might qualify to vote actually go to the polls and cast ballots.

2-1-46

Voting In The South

Birmingham News, Ala.

No region in the United States is so much talked about with respect to voting as is the South. Now, under a $40,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, a two-year study of voting processes in the South is to be made. We should learn much about our region from it. 2-2-46

But—lest some head too promptly for the stump—we hasten to point out that the University of Alabama Bureau of Public Administration is to make the investigation. An objective, scientific report is being planned. A Southwide advisory commission of from nine to 15 men will be appointed soon by Dr. Raymond R. Paty, university president, who made the announcement.

We know that, in the South, we have far too many persons who, eligible to vote, rarely get around to casting ballots. Why? We hope to learn the answer. And we know that the poll tax keeps many from voting—how many? What is the specific effect of the poll tax on individuals? Again, we hope to get definite answers from this university survey. 2-2-46

The people of the South should be grateful for the Rockefeller grant, which will be administered by our own University of Alabama. The bureau of public administration at the Capstone, through this project, will be enabled on a sizable scale to serve the people, and this is its good object.

Drew Pearson

WASHINGTON—The leak which sprang the big spy story in Canada came when the Soviet ordered home one of its agents. He had been in Canada for some time, had come to like Canadians, and was not sympathetic with certain Soviet tactics.

The politicians will tell you that political events are cumulative. In other words, one event won't lose an election, but several of them, taken together, will.

For instance, both Democratic and Republican politicoes agree that Mrs. Truman's "Why not?" crack about the race question and the D. A. R. in itself would not lose her husband the Negro vote. 2-20-46

But when this event is followed by the Southern filibuster against FEPC and the exit of Harold Ickes, chief Negro champion of the old Roosevelt administration, then the picture changes. Bham. Ala. News

Millions of Negroes remember the day when Ickes invited Marian Anderson to sing on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial after the D. A. R. had turned her down. They know of Ickes' appointment of a Negro governor to the Virgin Islands, which Southern senators are now blocking, and his many speeches in Negro centers during crucial days of past campaigns.

Result of all these events: Even more optimistic Democrats will admit that the strategic Negro vote which once went solid for Roosevelt has now slipped over to the GOP column.

Note—Politicians warned the White House that Sen. Joe O'Mahoney's record on the race question would hurt his appointment as secretary of the interior. O'Mahoney voted against the anti-lynching bill, against the anti-poll tax bill and against stopping the FEPC filibuster.—©

Ickes In New Job Is Expected To Bid For Large Negro Vote

Atlanta Ga. Daily Times

WASHINGTON, D. C. —(SNS) —The return to politics of Harold L. Ickes, former secretary of the interior, as executive chairman of the Independent Citizens Committee of the arts, sciences and professions indicates that that organization will seek to mobilize independent colored voters to press for the carrying out of the Roosevelt policies, foreign and domestic.

Mr. Ickes who is popular with colored people because of his liberal attitude while head of the interior department will have the support of some big colored writers

The committee, which was organized to support the late President Roosevelt for reelection in 1944 includes Duke Ellington, band leader; Hazel Scott, pianist; Langston Hughes, author; Paul Robeson, actor and singer. Tues 3-12-46

Supporting the view that colored support will be sought is the fact Jo Davidson national chairman, in announcing Mr. Ickes selection as the head of the committee, said the program of the reorganized committee would include abolition of the poll tax, elimination of the discrimination and establishment of a Fair Employment Practice Committee.

U. Of A. Seeking Cause Of Low Percentage Of Voters In South

Birmingham News Alabama

Wed 3-6-46

Research is now under way at the University of Alabama to determine the causes for the low percentage of voters in the South and why its natural resources have not been put to greater advantage, Dr. Raymond R. Paty, president of the University of Alabama, informed the Birmingham Kiwanis Club at its luncheon meeting yesterday at the Tutwiler Hotel.

The fact only 15 per cent of the population in the South votes, when this democratic privilege has been bought through bloodshed and other hardships, was mentioned by Dr. Paty as a drawback that could be the undoing of democracy. He said that one field of research now in progress is trying to determine the factors for such a condition.

* * *

THE OBJECTIVE of another avenue of research is the reason for failure to make greater use of the natural resources of the South, the university president told the club. One phase of this work is an effort to make an inventory of the coal situation, he said.

"The men who are quietly engaged in this work are trying patiently to solve the problems of this region with the hope that the results may serve to increase the economic level of the state and region," Dr. Paty added.

The university, he said, is placing equal emphasis on the cultural and fine arts. These, he underlined, are not mere frills but are designed to help future citizens get the most out of the resources of life.

Reporting on the medical college, Dr. Paty said, despite obstacles, the center, located in Birmingham, will be one of the finest developments in medicine in the South. He spoke optimistically of the chances of removing "the many obstacles."

* * *

ANOTHER FIELD OF RESEARCH concerns diets, Dr. Paty told the Kiwanians. By obtaining the best knowledge available on balanced meals, it is hoped to serve the most nutritious meals possible in the school lunchrooms of the state, he said. This, he emphasized again, is not a mere fad.

Because of backlogs built up during the war, education is now under its heaviest burden, the university president observed. Accommodating all the students who want an education is "a terrific and difficult problem," he declared. The university is determined not to turn away any students from within the state, he gave assurance. Part of Northington Hospital is being made available to the university and there is a likelihood of acquiring a larger part of the hospital, he said.

Dr. Paty was introduced by O. G. Gresham. John W. Black, president of the club, presided.

Wed 3-6-46

Unprejudiced

Atlanta Constitution

Editor Constitution: I think that if the professional politicians would put forth the same amount of energy in trying to develop wise, capable voters among the Negroes that they are in trying to keep them from voting, it would greatly improve the Democratic party. My observation is that a Negro who understands the question involved votes to the best interest of the public more readily than does the prejudiced white man. Ga. R. C. MEADERS.

Dahlonega. Sun. 3-24-46

The Men Made the Mess

Richmond, Va.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Should a man give his seat to a lady on a public conveyance? A gentleman will offer his seat to a woman at any time and in any place. The fact of his thinking she is underesrving of this courtesy should not be the cause of his being ungentlemanly, for "two wrongs never make a right." Times Dispatch

One of your writers used a club on the poor females when he accused them of voting, etc., and at the same time said he refused them a seat on the bus. Some people need to get the "beam out of their eyes" and quit blaming others for their actions.

One old Negress hereabout blames the men for the women's vote. She says: "No, sah, I ain't a-gwine to vote. De mens is done got things in dis mess and now dey can get dem out. No, sah, dey shan't hide no meanness behind dis lady's coattail, and I ain't a-gwine to vote." In beating us over the head as some of your writers do, they think probably there are those who agree with this old Negro. Mch 24-46

MRS. S. M. ARDIN.

Meherrin.

Negroes vote first time in two state primaries

Los Angeles Examiner

Los Angeles Calif

Sat. 5-11-46

Florida and Alabama Negroes were allowed to have their say for the first time in state primaries last Tuesday, as four states (Indiana and Ohio were the others) picked candidates for Congress and state offices in their first peacetime primary elections in five years.

Negroes were given entry into the southern primaries by a recent Supreme Court decision outlawing their exclusion in Texas. However, the Negro turnout in the two southern elections was said to be comparatively small. In Alabama, one deterring factor was the unpaid polltax, which totalled as much as $36 per person, although returned war veterans were exempt. Sat. 5-11-46

Results of the voting were not available at TRIBUNE deadline.

When Will They Awaken?

The Montgomery Advertiser

The U. S. Court of Appeals at New Orleans having ruled that Negroes are entitled to vote in Georgia's Democratic primary election, Roy V. Harris, speaker of the Georgia House, calls for a special session of the Legislature to "save the white primary in Georgia." Montgomery Ala.

Two weeks from next Thursday, on March 28, Hamilton County will hold a Democratic primary election. Negroes will vote in that primary on the same basis as white people. In this city and county colored people will never again be challenged when they vote, even in Democratic primaries. Tennessee and Hamilton County admit the right of every citizen to cast his ballot, regardless of race or creed. Fri 3-29-46

No one wishes any longer to change that.

But the Negroes of this city and county ought to consider the best use they can make of this high privilege.

The news stories concerning the registration are full of references to the "controlled wards," and frequently it is stated that the most rigidly controlled wards are those heavily populated with Negroes. If the coming primary is like those of the past, on the morning of the election the political machine's taxicabs will burn up gasoline picking up Negroes and taking them to the polls, where they will mark their ballots as the machine instructs them to mark them.

In many residential wards, conscientious Negroes will vote against political machines, knowing that such machines have nothing to offer to the colored people which will better their condition in life. Fri. 3-29-46

Everywhere in the South political machines manipulate the Negro vote and cause the colored people to prostitute their newly won ballot. Do the Negoes get better schools by thus enslaving themselves to the ward heelers of the political machines? Do they get better housing? On the contrary, it is to the advantage of the political bosses to have the Negroes continue to live under slum conditions so that they can be better coralled and herded to the polls.

No element of the population should be more interested in law and order than the colored people. Yet they permit themselves to be "controlled" by the very members of their own race who submit them to the evils of "fixed" gambling dives, cheap liquor and general lawlessness. Fri. 3-29-46

Chattanooga has many conscientious Negro citizens who have the highest ideals for members of their race and wish to see them progress and get better opportunities in schools, employment, health, housing. Will the colored voters listen to those citizens in the primary election or will large numbers of the colored voters continue to be herded by a political system whose very existence depends on keeping the Negro in ignorance and in economic subjection?

The Negro will always have the right to vote in Hamilton County primaries, Democratic as wel las Republican. The wise leaders of the race are aware that under present conditions many Negroes use that great privilege to the detriment of all colored people in this community.

When will the awakening come? — The Chattanooga Times.

NEGROES PREPARING TO CAST THEIR BALLOTS IN FLORIDA

They are instructed in the use of the voting machine in Miami, as large numbers in the State turned out for the first time to vote as Democrats in the primaries.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Says Negro Vote Can Tip Scales In 5 N. States

Tue. 5-21-46

Neither Major Party Can Win If Negroes Vote As A Unit

WASHINGTON, (NNPA)— A mixed audience of about 2000 persons filled Turners Arena last Sunday to hear former Interior secretary Harold L. Ickes urge colored people to form a balance of power bloc to end racial discrimination. The program was sponsored by the committee for racial democracy to mark the opening of its drive to eliminate racial barriers in the district of Columbia. It was advertised as "We Are Americans, Too" rally. The fact that neither major party can win five vital northern states without the Negro vote was cited by Ickes as an example of what Negroes could accomplish politically if they established a solid bloc in their own interest but the first step in the fight against "Discrimination and Segregation" in the district must be called local self government, he warned. Ickes held up the status of senator Bilbo democrat of Mississippi, chairman of the senate district committee as "Mayor of Washington" as evidence of the evils of the present system of governing the National Capitol. "Can anyone imagine any city that would of its own free will elect senator Bilbo as mayor." He demanded of his audience the majority of which were Negroes. Tue. 5-21-46

Ickes advised Negroes to be persistent in their insistence upon their civil rights guaranteed under the constitution. But warned them not be "unduly sensitive" Both Negroes and whites should cultivate "A spirit of understanding and sympathetic goodwill toward each other. Icker was introduced by Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, Vice President of Pittsburgh Courier. Oeher speakers included George E Hayes local Attorney and Leon Ransom chairman of the Racial Democracy Committee. The Reverend Francis McTeekr, head of the Washington Federation of Churches, co-chairman was on the platform.

Arnall Answers Bilbo About Negro Suffrage

Montgomery Ala Montgomery Advertiser

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., May 22. —(AP)—Gov. Ellis Arnall, of Georgia, en route to Jackson, Miss., by plane, to address a Veterans of Foreign Wars encampment, answered critism of Senator Bilbo, of Mississippi,. on his stand of Negro suffrage.

Bilbo had been quoted in a campaign address at Aberdeen, Miss., as saying:

"There is one Southern governor—I'm not calling any names because I understand he's a guest in Mississippi today—who urged his people to accept the right of Negroes to vote and announced unqualifiedly that he would not convene an extraordinary assembly to pass legislation to protect the white primary. Now, that, in parlance of the prize ring, is asking for it. And, I might add, this 'conspirator' will get it at the polls in the next State election."

Gov. Arnall read the statement and said: Thur. 5-23-46

"In spite of a senator in a Delta State — and I'm not calling any names—I believe in the Constitution of the United States. I believe in upholding the decisions of the courts of the land and I think that a United States senator, a governor and all other public officials should uphold the Constitution and laws."

Negroes Win Vote Battle

P.M. New York N.Y. Fri. 4-26-46

Negroes in Louisiana and Alabama moved a step closer toward the vote when the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth District this week reversed the findings of lower courts that they could not appeal for Federal relief until they exhausted remedies provided by state courts.

The actions were instituted by William P. Mitchell, Macon County, Ala., and Edward Hall, St. John the Baptist Parish, La., who were denied the right to register for voting, though they met all qualifications.

In each case, the Federal District Court upheld the contention of state authorities that adequate remedies were provided by state law in instances of discrimination. In reversing the decisions, the Court of Appeals pointed out that the states provided only judicial relief, that is, merely a chance to present a grievance in state court, and not administrative relief when the discrimination was clear cut.

The Court of Appeals found both Mitchell and Hall were clearly entitled to vote and that the refusal of local boards to allow them to register, a condition for voting, was a violation of the U. S. Constitution. Fri 4-26-46

The decision was hailed by the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, which pushed the actions, as a great victory.

FOUR STATES HOLD EARLY PRIMARIES

New York Times

Ohio, Indiana, Florida and Alabama Report Scanty Pollings

Wed 5-8-46 New York

COLUMBUS, Ohio, May 7 (AP)— A four-man race for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator received principal attention today as Ohioans balloted in a primary election which otherwise failed to excite the electorate.

"Exceptionally light" voting was reported, and rain tended to cut attendance at the polls in several cities. Secretary of State Edward J. Hummel had estimated that hardly 20 per cent of the State's 3,200,000 potential voters would turn out.

Besides nominating candidates for a full six-year term in the Senate, Ohioans also were choosing them for a nineteen-day unexpired term, for twenty-three Congressional seats, State and county offices and the Legislature.

The Republicans chose for the full-term Senatorial nomination former Gov. John W. Bricker, Vice Presidential candidate in 1944. He had no primary opposition.

Opposing Mr. Bricker in November will be one of these Democrats: United States Senator James W. Huffman, Marvin C. Harrison, Cleveland lawyer; former Representative Young, also of Cleveland, and Dr. Edward A. Huth, a Dayton university professor.

Women Seek Indiana Seats

INDIANAPOLIS, May 7 (AP)—In Indiana's primary elections today, polling places were never crowed as the two major parties chose nominees for eleven seats in Congress, the State Legislature, county offices, precinct committeemen and delegates to the Democratic and Republican State Conventions next month.

Those conventions will nominate candidates for United States Senator and minor State officers to enter the November general election.

Sixty candidates seeking the eleven House nominations in each party included two women and all except one incumbent.

Rep. Charles M. LaFollette of Evansville did not seek renomination in the eighth district. He is to be one of Senator Raymond E. Willis' opponents for the Senate in the Republican convention in June.

Wed 5-8-46

Alabama Tests CIO-PAC Strength

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., May 7 (AP) —Returned service men by the thousands swelled the vote today in an Alabama Democratic primary which provided a direct test of the strength of the CIO's Political Action Committee in two Congressional contests and the Governor's contest. Negroes voted also, in some counties for the first time in a primary election.

Two of the nine incumbent members of Congress had the official blessing of the CIO-PAC, Albert Rains of Gadsden and Luther Patrick of Birmingham.

Representative Rains was opposed by Col. Joe Starnes, whom Governor. Other candidates for Mr. Rains unseated two years ago. Boozer, Lieut. Gov. Handy Ellis, Representative Patrick faced Gordon Persons, president of the opposition from Hugh Dubose, an State Public Service Commission, clause.

REGISTRARS HIT Alabama, Louisiana Cases End in Victory

Mississippi Jurist Delivers Opinion

Afro American Baltimore, Md.

Lower Court Decisions Reversed on Appeal

Tue 5-4-46

NEW ORLEANS. — Registrars in Louisiana and Alabama, who customarily refuse to qualify colored voters, received a setback last week when the U.S. Circuit Court

Agriculture was swelled unsuccessful opponent two years ago, and Laurie C. Battle, a veteran of World War II.

The ex-service vote was by the fact that Alabama exempts them from payment of its cumulative poll tax of $1.50 a year for the twenty-four years between the ages of 21 and 45. Many of the new Negro voters were exempt from poll-tax payment under this clause.

and Joe Poole, State Commissioner.

of Appeals reversed the lower courts, holding that disfranchised citizens could appeal to the Federal courts for relief.

The decision of the lower courts that persons denied registration because of race could not seek Federal relief until they exhausted remedies provided by the State courts was reversed in an unprecedented opinion written by Judge Edwin R. Holmes of Mississippi.

The actions were instituted by William F. Mitchell, of Macon County, Ala., and Edward Hall, of St. John the Baptist Parish, La., who were denied the right to register for voting, though they met all qualifications. Sat 5-4-46

Sought an Injunction

Hall had sought an injunction and damages against the registrar for requiring colored citizens to submit to tests not required of other applicants for registration.

The Federal District court dismissed Hall's complaint on Sept. 17, 1945. An appeal was made in the U.S. Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit.

Judge Holmes's opinion held that Hall was not required to proceed in the State courts before seeking redress in the Federal courts for violation of his constitutional rights on racial grounds.

In the Mitchell case against the registrars of Macon County, Ala., there was a similar action with the same court reversing a decision of the lower courts dismissing the action on Oct. 12, 1945.

Upholds Right to Vote

Judge Holmes again wrote an opinion upholding the right of colored registrants, stating:

"Since registration is a pre-requisite to vote in an election in Alabama, including the election of Federal officers, the action of the registrars did effectively deprive appellant of the right to vote."

Judge Holmes pointed out further that the States provided only judicial relief, that is, merely a chance to present a grievance in State court, and not administrative relief when the discrimination was clear cut. Sat 5-4-46

Violates Constitution

The decision held that both Mitchell and Hall were clearly entitled to vote and that the refusal of local boards to allow them to register, a condition for voting, was a violation of the U.S. Constitution.

Attorneys associated with Thurgood Marshall, NAACP chief counsel, and Robert Carter, assistant counsel, were A. P. Tureaud and A. Thornton in Louisiana, and Arthur W. Shores, a member of the Birmingham branch, NAACP, legal committee.

Will Prosecute All Attempts to Prevent Voting in Elections

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat. 4-13-46

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The Justice Department will prosecute, under the criminal code, "any State or party official who attempts to prevent a person from voting because of color" in a primary or general election.

The department's policy was outlined by Solicitor General J. Howard McGrath at a press conference last Friday.

"It is our position," Mr. McGrath said, "that the law has been settled by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals and the denial of certiorari by the Supreme Court in a recent Georgia case, in which it was held Negroes were entitled to vote in primary elections."

DECISION AFFECTS ALL STATE ELECTIONS

"There is no doubt that the decision affects local as well as general primaries and elections in all States." Sat. 4-13-46

All test cases have been brought as civil actions.

In a suit brought by the Rev. Primus E. King of Columbus, Ga., the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals held that a party primary was an essential part of the State's election process and that party officials were in fact acting for the State in conducting them.

Mr. McGrath said the Department of Justice assumed that, by refusing to review the decision in the Georgia case, the Supreme Court "let stand as law" its decision in a Texas case, holding that the right to participate in a primary cannot be denied to a person because of color.

Appeals

For Negroes' Voting Rights In Louisiana And Alabama

The Informer
Houston Texas

NEW ORLEANS — In a courtroom filled to overflowing with attentive Negroes, most of them students from the local high schools and Dillard university, attorneys for the NAACP argued for the rights of Negroes to register and vote in State and national elections. The Jim Crow voting appeals were argued in the Circuit Court of Appeals before Judges McCord of Alabama, Lee of Louisiana, and Holmes of Mississippi. Sat 4-20-46

NAACP attorneys, A. P. Tureaud of Louisiana, Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, and Thurgood Marshall Counsel from the national office, representing Negroes challenging the traditional Southern Jim Crow exclusion, after reviewing the line of decisions since the 14th and 15th amendments and efforts of the Southern states to prevent Negroes from voting despite the Federal Constitution and laws, argued that the Federal Courts had a positive duty to grant relief in such cases and should not relegate Negroes to the use of state machinery.

Lawyers representing white supremicists of Louisiana and Alabama, one of whom ironically is a law partner of self-proclaimed Alabama liberal, Senator Lister Hill, maintained that the appeals must first go through the State courts where, it should be pointed out, there would be little if any chance of democratic consideration.

Thurgood Marshall, in the closing argument, cited the recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court which catergorically makes the duties of the Federal Courts clear in cases where Federal rights are violated.

The case is under advisement with no indication of how long before a decision may be expected.

Prying Open the Ballot Boxes

Pittsburgh Courier

American Negroes won another important battle in their long fight against the Southern Democratic white primary last week when the United States Supreme Court upheld the right of Negroes to vote in the Georgia Democratic primaries.

Following by two years its similar decision in the case of Texas Democratic primaries, the court's action means the legal opening of the ballot boxes in two important Southern States whose combined Negro population exceeds 2,000,000, or one-seventh of the total American Negro population.

The legal department of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is to be commended for the brilliance and diligence with which it carried the case of the Rev. Primus E. King up to the Nation's highest court and won another monumental decision.

The Georgia die-hards are understandably flustered, and Gene Talmadge, former suspender-snapping Governor, and Speaker Roy Harris of the State Legislature are urging Governor Arnall to call a special session of the Legislature to enact measures to insure continued white supremacy. Pittsburgh, Pa.

It appears that there are still a lot of white people in this country who feel that the only way they can insure white supremacy is by passing a law to that effect rather than meeting colored citizens in all fields on a plane of equality. Sat 4-13-46

This is something like a runner who constantly asserts that he is the best at his distance in the world, but nevertheless insists that all his competitors be handicapped before he will agree to enter a race!

Undoubtedly there will be much head-scratching in Georgia among the Confederate gentry to devise new methods of keeping colored folk away from the polls without resorting to the old Klan technique, but the NAACP lawyers probably will be able to defeat them.

As if this were not enough to render the Georgia die-hards sleepless, the Department of Justice warns that in the future it will prosecute, under the criminal code, any State or party officials who attempt to prevent a person from voting because of color in a primary or general election.

It will be interesting to see how the Talmadges and Bilbos will get around this, and it is also interesting to note that this assurance comes from a department headed by a Texas white man. Attorney General Tom Clark, all of which proves that it is dangerous to generalize about Southern white people.

The chief opposition to Negroes voting in Southern Democratic primaries is on economic grounds, there being millions of dollars worth of tax-paid jobs involved, as well as all the other emoluments and advantages that come through wielding political power, and from which Negroes have been excluded entirely for the past two generations. Sat. 4-13-46

It is well understood that once Negroes start voting in large numbers in States like Georgia and Texas, the jim-crow laws will be endangered and the whole elaborate pattern of segregation threatened and finally destroyed.

While this would be an excellent thing for the South to enforce it would seem to be the handwriting on the wall for the Southern Old Guard. and the Nation, it would do away with the special privileges of the Southern political oligarchy and it hangers-on, which have enabled them to maintain minority rule at home and to impose its will on the Government in Washington.

So we may expect an all-out fight from the Eastlands, Bilbos, Connallys and their ilk because a privileged class never willingly surrenders power.

Nevertheless, the latest Supreme Court decision and the expressed determination of the Department of Justice

EDITORIALS

The Christian Index
Jackson, Tenn. Thurs. 11-28-46

FOR SALE—THE NEGRO VOTE!

THE Negro vote is for sale, but not for money. The price is democracy. A practical, working democracy for all citizens as provided for in the constitution of the United States.

We may thank God that Negroes are important constituents in both political parties—the Republicans and the Democrats. Furthermore as a group they are determining factors which demand specific consideration from either party in formulating its policies.

No longer can it be said that when the Republicans are in power the Negro is "in" and when the Democrats are "in" the Negro is "out." The Negro has so wisely balanced his vote that he receives consideration regardless of what party is in power and control of the government. As a race, he manifested a pronounced wisdom by becoming by-partisan. The basis of Negro support is no longer found in traditional loyalty to any one party, but upon the basis of that party which offers the most in improving the status of the race and nation.

During the administration of the late F. D. Roosevelt thousands of Negroes who had been traditionally Republicans shifted into the Democratic party. They shifted because of the progressive measures espoused by the late President Roosevelt. They also left the Republican ranks because the Republicans had become too sure of the traditional loyalty of the Negro and offered little or no inducements for him to remain in the party.

In a presidential election, the Negro vote can be the determining factor. Both parties are now desperately seeking to secure the Negro vote. No longer can the Negro vote be won by appointing a few Negroes to high positions, nor can the Negro vote be "bought" with money. The price of the Negro vote is democracy for all Americans regardless of race, color, or creed. The party which gets the major Negro vote will be the party which is most convincing that it has the most to offer in making democracy work for Negroes as well as other citizens. They will support the party which is "doers" of their word as well as "sayers."

In one of the Negro weeklies there is a slogan, "Don't get mad, get smart and vote." We may add that the Negro is also "getting smart" on *how* to vote. Politically the Negro is at one of the most advantageous points to gain consideration and action towards political and social justice in America. Much of this balance of power is due largely to wise counselling and realistic leadership of Negro churchmen who preached and taught our people to vote for the candidates and party which offer the most benefit for the race.

Many of the Negroes who have been voting democratic may be desirous of returning their support to the Republicans. But the Republicans during the next two years must "repent" of their unholy alliances with the reactionary Negro hating Southern Senators. Ministers and church leaders should advise our people to see what will be done about the FEPC. Let us see what will be done about the Anti-Poll Tax, about anti-lynching. This is the "down payment" of the price of the Negro support to either party which assures the democratic way of life.

Negro Support Sought By Both Major Parties In Last Ditch Fiaht

The Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 10-19-46

By VENICE T. SPRAGGS
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—The most significant election since the advent of the New Deal in 1932 has caused brain-trusters in the camps of both major political parties to reach a near-frantic stage this week trying to figure where the strength of upwards of fi million Negro votes will be placed on Nov. 5.

Basic to their concern is the disturbing silence in Negro political circles. Construed to be a silence of conspiracy, party leaders fear it may manifest itself in an unexpected Negro voting landslide in November to dynamite careful party planning and upset the conservative trend presently gripping America.

No less agonizing to both parties are indications of an approaching marriage between the Negro voters and the progressives, a union which it is stated aims to hold the Roosevelt line against reaction.

Progressive Conference

Predictions of a disaffection of the progressive vote through a third party movement were dispelled at the Chicago "Conference of Progressives" held recently.

Political observers who before the meeting predicted a new political movement would be born, came away with a changed view. Instead of a third party movement, there was every evidence that liberals are lining up political action behind the Roosevelt foreign and domestic policies.

Progressive Democrats look to FDR in death as in life as a rally-ing point, and as a unifying factor for all intelligent Americans.

On the other hand, Republicans are counting heavily on the absence of FDR's "magic" over the Negro electorate as an opportunity to ride to victory on the strength of the Negro vote—past performance and unfulfilled promises of the party notwithstanding.

Negroes Control Balance

Negro voters hold a balance of power in 17 pivotal states and the margin of victory in 58 non-southern congressional districts. In 1944, even the ultra-conservative Wall Street Journal conceded the Negro vote swung the presidential election and won a fourth term for the Democrats.

Where this decisive voting strength will be concentrated three weeks hence is the subject of considerable back-room caucusing in Washington. Information trickling out of these locked-door sessions attest that leaders in each of the parties woefully admit they must win the Negro vote, whichever hopes to carry the election. How to attract that vote is their big headache.

At stake are 435 seats in the House of Representatives and 36 in the Senate. With a net gain of 30 seats, Republicans would have enough strength to elect a speaker.

Assisted by the southern Democrats with whom they have continuously consorted to kill all essential measures, the GOP could clinch control of the House, and thereby realize a 15-year-old dream.

Political analysts here admit a Republican controlled House will pave the way for a Republican president in 1948, and thus the march towards traditional Republican conservatism will be on.

No "Ballot-Box-Fantasy"

Evidence that a landslide of Negro votes is more than a ballot-box-fantasy is found in preliminary reports indicating wide-scale first-time registration of Negroes in such strategic areas as Chicago, Indianapolis, and St. Louis. A comparable trend is reflected in telegraphic reports from a Chicago Defender representative in California where it is indicated that along the west coast generally, large numbers of migratory Negroes from the South and elsewhere will cast their ballots for the first time. The Defender

An unusually large trek of Negro Republican leaders to Washington during the past several weeks is said to be a part of a plan to devise techniques through which the Negro voters may be wooed to the Republican banner.

From a usually reliable source has come the information that the Republican party has built up a sizable war chest which is being used to buy Negro votes. Many down-and-out oldtimers are said to be riding herd in the party again, prostituting the cause of the race for the moneybags.

Stake Hopes on Gains

Democrats stake their hopes to win the black vote on the many gains which have accrued to Negroes through the present administration. Chicago, Ill.

Under the Democratic banner, countless Negroes were politically emancipated through the Texas primary decision. Jim Crow interstate bus travel was similarly brought to an end. Sat. 10-19-46

The first Negro ever to be appointed governor of any U. S. territorial possession—the first Negro Federal judge to be appointed within the continental U. S.—and, the first Negro ever to be appointed special assistant in the office of the Postmaster General of the United States are among tangible factors which the Administration expects to help plead their case.

It should be pointed out that all of these appointments have met a solid phalanx of Republican opposition.

Rumor that a Negro may be appointed to the Supreme Court of the United Statses has likewise reaped unfavorable comment from Republican quarters.

Remember FBI Failure

However, in the face of these unquestionable gains, still fresh in the minds of Negro voters is the failure of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to apprehend any of the barbarous murderers who snuffed out the lives of four innocent victims at Monroe, Ga. Moreover, failure of the FBI to take action in the Minden, La., lynching, where eye witnesses are willing to identify the guilty parties, has dampened their enthusiasm.

Negro voters have taken a wait-and-see attitude in the Isaac Woodward case where an Aiken, S. C., sheriff was taken into custody for gouging out the eyes of a Negro veteran.

While sources close to the Department of Justice have stated that the FBI operates more or less as an independent arm of government since the days of former President Herbert Hoover, it is argued in wide quarters that Negro voters expect more than the usual "failure to find sufficient evidence for conviction" as an indication of the Administration's good faith in claiming equal protection of the rights of all citizens.

The FBI's failure in these and other comparable cases supports the contention of Negroes that the appointment of a Negro assistant Attorney General of the U. S. is long overdue.

Justice Dept. Blamed

The Department of Justice, it is felt, cannot duck responsibility for the FBI's failure to date to act in these atrocious and fiendish violations of justice, no matter where the fault rests.

Dissatisfaction over current shortages of essential living commodities is being used by the Republicans as a deliberate argument to force a big protest vote.

However, Democrats claim their efforts to hold the line against inflation through price controls were sabotaged by reactionary Republicans. In some circles it is alleged that Republicans are deliberately keeping meats, automobiles and other commodities off the market to force a depression, and thus cut the common man down again to what is considered to be his proper size.

Republicans count as their most important allies in this political skulduggery the big business interests, the "economic royalists" and their press and radio propagandists.

These powerful financial interests are working hand and glove under cover with a new political action movement made up of former Gerald L. K. Smith America Firsters and related "national" groups to purge 187 so-called "leftist" Congressmen who have consistently voted the liberal line.

It is stated that the aggregation, known as "American Action" has raised in the last few months close to $1,000,000 from among its wealthy and influential sponsors, well known in high financial circles.

Savannah of the Future

The News and Courier Charleston, S. C. Thurs. 11-22-46

The municipal election in Savannah in which negroes voted has passed without unpleasant incident, though the opposing parties each strove for negro support, offers no guaranty or reasonable hope that future contests in that city will be free of corruption and demoralization. In Savannah are thousands of impressionable, emotional negroes. In the recent campaign their preachers had an active part, and that is evidence that many of them are excitable, controllable, unfit to vote. A small minority of Savannah's negroes are as capable and desirable as voters as are white men.

Also in Savannah are numbers of white people who are corruptible or corrupt. They are not nearly so many, proportionately, as are the negroes. If in coming years the corruptible negro voters are to be added to the white corruptibles, Savannah will be a nasty mess of political disorders if not of riot.

Not until the suffrage restrictions shall be so rigid that the great majority of negroes and a considerable minority of the white people shall be deprived of the franchise will it be safe to conduct elections in Southern communities except by white parties that exclude negroes from participating in nominating candidates to be voted for in the legal elections. If the leaders of public opinion in Savannah do not perceive this and shall neglect to give it serious consideration the conclusion will follow that Savannah is sadly lacking in intelligent and honest white leadership.

DAY OF RECKONING

The Defender Chicago, Ill

24 Pro-Lynchers Face Defeat

Sat. 10-19-46

NEW YORK — Demonstrating that Negro votes in 24 Congressional districts outside the Solid South can defeat the 24 Representatives in non-Southern areas who refused to sign the anti-lynch bill discharge petition, the CIO-PAC this week called for a full turnout of Negro voters at the polls in November, to elect anti-lynch candidates.

A survey based on 1944 election returns showed that incumbents opposing the bill were elected by pluralities less than the potential Negro vote. The survey also showed a similar voting balance in 34 districts where Congressman favored the anti-lynch bill. The PAC pointed out the need for heavy voting to return them to office.

Release of the survey was accompanied by a statement from Jack Kroll, PAC director, who observed that the Negro's political power is greater now than ever before. He added that his voting power, once confined to large cities now extends to small cities in the West, and Midwest, and even in the deep South. The survey did not cover large cities where vigorous action has already insured a large progressive Negro vote.

Salient feature of the survey was that with the exception of Rep. Woodhouse, Conn., and Congressmen from Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland, only representatives in the states covered who opposed the measure were Republicans. These men can be ousted by vote shifts of less than five percent, that is, if the full Negro potential votes against them. All representatives from Missouri, Maryland and Kentucky districts covered can be ousted by the Negro vote, except Rep. Spence, 5th Kentucky.

Breakdown of figures from the survey is as follows:

The Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 10-19-46

		Total	Plurality	Negro Vote
Colorado				
Gillespie	(R 1)	173,400	6,900	5,100
Connecticut				
Woodhouse	(D 2)	123,000	3,100	1650
Kansas				
Scrivner	(R 2)	116,200	21,000	18,300
Kentucky				
O'Neal	(D 2)	89,300	20,000	36,000
Chelf	(D 4)	86,000	8,000	14,900
Spence	(D 5)	78,000	12,600	5,000
Chapman	(D 6)	108,000	19,200	27,600
May	(D 7)	63,700	3,300	4,800
Bates	(D 8)	90,100	7,800	5,100
Maryland				
Roe	(D 1)	99,550	1,000	32,000
Baldwin	(D 2)	170,700	23,800	30,500
Ohio				
Bolton	(R 22)	323,000	47,640	20,500
Oklahoma				
Schwabe	(R 1)	140,000	3,000	15,700
Pennsylvania				
Gross	(R 21)	106,500	5,400	3,100
Graham	(R 25)	122,000	1,100	5,700
Rodgers	(R 28)	126,400	11,600	3,250
Campbell	(R 29)	127,700	500	11,300
West Virginia				
Ellis	(R 4)	133,200	3,200	4,200
Illinois				
Bishop	(R 25)	162,000	7,500	15,800
Missouri				
Arnold	(R 1)	82,000	1,600	3,000
Schwabe	(R 2)	121,444	300	11,000
Cole	(R 3)	122,000	1,500	3,600
Slaughter	(D 5)	101,500	5,200	20,150
Carnahan	(D 8)	107,000	1,100	1,900
Cannon	(D 9)	95,000	6,000	5,000
Ploeser	(R 12)	228,400	8,300	8,300
New Jersey				
Kean	(R 12)	130,800	4,600	9,100
New York				
Hancock	(R 36)	149,500	9,500	1,350
Butler	(R 44)	144,500	238	2,600

GOP DEPRESSION LOOMS

The Defender

Negro Vote Can Save Nation

Chicago, Ill.

By VENICE T. SPRAGGS
(Defender Washington Correspondent)

WASHINGTON — The Republican party is making a frantic bid for the Negro vote as the bitterly fought off-year campaign rounds the turn into the home stretch.

Negro votes, this year, more than any single bloc in the nation have within their power to swing the country back into the path of constructive progress. Or, they may fall for the vote-baiting of the Republican party and assist in dragging the country down the road to boom and bust ending in a national depression. Sat. 11-2-46

GOP Ignored Negro

The Negro's past loyalty to the Republicans has received but scant reward, beginning with Pres. William H. Taft, and continuing through the Hoover administration. It was not until the advent of Roosevelt and the New Deal that Negroes were accorded full recognition in governmental positions—at both national and state levels.

Under Truman William H. Hastie was named the first Negro governor to any United States Territorial possession; Irving C. Mollison, first Negro Federal judge within the continental confines of the United States; Joseph Albright, Special assistant to Veterans' Administrator Bradley, the first Negro appointed to the Veterans' Administration; Marsden Cabell, first Negro special confidential assistant to the Postmaster General.

Should the Republicans ride into power in November, Negroes may expect the following consequences:

1. Wholesale loss of federal jobs. The GOP has promised to lop off 2,000,000 workers.

2. Defeat of Federal public housing program initiated under President Roosevelt.

3. Continued high cost of essential living commodities. Republicans voted solidly to scuttle effective price controls.

4. Continued discrimination in employment. The bulk of house Republicans refused to support a permanent FEPC.

5. Reduction in Federal funds for the continuation of health and education services, aid to farmers, aid to the unemployed, the aged, farmers, dependent children, and other urgent services.

5. Defeat of national health program.

6. Defeat of Federal aid to education.

Republican campaign camouflage cannot hide the dismal fact that on every issue directly affecting the Negro people, the Republicans overwhelmingly joined Senator Bilbo to block its passage.

Gain of 11 Seats in Senate, 26 in House Needed for Control; Both Parties Hit for FEPC Action

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 10-26-46

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) —The trend of the colored vote in the current Congressional campaigns is definitely toward the Republican party, according to polls taken by political analysts in various cities of the East and Midwest.

Republican campaign workers here have received reports indicating that Republican candidates in the State and Congressional elections will receive overwhelming votes in Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan and other Northern States.

One reason for the falling away from the Democratic party is believed to be the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who proved that the colored vote could be weaned from the GOP without causing a split in the Solid South.

Bilboism Seen in 2 Lights

Another major factor is believed to be "Bilboism," whose founder, Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, not only has been the most blatant demagogue in preaching "white supremacy" and disfranchisement of colored voters, but also has insulted other minority groups.

However, Walter White, NAACP secretary, insists that colored voters have "little enthusiasm" for the Republican party, writing in a syndicated column that an overwhelming majority of colored people "prefer an out-an-out Bilbo or Talmadge to other politicians who make florid promises with no notion of keeping these pledges."

Only 37 Seats Needed

In the last Congress there were 56 Democratic Senators, 38 Republican Senators, one Progressive, and one vacancy. In the House there were 237 Democrats, 192 Republicans, one Progressive, one American Labor, and four vacancies.

A net gain of 11 seats would give the Republican 49 Senators and majority control of the Senate. A net gain of 26 seats would give them 218 Representatives and majority control of the House.

Both parties, however, are accused in connection with the failure of Congress to pass permanent fair employment practice legislation, for which President Truman fought, even to a break with Rep. Roger C. Slaughter (Dem., Wis.), who successfully bottled up the Norton Bill in the House Rules Committee.

While making no predictions, Mr. White does assert that if "Republicans continue to play ball with the reactionary Southern Democrats, any hope by the Republican Party that it will once again have the support of the crucial colored vote might as well be abandoned."

Felix Belair Jr., the New York Times roving reporter, forecasting a return of the colored voters to the Republican fold, pointed out that while Mrs. Roosevelt's attitude strengthened the Democrats' hold, her position as a private citizen has changed this outlook.

Says Negro Vote Shifted

The Nation
New York, N. Y.
Sat. 11-30-46

Dear Sirs: My paper says the C. I. O.-P. A. C. elected only 78 of 344 candidates it supported. Behind the Republican victory, however, are less than 3,000,000 votes. The figures, in round numbers, are 18,000,000 to 15,000,000.

My estimate is that at least 1,500,000 of the votes won by the Republicans were cast by Negroes, and that these votes previously went to Democrats. . . .

How silly, then, to talk about the failure of the C. I. O.-P. A. C. when the victory of the Republicans really belongs to the do-nothing, race-hating element among the Democrats—Truman included. In their necessarily elemental approach to the question of how to vote, Negroes could see nothing of worth to their race in the present set-up of the Democratic Party.

My sincere belief is that a shift of Negro votes to the tune of nearly 2,000,000 really brought the Republican victory and that no widespread anti-liberal sentiment had anything to do with it.

W. J. J.

Philadelphia, November 11

Dustin off the NEWS

The Defender
Chicago, Ill.

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

JUST ONE VOTE CAN SOMETIMES CHANGE HISTORY

Sat. 11-16-46

THE recent election recalled to many of us the necessity of everyone exercising his franchise. Voting down through the ages has caused some phenomena. Just one vote has often changed the course of history, hoisted men into prominence or likewise cast them into oblivion.

Yet, there are those who view this inalienable right rather insignificantly, and regard the opportunity with almost utter indifference.

Lucius Harper

Negroes above all folk in the body politic should revere the privilege to vote as sacred, and one to be scrupulously safeguarded. It is the only weapon of a minority to protect its interest, and to voice its objection against political abuses and frauds attempted or fostered by the ruling class. It is dynamite against those who would try to politically enslave us. **Need we recite the sad plight of our kinsmen in the South who have suffered grievious wrongs through disfranchisement?**

Stressing the value of the vote, Robert Ripley in his famous, "Believe It or Not" strip recently cited some "one vote" phenomena to prove that each ballot is of equal importance at election time. It was one vote, he said, that elected John Quincy Adams president; that elected Thomas Jefferson and Rutherford Hayes to the presidency. One vote enacted military conscription in 1941, and one vote that made Texas, California, Washington, Oregon, and Idaho states of the United States. Further, that one vote beheaded Charles I of England, elected Oliver Cromwell and made France a republic in 1875 and ended it in 1940. So we see from these startling events in history the value of just one vote.

* * *

IN THREE notable incidents the lives and the future course of Negroes have been decided on one vote. When Marcus Alonzo Hanna of Cleveland, O., commissar extraordinary of John D. Rockefeller, became the political architect of the new era back in 1896, he gained his power through one vote. At that time senators were not elected by direct primary as they are today. They were chosen by the House and Senate of states acting jointly. Hanna was chosen to run for the office from Ohio. The vote was deadlocked. After a deal was made in which Hanna promised to safeguard the interest of the Negro throughout the country should he be elected, Jay Williams Clifford, a Negro legislator of the Ohio House, broke the deadlock by casting his vote for Hanna. The senator was forever grateful, and when he gained control of the national Republican party and caused William McKinley to be elected president, he rewarded Negroes with political positions, minor and major, throughout the country. At McKinley's death his policies—in tribute to the one vote—were kept afresh in the Theodore Roosevelt administration. That's one vote of importance that Mr. Ripley forgot.

The Defender

In the incident of the one vote that Mr. Ripley mentions in connection with the election to the presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes, the Negro was the loser. It was in the presidential election of 1876. Hayes, a Republican, had been three times governor of Ohio, and had had an honorable if unspectacular career in Congress. He ran against Samuel Tilden, Democrat, and noted New York lawyer who outlawed the infamous Boss Tweed ring. In the popular vote Tilden got 4,285,992 and Hayes polled 4,033,768. The electoral vote stood: Tilden 184, Hayes 166, with 19 votes of South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida still doubtful. If the Republicans could establish a majority in all three states, Hayes would be elected by an electoral majority of one vote. Hayes went to bed that night saying that he had been defeated; Tilden, like Hughes, went to sleep believing himself to be president. But while UNDER Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York Times, an arch enemy of Tilden, the Republican National Headquarters at the Fifth Avenue Hotel got busy sending telegrams to the three doubtful states: "Hayes is elected if we have carried your state," they read. In all three states President Grant had stationed federal troops to protect the rights of Negroes at the ballot box. The South had been chafing under this rule, and viewed this as a chance to make a deal, throw their votes to Hayes on promise that if elected he would withdraw the troops and leave the Negroes at the mercy of local political arrangements. The Hayes backers consented, and the three states gave him their 19 votes, making him beat Tilden by just one electoral vote. Hayes' first act as president was to call in the troops, and thereafter the Negro was driven from politics in the South through Ku Klux Klan threats and intimidations. One vote disfranchised the Negro. Mr. Ripley probably didn't have room enough to mention that.

Chicago, Ill.

It was Thomas Jefferson who tried to stop the African slave trade by inserting in the Declaration of Independence a clause prohibiting the traffic. In part it read: "He (the King of England) has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people (Africans) who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither . . . determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he prostituted his negative by suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce. And to add to this assemblage of horrors of distinguished dye, he is now inciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he had deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he had obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of our people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another." A committee of five composed of Ben Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, John Adams, and Jefferson, backed this amendment with all force in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, where that historic paper was being drafted.

Sat. 11-16-46

* * *

HATING slavery as an institution detrimental to the interest of the slave-owners, economically as well as morally, and resenting the action of the King of England in setting aside the attempts of the Virginia legislature Negroes had to struggle along in slavery for some 80 years longer when it came to a vote, and that national proclamation. Jefferson was determined to get vote stood between the clause in the Declaration of Independence. Despite he and Adams' ardent defense of its passage, vote was tied, it was left to Edward Rutledge of South Carolina to cast the deciding ballot. And the clause was voted out by just one vote.

Who knows? It may be that if everyone had been inserted in a form of Independence Just one vote was inserted in a Liberty and freedom for the black man. You vote doesn't mean anything to us today "Aw, my vote doesn't amount to anything."

VOTING

45e

When Will Negro in Georgia Be Ready for Vote in Eyes of Talmadge and His Ilk?

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 11-23-46

RECENTLY the Georgia Democratic convention met in Macon, Ga. At this meeting Governor-elect Talmadge reiterated his intention to follow the example of South Carolina and nullify the decision of the highest court in the land which made it possible for Negroes to vote in the Democratic primaries in Georgia this past summer. Although whatever the Governor does will be illegal and will ultimately be declared invalid by the Supreme Court, I am expecting Mr. Talmadge to keep his word and to do all that lies within his power to circumvent the ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court which declared the white primary in Georgia unconstitutional.

Mr. Mays

* * *

IT IS a terrible thing, and it shows how long our political mortality is, when the chief executive of a State sets about to find ways and means of nullifying the decision of the highest court in the land. When the highest officer of a State sets that kind of example, to whom can the people look for guidance in keeping and respecting the law? To change the State Constitution so that the ruling of the Supreme Court will not be violated is no better than violating the law outright. I am certain that in the eyes of God and in the thinking of logical minds one is just as illegal and unfair as the other. Such maneuverings prove again that the crisis through which the world is passing is a moral crisis.

The Governor-elect states and implies that the Negro is to be treated justly, that he needs better school and better health facilities but that he, the Negro, is not ready to exercise the ballot. No people can be justly treated if they cannot vote. Politicians regard only those who can elect or defeat them.

* * *

ONE MUST raise the question, when will the Negro be ready? During the recent purge in Fulton County, just before the summer primaries, the number of Negroes who were disqualified because of illiteracy was exceedingly small and the number disqualified bcause of criminal records was also small. I am convinced that if all citizens of Georgia were purged, some white people would be disqualified both on the grounds of illiteracy and criminal records. But here again the question of what is just and fair never enters the picture. It is only the Negro who is unqualified to vote. Again it is a question of morality, ethics, justice, honor.

When will the Negro be ready to exercise the ballot if he is not ready now? There are seven institutions of higher learning in Atlanta and eleven in the State of Georgia. The professors of these institutions are graduates of the best colleges in the South and the best universities in the United States. Some of them are graduates of the University of Chicago, Wisconsin, Michigan, Northwestern, Indiana, Cornell, Brown, Yale, Harvard, Columbia, New York University and other great universities. Some have studied abroad. Many of them hold the Doctor of Philosophy degree. When will these Negro professors have sense enough to vote? When will they become literate enough to vote? The Governor-elect says they are not ready. 11-23-46

* * *

THERE IS in Atlanta a bank owned and operated by Negroes. It is just as efficiently managed as the First National. Though smaller, the people's money is just as safe in the Citizens Trust Company as it is the Citizens and Southern. When will Negroes who have genius enough to organize and run a bank have sense enough to vote? The Atlanta Life Insurance Company, headquarters in Atlanta, is the result of a Negro's dreams. The organizer and founder was one of the most respected citizens Atlanta has ever produced. His son and other able Negroes carry on the Atlanta Life. It is as safe as the Metropolitan though not as large. It is a just as efficiently managed. The same could be said of the Pilgrim Life with headquarters in Augusta and of T. M. Alexander and Company. Some of the best business men in Atlanta are Negroes. The only Negro daily newspaper in America is published in Georgia. Some of the best drug stores are owned and managed by Negroes. Some of the best preaching in Georgia goes on in Negro pupits. When will these Negroes who have ability to do all these things attain sense enough to vote? I could go on adinfinitum. Negroes in Georgia own considerable property and pay much money in taxes. When will they be ready? People who occupy the vantage point seldom concede that those who are less fortunately circumstanced are ready to enjoy what they enjoy. The Governor says the Negro is not qualified to vote and seeks to prove it by robbing him of the ballot. But Mr. Talmadge is fighting a losing game. Even if he succeeds in disqualifying the Negro it will be a temporary measure. The Negroes in Georgia will vote.

Negro Majority Votes White Man To City Council

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 12-7-46

ALBANY, Ga. — (ANP) — An overwhelming vote of Negroes of the Fifth Ward here last week elected Edward J. Davis, a white insurance man, city commissioner.

Davis was backed by the Albany Progressive Negro League, and won the election in spite of polling a minority of white votes. Fifth Ward Negro residents held the balance of power with 1,010 registered voters as compared with 913 whites.

Minority Votes Elect Ga. Mayor

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

SAVANNAH, Ga. — John G. Kennedy, elected mayor of this city on Dec. 10, owes the margin of his victory to the support given him by non-white voters, whose 4,874 ballots swelled his total to 14,348, just 4,152 more than 10,185 for his opponent, Col. Richard H. Mayer's. Sat. 12-21-46

Kennedy was supported by the Citizens' Protective League; while Mayer was the candidate of the GI-People's Party. Mayer, it was revealed, polled 2,967 ballots among the 8,000 cast by the newest group of voters.

Whole Slate Victorious

All CPL-backed candidates won, including a police court judge, 11 aldermen, and the 24-member city Democratic executive committee, in addition to the mayor. No incidents marred the quiet of the election.

CPL candidates won in 34 of the boxes voted in non-white neighborhoods; while their opponents won in only 10 such boxes. Approximately 50 per cent of the registered voters in the city participated in the election.

Negro Vote and C.I.O. Vote Are For M. E. Thompson

(From The Atlanta Journal)

MACON, Ga., July 15—(AP)—Solicitor General Charles H. Garrett said Monday he was investigating the distribution of several thousand sample-marked ballots showing candidates "sponsored by the P. A. C. of C. I. O."

Mr. Garrett said he had information that the marked ballots were being distributed in an effort to influence the Negro vote.

The solicitor general said in a statement:

"I have in my possession what is supposed to be a copy of the ballot which is to be used in the Georgia Democratic primary on July 17 and to be used in Bibb County.

"It is a marked ballot. It marks off in red pencil all the candidates to be voted on in Bibb County except those that the persons distributing the ballot desire to be voted for.

"For governor it marks off all the candidates except James V. Carmichael. For lieutenant-governor it marks off all candidates except M. E. Thompson."

He continued that the ballots favored Ben W. Fortson for secretary of state, Eugene Cook for attorney general, George B. Hamilton for state treasurer, M. D. Collins for school superintendent, J. C. Manning for commissioner of agriculture, Harry E. Monroe for State labor commissioner and Walter McDonald and Allen Chappell for public service commissioners.

The ballots, he added, also favored Harvey Roughton for Congress.

Garrett termed the marked ballot distribution as "illegal and a criminal offense and any person found guilty will be prosecuted."

He said that to his knowledge the ballots were not being distributed by local sponsors, but that he understood "the candidates on the ballot are sponsored by the P. A. C. of C. I. O."

Daily Worker Atlanta Georgia

Facing The Future

The speed, vigor and unanimity with which Georgia Negroes organized and prosecuted the registration campaign to secure the almost incredible total of nearly 150,000 on the registration books of the state reflects everlasting credit to the leadership which the Negro masses are receiving in the state. And the achievement becomes more impressive if we should pause long enough to point out that six months prior to the July 17th primary, there were less than 50,000 of these on the registration rolls. Everywhere outside of the state one chances to go now, white and colored alike are pointing to the heroic task achieved by the Negro leaders in bringing out so large a number of Negro voters, most of whom had never before cast a ballot in any sort of election.

Tuesday 7-25-46

No small part of the credit must be ascribed to the admirable leadership on the part of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, organized just two years ago and boasting of member clubs blanketing the entire state. From this central body more than 51 clubs have needled their way into every important nook and corner of the state, preaching the registration gospel to the Negro masses in such clear and convincing tones that it was well nigh impossible to fail at the task. Another influence, working in close harmony with these clubs, was the leadership furnished by the Negro ministers, the greatest majority of whom were unmoved and unpurchasable in their determination to secure the ballot for their people. Not only were they anxious to give their churches over to these registration mass-meetings, but they gave their time and their leadership by helping to conduct the campaigns, to transport people to the registration headquarters and to speak at the rallies which were held for the purpose of educating and training our people in the duties of their franchise. Other groups, equally as zealous and public spirited gave invaluable assistance also.

There is another laudable tribute to be given also in regards to these achievements. At no time in our memory can we recall Negroes being more solidly united than at present. True, there is an occasional discordant note. But in every such instance, this is traceable to sheer personal jealousy or to financial considerations from old, entrenched politicians who have never done any real service to the Negro masses but who wish to regain their confidence for further exploitation. But there again, arises the true greatness of the Georgia leadership, for of all the workers scattered throughout Georgia, none of them received or expected renumeration for their services. A few more years of that sort of leadership and Negroes in the South will be forced to look to Georgia for their inspiration. But there is still a herculean job ahead for all of us. In truth, the real work has just begun.

Bonds Carried; Court Suit Looms In County

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.

8-15-46

Atlantans and Fulton Countians stayed away from the polls in large numbers Wednesday as a $40,400,000 improvement bond was considered. Despite the last minute rallies and appeals, the vote was unusually light. At 5 p. m., a tabulated report from all but six of the City precincts showed 12,014 votes had been cast at that hour.

Late Wednesday night, unofficial tabulations showed:

The proposal passed by a good margin in Fulton County and by a wide margin in the City of Atlanta where only a simple majority is needed. It is contemplated that the Supreme Court suit may ensue as a result of the voting in the county, where a conflict between the constitution and an amendment exists. The amendment calls for a two-thirds majority of the total regis... ...ers for passage of bonds and the constitution calls for a simple majority. Thus.

Even though the vote was light there was little apprehension that all of the 17 items on the City ballots failed to amass huge majorities. Only a majority of those voting was needed to guarantee the city bonds, among which was the $3,531,150 allotment for Negro school improvement.

Negroes voted considerably in all precincts, but apathy was noted as in the case of the white voters.

The Fulton County bond issue remained uncertain last night, despite the vote. Under law, it was considered necessary that a majority of the 122,000 registered voters in the County vote, and of that number a two-thirds majority vote favorably.

Harold Sheats, Fulton County Attorney, announced Wednesday, however, that the Fulton Commission will certify as passed all Fulton issues which receive a majority in the balloting regardless of whether conditions of a special constitutional amendment are met or not.

Sheats said the Commission expected a majority of those voting would favor the $20,000,000 Fulton County share of the joint issue, and planned to certify it as passed under the new State constitution. The County then will file validation proceedings in Fulton Superior Court and will take the issue to the Supreme Court if necessary, Sheats added.

Fulton officials contend that the county should be able to issue bonds under the same conditions as all other governmental subdivisions of Georgia. Sheats holds that the new Constitution authorizing bond issues by a simple majority of those voting should control Fulton bond elections as it controls all other counties of Georgia and that a special constitutional provision affecting Fulton County only and passed at the same time that the new constituion was adopted is void and without effect.

Georgia Primaries to Test Three Important Trends

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Georgia is a state that always takes its politics seriously. This year the gubernatorial race will be closely watched by the entire nation, not alone for the personalities involved and the State's high office is sought by some of Georgia's strongest men, but also because this is the first 'teenage election to be held in this country. Georgia is the only state with an election law that qualifies voters on the basis of an 18-year-old minimum, rather than the traditional 21.

Recent U. S. Supreme Court decisions have also changed the traditional aspect of this year's Georgia election, as 120,000 negroes have registered for the Democratic primary, to be held July 17.

Wed 8-21-46

In addition to these two factors, an unprecedented voter resistration has been tallied in the usual voting brackets, probably because of the return of Georgia's war veterans.

The Georgia elections will, then, be carefully studied by the law-making bodies of other states. First, the country will want to see how the youngsters handle their new responsibility. So much enthusiasm has been shown by college students that the Georgia Board of Regents has ordered a general holiday on election day to facilitate student participation.

Second, will be the opportunity to judge the complexion of the returned soldier vote, a matter that has not yet year the fitness of negro voting in party had a strong test in this country. The primaries. negro-vote will not be heavy, as weighed The election is a three-cornered affair against the total registrations, but Geor- between Eugene Talmadge, seeking a gia will have an opportunity to test this fourth term; E. D. Rivers, also a former governor; and James Carmichael, the latter a 35-year-old.

Wed 8-21-46

Police in Riot Conspiracy With Klan, Says Official

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 6-22-46

By CARDELL W. McVICKERS

ATLANTA — The Klan has entered into a conspiracy with "fellow travelers" in the Atlanta Police Department to create a racial disturbance in Georgia on July 17, date of the State primary elections, it was disclosed last week by a State official.

The plot was bared by Assistant State Attorney General Dan Duke, detailed to prosecution of the hooded order, during a speech before members of the Commerce, Ga., Kiwanis Club.

Duke quoted a member of the police department as telling a Klan meeting that "if there is any trouble, the Klan will be permitted to do its work before the police are called out."

Voting an Issue

He further disclosed that more than 38 Atlanta policemen attended the last meeting of Atlanta's Klan Post No. 1. Dr. Samuel Green, grand dragon of the terrorist organization, he said, had assured a recent Klan meeting "there will be no more colored people voting in Georgia."

A Klan speaker, who followed Green to the platform, according to Duke, urged "whipping and beating to keep n—grs in their places."

Meanwhile the FBI has been asked by the American Federation of Labor to investigate the beating of one of its members, allegedly by a band of Klansmen.

The worker, Willie Dudley of Twiggs County, Ga., disclosed that he had been severely beaten with a rubber hose by four masked men claiming to be Klansmen. The men, he said, attempted to force his resignation from the union.

The AFL has been active in organizing hundreds of non-white workers employed at the P. W. Martin Clay Co., enrolling them as members of the United Cement Line and Gypsum Workers union.

Dudley, who was one of the first to join, was abducted from his home on Sunday night, June 9, carried to a lonely spot in the woods. When he refused to sign a statement tendering his union resignation, the men began beating him.

The Afro-American

William Green, president of the AFL, in asking a Federal investigation of the terrorism, called it "un-American and reprehensible."

AFL officials said they would file unfair labor practices charges against the company, claiming that an organized campaign is being undertaken by several former members of the union with the encouragement of the company to prevail upon its members to resign.

Sheriff Undisturbed

Twiggs County Sheriff W. E. Hambrick, apparently undisturbed by reports of the violence, said his investigation failed to connect the affair with the Klan.

Baltimore, Md.

"Those were merely members of the local anti-union folks," he said. Noticing a reporter writing he hastily added, "I don't want nothing published." Dudley said he could identify his attackers by their voices.

Sat. 6-22-46

Georgia Primary To Set Political Trend For Dixie

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 7-20-46

ATLANTA—With the Negro question as the crucial campaign issue, the Georgia Democratic primary slated for July 17 bid this week to become the barometer of future political trends in the South.

"White supremacy," used as a whiplash to goad Mississippi primitives into violence in that state's recent primary may be the deciding factor in the Democratic gubernatorial nomination race which is tantamount to election here. Georgia is more representative of what the South thinks than benighted Mississippi, where success of an appeal to race-hate is taken for granted. Despite that fact that Georgia is the home of the infamous Ku Klux Klan, proponents of "white supremacy" may well be rejected by progressive elements in the state.

Progress Made

Georgia has made great strides toward democracy under the leadership of liberal incumbent Gov. Ellis Arnall and cannot be classed with Mississippi in bigotry. There is race-baiting here, however, fostered by Klan-supported Candidate Eugene Talmadge. Twice governor, the hate-monger posing as the savior of "white supremacy," has caused law and order forces, led by Arnall-supported James Carmichael, his major opposition, much concern.

On election eve, Tal[illegible] re-portedly had a fair cha[illegible] to win. Two other candidates, [illegible] D. Riv-ers, ex-governor and [illegible]an mem-ber, and Hoke O'Kelle were not given much side chan[illegible] Carmich-ael is generally conce[illegible] the ma-jority popular vote, [illegible] Georgia selects its gubernatorial nominee by a county unit system. The system which gives the county unit vote to the majority candidate leaves the balance of power in rural areas, where prejudice to Negroes is greatest. Talmadge's main support comes from these areas. The great danger in this is that several small counties with a population of less than 35,000 can outvote one large county of 350,000 people.

Negro Vote Concentrated

The Negro vote is mainly concentrated in metropolitan areas. However, records reveal that in a number of small counties they can turn the election tide by voting in a bloc. Last-minute reports indicated that efforts by Talmadge supporters to disqualify Negro voters were defeated.

Purges against Negro voters in many of these rural areas were brought to a standstill before election day. Belated federal action and the determination of Negroes to carry the fight into the courts curbed the scheme allegedly employed by Talmadge forces.

At Macon, last week, U.S. District Atty. John P. Cowart launched an investigation into illegal purging of Negro voters in several mid-state counties. He warned that he would institute criminal action against anyone guilty of violating federal laws. He disclosed that numerous complaints of wholesale purging of Negro voters had reached his office. Persons, allegedly supporting Talmadge, systematically challenged the right of registered Negroes to vote. Under Georgia law, such a challenge, made in good faith, can be upheld by a registration board.

The Defender

Warned Against Conspiracies

Similar warnings against conspiracies to deprive Negroes of [illegible]

Similar warnings against conspiracies to deprive Negroes of voting rights were issued by Judge Frank M. Scarlett, in Brunswick. He ordered the Atchinson County board to stop wholesale disfranchisement of Negroes, and postponed rulings on complaints against other counties until July 15, two days before elections.

Election officials of several other counties were ordered to appear before Judge Scarlett at the same time. Meanwhile, registration figures for the state showed 1,017,036 qualified voters, with 134,351 Negroes among them. Some quarters predicted that veterans' votes would decide the issue.

Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, recently elected to Congress by CIO-Negro support, faced opposition in the fifth district from Judge James C. Davis and W. C. Lowe. Also facing strong opposition was John S. Wood of the ninth district, head of the Un-American Activities Committee. Eugene Cox of the second district was another of Georgia's seven old line politicians who had to rush home from Congress to campaign for re-election.

Treatise on Bloc Voting

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Voting day is coming on and it seems proper to discuss a feature in our political life which is doing the nation great harm.

That is the growing tendency not merely to split into groups, or sharply separated blocs, but to ignore the overall good of the nation and vote for the exclusive interests of these blocs.

Carried too far, such a course could split this country into warring factions—fighting politically at first, failing to see that such a program leads to fighting with something else.

Tue. 11-1-46

The way to vote is to vote American.

Any bloc which encourages its members to vote simply for the special interests of that bloc, ignoring the needs and rights of all other Americans outside that bloc, isn't practicing good Americanism.

If it continues, democracy will die in the process. So will the other things we talk so much about, "the American way of life," for instance.

Too many Americans are voting laborite or capitalistic, Protestant, Catholic, Polish, Jewish, Negro, Irish and so on. Still others vote a certain way because they are anti-one of the above.

That's our most dangerous American tendency.

It too often has major men doing minor jobs. It obscures the nation and puts a few spotlights on isolated causes or interests.

So, let's vote American.

* * * *

We can discuss this with a local application.

We may have a congressional contest to vote on next Tuesday in Georgia's Fifth Congressional district.

We think the Negro citizen, in several localities, is doing an outstanding job of preparing himself for citizenship. The recent illustration in Savannah where Negro citizens hired workers to assist the registration office in purging their own voting list, is one example.

But there is no doubt that the bloc voting by Negroes in our own congressional election of some months ago including the use of marked ballots in some counties on the day of the summer primary, was a grave error, giving their opponents a very real weapon. Marked ballots, instructions from certain political blocs, may have been features of many other elections and primaries over the State and nation, but that still does not remove the fact of error.

The same criticism applies to any other bloc voting.

* * * *

So, in Tuesday's voting—and in the primaries and elections of the future, let us not vote for special bloc interests, or because we think someone has been treated unfairly, or because we like the way the candidate dresses or the sound of his voice. Let us earnestly try to make of the privilege of voting an intelligent job in behalf of the United States of America and its form of government.

COLUMBUS LEDGER-ENQUIRER
The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.
Thur. 7-4-46

Too Great a Price To Pay

It seems to us that it would be fruitful of sober judgment to face that amazingly cynical Gene Talmadge idea—which Ed Rivers seems to second rather vaguely—of solving "the nigger question" by eliminating legal control of primary elections.

Once you look at it closely, we believe you will conclude that it is also a phoney—and dangerous, to boot.

In other words, it is an old-line political trick, designed to trap a few votes from the ignorant and unwary, and without a wisp of sincerity behind it.

The proof of that statement is in the ghastly stupidity of the proposal itself!

Why a Law? Why does Georgia have a primary law? Simply for the reason that a long and ugly period of political history at last convinced Georgia that it was not possible to achieve honesty in elections except under law, and that the master minds of the white Democratic party could not be trusted to manage things so as to give the masses of the people an effective voice in the selection of candidates.

Who will guarantee that there would be any primary in Georgia, once the primary laws are scrapped?

The answer is—No one!

What would prevent a private caucus of the chosen few—they used to be called "conventions"—at which candidates would be snatched out of thin air, and maybe at the beckoning of special interests, without any reference whatsoever to the wishes of the general electorate?

The answer is—Nothing!

What safeguards will be invented to protect the integrity of the registration list? What is to prevent "the party" from stuffing the boxes with "repeaters," or made-up names, or from indulging in all manner of skullduggery? What are to be the criteria of "party membership" and what appeal machinery would be installed to protect the voting rights of any citizens—white or black—who might be mischievously denied a ballot? Who, finally, is going to count the votes, who is going to watch the counters, and who is going to choose the watchers?

Again the inexorable answer is—No protection!

Georgia adopted a primary law to achieve decency in elections, and because the old system was intolerably indecent.

Now it is proposed to remove all legal restraint, and reopen the gates to fraud, and make Georgia primaries lawless primaries!

We know Georgians do not want any such thing; in fact they have often proved that they want no such thing. Yet that is what Gene Talmade offers, and it is all he offers.

Full Meaning We wonder if most Georgians quite understand just what would happen if these laws were scrapped, and we wonder, most particularly, if our rural counties comprehend the duplicity of this proposal in terms of the county unit system.

This newspaper is among those who do not like the county unit system, but that is beside the present point, which is that the rural counties do like it—in fact, they would be completely lost in State politics without it!

We believe the small counties of Georgia want to keep their present political importance, which rests exclusively upon the county unit system, which, in its turn, rests exclusively upon present primary laws.

Wipe the primary laws off the primary books and you wipe out the county unit system. Not even Mr. Talmadge has been able to suggest a way of saving the one without the other, although—to give him his due—he does say that he will try to think up a way.

The only way, then, for Georgians to evade a little longer the Supreme Court ruling which offers an unrestricted franchise to all literate, qualified Americans, is through the Talmadge formula, which is simply too great a price.

Georgians who remember history and who know that what has happened can happen again, will be quick to agree that it is too great a price, simply on the grounds of the general immorality that would be created.

And when the little counties understand that their county unit system is also doomed under the Talmadge plan, they also will agree that the price is much too great.

This Is Everybody's Concern

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 8-1-46

A leading Negro publisher of Alabama thinks that Georgia Negroes have something to be proud of. He said if Negro leaders can prepare their people for registering and then prepare them for voting to the tune of 100,000 strong within a span of about six months, then that same 100,000 ought to come forward without any speeches or resolutions and put up $100,000 to defend their civil rights. It should not require any argument to persuade Negroes in Georgia to do this he says. What happened in Walton County last week is eloquent enough. Suppose you try this in Georgia, he suggested and following the suggestion by leading off with the first dollar contribution.

The idea from this Alabama publisher is just the thing. It fits admirably into the campaign about to be launched by Atlanta Negroes and which eventually will blanket the entire state. Our fight for safety and security in Georgia has just begun. It would be simple folly to advise Negroes otherwise. Intimidations and threats in connection with registration in many of the counties; purges of hundreds and hundreds from the registration books, together with the definite and horrible upsurge of lynchings and violence over the state, all suggest that idle chatter cannot be depended upon to ease the tension nor solve the problem. To fight our battle, we've got to have money all down the line.

Of course, if we should follow out this excellent idea, it should be only as the beginnings of something greater to come. $100,000 is not a large sum of money with which to fight legal battles. Citizens working on the Defense Fund are, of course, concentrating their immediate attention upon aid to the families of the men and women who were lynched in Walton County last week and for burial expenses of the victims. This accomplished, the committee will then turn its attention to some broader issues of Negro civil rights in Georgia. It means aid for Negroes who are unfairly purged from the voters' lists in the counties; it means aid to Negroes who are beaten in retaliation to their ballot participation; and in short, we will need funds to cover and prosecute the whole range of civil rights violations. Now is the time for all of us to prove how much we want civil liberties.

Future Negro Voting

It was the issue over the Negro voting in the white primary that gave Eugene Talmadge his easy victory in the recent race for governor. There cannot be any doubt about that. Mr. Talmadge promised the people that he would restore the white primary. He is going to be governor and also head of the Democratic party in Georgia and we will doubtless see a vigorous effort on his part to restore the white primary. The followers of Gene Talmadge have a habit of saying that "He keeps his promises." He will have an opportunity now to keep another promise, and The Observer is willing to bet that he will find a way to carry his point temporarily.

He may not be able to find a scheme that will keep the Negro from voting. We have an idea that the Negro voter is with us to stay. He may be prevented from voting in white primaries that are entirely independent of state law, but he will vote in general elections. In towns and cities where no white primary is held the Negro will be a voter in the general election. He will probably avail himself of the opportunity to vote in the general state election and in the national election. There may not be much for him to vote against and little opportunity for him to make his vote count for anything, but it is our opinion that he will not lightly regard his opportunity to register and vote. There will be occasions when there will be independent candidates and the Negro may hold the balance of power. An instance of that kind seems to be coming up in the Fifth Congressional district of Georgia. Also there are rumors already that the Republicans of the state are planning to get together and put out tickets in the state and national election. They probably have little hope of making a showing this year that would be very impressive, but they evidently think that the idea has a future and that it will grow. It probably will grow. We will be watching the Negro vote in the future.

Colored 'Bloc' in Georgia
News Atlanta, Ga.
7-23-46

In the Georgia primary last Wednesday and therefore the result in Georgia con-
100,000 negro "Democrats" voted, "appar-tributes to its sense of satisfaction.
ently almost solidly for Carmichael", and Mr. Talmadge would have the Georgians
Mr. Carmichael's popular vote was 15,000 or to repeal all laws relating to primaries.
18,000 greater than was that of Eugene Tal-which would be adoption of the South Caro-
madge, Esq. Charleston, S. C. 7-23-46 lina plan.
By the "county unit plan" Mr. Talmadge In this state the white man's party con-
is assured of the nomination for governor.sists of some 1,500 or 1,600 affiliated social
His delegates will be a majority in the con-clubs of white men and women that on a
vention that will nominate. day nominate persons.
Had this election been held under South Were the Black and Jackson court to de-
Carolina's party rules, the negro "Demo-cide that these clubs are without right to
crats" would have named the governor of deny admission and voting to negro "Demo-
Georgia for the next four years. They would crats" it would probably decide a little later
have named Mr. Carmichael. They voted that white men and women refusing to in-
"apparently solidly" for him. They voted as vite colored people to dinner in their homes
a "bloc". They were a "pressure group". should be sent to the penitentiary.
In a primary under South Carolina's rules. The News and Courier congratulates The
Mr. Talmadge would have had a white popu-Savannah Morning News.
lar majority of perhaps 50,000, but it would
have been overcome by Mr. Carmichael's
100,000 colored "Democrats".
The News and Courier would not have

U. S. Authorities Intervene In Georgia's White-Hot Primary

Birmingham News

Birmingham Alabama

Issue Of Negroes Voting Paramount As Four Candidates Seek Nomination For Governor

Tuesday 7-16-46

BY M. L. ST. JOHN
News Special Correspondent

ATLANTA, Ga., July 16—With the registration nearly doubling all previous highs, and the federal government stepping in to protect Negroes voting for the first time in a Georgia Democratic primary, Georgia will go to the polls tomorrow to decide whether to continue the type government launched four years ago by youthful Elis Arnall or return to the type government carried on in three administrations by Eugene Talmadge.

Talmadge, who was unseated by Arnall in 1942, is seeking a comeback on the promise of protecting Georgia's white primary.

Jimmie Carmichael, 36-year-old manager of a wartime B-29 plant at Marietta, is promising to continue "honesty and decency" in state government. He has the endorsement of Gov. Arnall.

The betting between these two is even on the eve of election. Professional gamblers are offering odds of 6 to 5 either way. 7-16-46

* * *

ANOTHER EX-GOVERNOR, Ed Rivers, who has served two terms, also is trying a comeback, but he apparently is meeting with little success. The fourth candidate in the race is Hoke O'Kelley, of Logansville, veteran of two world wars, who sought the governorship in 1932 without carrying a single county. News

There are more than 1,000,000 voters, this year, as compared with 550,000 in 1942. Birmingham News

Carmichael is banking on the support of 500,000 new voters who will be casting their ballots for the first time this year. This includes 18-year-old boys and girls, about 100,000 of them, who have been enfranchised since the last gubernatorial campaign; an additional 200,000 women who have registered; 134,000 Negroes who are eligible to vote under a recent ruling of the United States Supreme Court, and thousands of poor persons who became eligible to vote when the poll tax was abolished in Georgia.

* * *

TALMADGE IS basing his hopes in stirring Georgians to angrily protest against "outside influences trying to degrade 2,000,000 white people to the level of Niggers." He contends that Georgia can keep the white primary under the decision of the United States Supreme Court by wiping out all election laws from the state books. He advocates protecting the county unit system—through which rural counties predominate in Georgia politics—by writing it into the state constitution.

Talmadge blasts Carmichael as a "stooge" for Henry Wallace, Jim Cox (ex-governor of Ohio and Democratic presidential candidate of 1920, who owns The Atlanta Journal), and Ellis Arnall. He charges that Carmichael favors mixing the races, and warns that unless Talmadge is elected, whites and blacks will go to school together, marry, and Negroes will serve as Georgia's senators and governor. 7-16-46

TO ALL OF these charges, Carmichael, an orator in his own right, boldly calls Talmadge a "deliberate, unadulterated liar." He says he will not be dictated to by any present or former officeholder if he is elected.

He says he is a native Georgian, that his grandfathers fought in the Confederacy, and that "I am just as seeped in Southern traditions as Eugene Talmadge ever has any hope of being." He recalls that he helped write into Georgia's new constitution a provision to maintain separate schools for the two races. He charges that Talmadge is waging a campaign of racial hatred as a "smoke screen to hide his own sorry record as governor."

Talmadge promises to stop buses at the state line and have riders walk across the lines in an effort to get around the United States Supreme Court decision outlawing Jim Crow laws on interstate buses.

Carmichael has said that the United States Supreme Court decided Negroes can vote, and "neither I nor Gene Talmadge nor anyone else outside the Supreme Court can reverse that decision."

* * * 7-16-4

CARMICHAEL WARNS that if Talmadge repeals all election laws that the notorious Augusta Cracker party (which used to run politics in that city) would take over Georgia politics, since the county unit system would be repealed. He laughs at Talmadge's plan to protect the county unit system by writing it into the constitution. "The minute he writes that into the constitution, he is putting an election law right into the heart of Georgia law, and thereby placing Georgia primaries back under the jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court — and Negroes can vote, Carmichael observes.

* * *

WHILE THE TWO MAJOR CANDIDATES argue from the stump over the Negro question, Talmadge urged county boards of registrars to purge Negroes from the voters lists. He sent out a list of items for which he said voters could be purged. News

Boards in many counties—at the request of officials of local Talmadge clubs—began mass purging of Negro voters.

Suddenly the federal district attorneys issued public warnings they would investigate violations of civil rights of Negroes through mass purgings. Dist. Atty. John Cowart at Macon said it seemed apparent that discrimination existed when counties were striking off hundreds of Negroes without purging a single white person. He warned that registrars and challengers alike faced possible terms in the federal penitentiary. Dist. Attys. Saxton Daniel at Savannah and Neil Andrews in Atlanta said they had received complaints about the mass purgings.

Birmingham News

BITTERY BOARDS DISMISSED CHALLENGES in two or three counties, and others informed Negroes they didn't have to appear at hearings unless they voluntarily wished to do so.

Federal Judge Frank Scarlett in Brunswick ordered the names of 600 per cent purged Negroes reinstated on the rolls in Appling County by today. He halted the purging in Atkinson County, and ordered the Coffee County board to have its list filed with the proper authorities by today.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation now has launched a probe to insure that Negroes civil rights will be protected.

* * 7-16-46

WHILE TALMADGE, himself, has warned "wise" Negroes to stay away from the polls tomorrow, and while posters have been placed on Negro churches at Fitzgerald telling Negroes if "you vote July 17 it will be your last vote," Maj. Bill Spence, commander of the state patrol, says he anticipates no disorders at the polls.

Candidate Carmichael, however, has charged that Talmadge henchmen are trying to promote a race riot. He charged Talmadgeites offered Negroes $10 each to sit with whites at a Carmichael rally at Savannah—the Negroes rejected the offer. He said he had received word that Talmadgeites were planning a riot in his home county of Cobb. 7-16-46

THE CHAIRMAN of the Waycross Democratic Executive Committee charged that a Talmadge leader planned court action to try to force this committee to make Negroes and whites stand in lines together at the polls. The committee plans separate polling places.

A large part of Carmichael's campaign has been devoted to citing Talmadge's record. He said Talmadge was a dictator, who used bayonet rule to oust elected state officials—who blasted open the state treasury safe — who put strikers in "barbed wire concentration camps"—who disaccredited the University System of Georgia with a false racial issue in 1941—and who operated a pardon racket.

* * *

CARMICHAEL, a former legislator and lawyer, pledges to keep Georgia debt free; to impose no new taxes except what is necessary to raise teachers' pay 50 per cent; to simplify veterans' service, to build rural roads within state income; to offer a presidential preferential primary, and to have a program to develop industry and agriculture.

Talmadge, age 61, a lawyer and farmer, changed his usual "economy" platforms of the past to offer a "progressive" platform this time, but stuck to his policy of emphasizing race issues. He promised a 50 per cent raise for school teachers; free driver's licenses and five years tax freedom for veterans; to launch the greatest road building program in history, and to appropriate $1,000,000 annually to help build hospitals.

Birmingham News

BOTH CARMICHAEL and Talmadge are confident of victory. Polls by Georgia justices of the peace—never wrong in 10 years of predicting—forecasts a Carmichael victory. Several other polls also predict victory for Carmichael. Talmadge headquarters conducted a poll which claimed a Talmadge landslide—308 county unit votes, when only 206 are necessary for election. 7-16-46 News

Former Gov. Rivers also predicts his own election.

TOM STOKES

The Return Of the Native

The Constitution Atlanta Ga.

ATLANTA—A fellow should be permitted to get a bit personal when he comes back home.

When I was a youngster here it always seemed like a long way from the South to anywhere else, like going to another country. That feeling still persists, for some strange reason, but in reverse.

That is, when you've lived away a long time, even only so far as Washington, D. C., which is really on the edge of the South, the South begins to seem far away, like another country. When you decide to go back home you deliberate about the trip as if it were several days' journey. Thur. 7-18-46

JONATHAN Daniels made the point several years ago in his penetrating book, "A Southerner Discovers the South," that the South is not just one place, but many places. True enough. But still there is an atmosphere, a state of mind, that permeates a great stretch of territory.

The peculiar identity of the South is more accentuated today, the native finds when he returns, because the new and the old are in such sharp conflict for the moment. Perhaps the final conflict that precedes a new and better order. This is undoubtedly a state that is somewhat temporary and artificial, this present state of conflict, so that one must discount some of the bitterness. And there is plenty of bitterness, particularly over the racial issue, so-called.

Called up once again, from deep in the subconscious, is a longing for a society that has gone long ago. It was pleasant and precious to the comparatively few who could enjoy it, those who could clap their hands and have a host of Negroes scurry to their bidding. At least so it seems, though the South perhaps would deny it.

THAT privileged status became most roseate just when it crumbled under the War Between the States. Lovely even to those who never had it—though they fought for it—because they thought they might some time achieve it. It took the South a long time to come out from under the magnolias and the honeysuckle.

The second step has taken a long time, too, which was to get away from that state of mind left by the crumbling of a dynasty. But the South is well along on this second step now. Thur. 7-18-46

It is like coming out a showing of "Gone With the Wind" and walking down the street and seeing Negroes voting in large numbers, like any other citizens. The first time on such a scale since the 90s when the "white primary" was invented in this very State to stop Negro voting because cheap politicians were exploiting ignorant Negroes for purposes that had nothing to do with their welfare.

THE Negro has come a long way since the 90s, even if not as far as he might have come with more encouragement. Georgia has decided that he is entitled to stand on his own feet politically, with some dissent, of course. Over 150,000 Negroes registered to vote in Wednesday's primary, which is something indeed. There you have real change.

In the cities and small towns, labor organizers are carrying on a renewed campaign to enlist workers in unions so that they may win by organization some of the good things Southern gentry can give them. Only 10 years ago they were beaten up and driven out of towns which now are accepting them—accepting them not always exactly with open arms, but acquiescing, and no longer using the lash and the constable's nightstick and the deputy sheriff's gun.

It is good to come home again to what begins to look a little like the "New South" that the orators used to promise—though many of the orators did not mean exactly what we now find. It is good, despite the bitterness, and the dark spots, and the demagogs that still rant.

Many Negroes Register In Hancock County

SPARTA, July 3—The registration of Negroes hit a rapid pace here Monday and all day lines of them were standing in the corridors of the Hancock County Courthouse waiting to get in the Tax Collector's office. If they continue registering at the present rate it is said that possibly 700 or more will be on the books by July 5, when registration will be closed.

Georgian Quotes Lincoln to Pass Registration Quiz

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 7-20-46

ATLANTA—While it was necessary for the Federal Court to grant a temporary restraining order to permit colored persons to register in four southern counties of Georgia, non-white citizens are able to gain registration, here, at Fulton County, by demonstrating knowledge of Government.

Included among those to be registered, last week, was 35-year-old Joseph D. Burns, who when he was asked: "What is a Democratic form of Government?" replied with Abraham's Lincoln's definition: "A Government of the people, by the people and for the people."

Another registrant, 76-year-old John Baskin, when asked what his obligations to his Government were, raised his right hand and replied: "To give that hand to them, if they need it." He was accepted.

45e 1946

Georgia

A Vicious Attempt To Limit The Vote

Atlanta Ga. Daily News

The action of the Georgia Senate in passing a bill requiring re-registration of all citizens of the state whose names were not on the books for the general election in 1944, will strike all of us as an effort to maintain a restricted voters' list, thus removing the threat which may come to politicians and demagogues in their efforts to maintain themselves in office. In another and more vital sense, it is an unmistakable move to reduce to a minimum the mounting list of Negro registrants throughout Georgia since the invalidation of the White Primary. Indeed, one commentator on the measure stated that the bill will invalidate the registration of approximately 7,000 Negroes in Chatham County since the 1944 general election, thus requiring them to re-register in order to be eligible to vote in the approaching elections.

Sun. 1-27-46

Fortunately for the citizens of Atlanta and Fulton County, Senator Everett got an amendment to this bill exempting Fulton County.

This so-called re-registration bill was sponsored by Senator Grayson of Chatham County (Savannah). It has not passed the House yet but probably will unless the liberal forces of the state immediately express themselves.

This is another of the many subterfuges which Negroes of Georgia and the South must come to anticipate in their struggles for the franchise. For it was in this same Legislative Assembly a year ago that House Speaker Roy Harris made the incredibly undemocratic statement that even if Negroes attacked the present Primary Laws, they will wear them out running back and forth to the Supreme Court by changing the laws. On its face, the statement is childish. But it is vicious as it is childish. And it is one which Negroes of Georgia and the South must determine to meet with effective and forthright action. It means that Negro Georgians, at least, must redouble their efforts to prosecute the vote drive throughout the state as well as continue their fight on the Primary violations and denials. It emphasizes too, the vital necessity for Negroes throughout the state to be solidly united on the methods they shall employ in achieving their goals. That is why we have and shall continue to insist that Negroes get behind one strong, central organization, thereby increasing the benefits to all. For it will be a most serious blunder if anyone should underestimate the fight which still remains before Negroes of Georgia will be able to exercise the franchise.

The End Of Appeal, We Hope

Atlanta Ga. Daily World

The action of the Circuit Court of Appeals in upholding Judge Davis' decision in which he ruled that Negroes of Georgia could not be denied participation in the Democratic Primary on account of race and color, will strengthen representative government in the state and will enhance the confidence of Negoes in the government under which they must live.

While the court sustained the decision of the federal court for the Middle District of Georgia in favor of Rev. Primus E. King against Muscogee County Democratic officials, the decision embraces Negroes similarly situated in all sections of the state, since the facts show that the action of the party is state action.

Sun 3-9-46

The ruling is so clear, both in the Georgia District Court and the Circuit Court, and the contention of the Negro to the right of the ballot is so righteous, that it will be difficult to understand how any reasonable excuse be given for any attempts at evasion. Already press accounts hint that such attempts will be made. It is to be sincerely hoped that the ruling will be taken in a fair ond judicious spirit. Nothing can be gained through any other course. Acceptance of the ruling without further appeals will serve to relieve tensions and distrust. Three Georgia cities, Athens, Valdosta and now Brunswick, have acted on the decision and granted the Negro his right to vote.

We believe Negroes can be permitted to vote in other cities and counties in the state without incident.

M. L. ST. JOHN

Atlanta Constitution

Half Million New Voters Seen

Atlanta, Ga.

The Young Democrats have picked out quite a job for themselves, if they expect to register even a large portion of the teen-agers eligible to vote under Georgia's 18-year-old vote law. Because a school census made a few years ago by the State Department of Education indicates that Georgia has more than 160,000 white boys and girls between the ages of 18 and 21. There are more than 95,000 Negro boys and girls in this age limit—which is significant if Negroes are permitted to vote in the Democratic primary this summer. This gives Georgia a total of more than 250,000 possible teen-age voters.

Some say that a bloc of 160,000 voters could elect a governor—that means that the white boys and girls in their teens could name the next governor, if they voted in a bloc. If all the teen-agers, white and colored, voted in a bloc, 250,000 votes probably could elect the next governor.

Hed 3-13-46

However, it has been four years since Georgia voted for a governor. And every year a new group of youths reached the 21st birthday, which was the old voting age. Today they are between the ages of 21 and 24. This group adds an additional 120,000 white boys and girls to the possible voters, making the total potential of new white voters about 350,000. This same group also adds about 72,000 new Negro voters, bringing the Negro potential new voters to approximately 171,000. Certainly a bloc of 350,000 white youths could control an election.

If Negroes are permitted to vote the total potential new young voters would be approximately 525,000—greater than the total voters' registration in 1941.

Of course, no one has any idea that all of these potential young voters will register. And no one has any idea they will be used as a rubber stamp to elect a governor. But the Young Democrats are seeking to register the new citizens so that more citizens may participate in governing their state. While the youths will not vote in mass for the same candidate, it is generally agreed that young people want candidates with progressive ideas in government.

New Around Here

We dropped in on the youth legislature for a few minutes during its session over the weekend. It was obvious that few, if any, of these 90 boys and girls had ever seen a real Georgia legislature in session. They were too studious of all the bills before them. The junior clerk was reading a bill when we walked in. Everything was so quiet that we were tip-toeing before we realized it, and easing into an inconspicuous seat in the rear. We peeked around, like a lady looking at other hats in church. Virtually all of the representatives had their eyes glued on copies of the bill which the clerk was reading. It would have been impossible to slip through an ill-placed comma on these boys and girls. There was no walking around, reading newspapers, or caucus between legislators and lobbyists. Lone exception to this for a moment or two was really conspicuous—conspicuous because the others were paying so close attention, and county delegation in the real house of representatives pulling such a stunt. A boy sitting in a Richmond county seat tried to lure his pal into a game of tit-tat-toe.

We don't know just how much fixing the adult sponsors of this YMCA group did to make the young legislature's work move off smoothly. Once the assembly opened, however, the kids took the ball, and quickly showed that they had minds of their own.

We followed an exasperated woman down the capitol steps after the first session. She was burned up plenty, and she was telling her friend all about it. It seemed that some "little whippersnapper" had had the audacity to challenge a ruling by the junior speaker, a close race with Thomas L. Camp, Jessir. The speaker was kind of nervous, anyway, with all that responsibility on him. Then this little smart alec had to try to upset the procession by challenging the presiding officer. Just when everything had started off so smoothly. The lady suspected that the little procession wrecker had been put up to this stunt by a man advisor. It just goes to show you what "we are up against in our efforts to train the youths."

We judged from the lady's reactions that little misguided boy had wrecked what the adult legislators would have called her well-oiled political machine."

Negroes Swing Election Tide

Atlanta Constitution 2-

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

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"It was clear," said, "that the Negro vote had decided the race in a photo-finish."

The newspaper said Negroes served as precinct managers and clerks in Atlanta for the time in a congressional election.

Balloting was in a general special election and all the candidates were Democrats. Negroes vote in Gray and Dublin general elections in Georgia and pear a court test is under way which seeks to give them the ballot in county primaries. A primary was not held in the Fifth District congressional contest.

The Atlanta Daily World, said the Negro vote decided the race for congress in the Fifth Georgia district won by Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, state legislator, over 17 candidates here Tuesday.

Mrs. Mankin, backed by CIO, received 11,099 votes to Camp's 10,329 votes.

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Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said yesterday a brief has been prepared and would be filed in the case. Cook said that he and three assistants, Claude Shaw, R. A. McClaude and Daniel Duke would appear at the hearing.

The case originated in Muscogee County when Primus E. King, a Negro, filed suit in the U. S. district court of Macon, contending that he had been denied the right to vote in the Democratic primary, July 4, 1944. Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis subsequently rendered a verdict in favor of King and allowed him damages of $100.

State Prepared In Negro's Appeal

Four members of the state legal department will be present when the case involving the right of a Negro to vote in a Georgia pri

RALPH McGILL

Georgia's Press And Negro Voting

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta Ga.

A review of the Georgia State press comments on the Federal Court ruling as to Negro voters reveals alarm only here and there.

Even papers which in the past had supported the many candidacies of Eugene Talmadge are taking positions which are calm and collected.

Sun. 3-31-46

Many of them argue, with sound judgment, that for many years to come few Negroes would vote if the regulations as to illiteracy and other qualifications are invoked. As illustrative is Mr. Belmont Dennis' Covington News. It urges the primary laws be left alone, estimating that about one Negro in each 100 will vote in primary or general election.

It takes as a basis for argument that the county unit system is important to good government, preventing, as it does, any large city machine obtaining a balance of power. The Tennessee political status is used to bolster this argument. In Tennessee Ed Crump, the aging boss of Shelby County (Memphis), has been able to hold the balance of power in state politics because of his ability to deliver a huge vote. No candidate has much of a chance without the indorsement of "Mister Crump."

For example, if there were no county unit system the county machines of Richmond (Augusta) and Chatham (Savannah) theoretically would be able, by joining together, to play a part in any election far out of proportion to their natural participation. If some genius could organize counties containing Atlanta and Decatur into one efficient political machine, it could do in Georgia what Shelby County does in Tennessee.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the two areas most disturbed by the court decision are Chatham and Richmond Counties, where, because they have fought the potential Negro vote and driven it into a bloc, rather than bringing it in as part of their organization strength, there is danger of an antimachine vote upsetting the machine.

Mr. Dennis urges that the Negro vote issue not be overemphasized because "often these matters are used as a smoke screen to hide a much more serious crime against society—the effort of city politicians . . . to take control of the political affairs of our state."

Qualifications I have now, as I have always had, an opinion which I would like again to express. The privilege of the ballot ought not to be given to the unqualified. Particularly do I think it should be withheld from those not literate enough to know the issues. I would oppose most vigorously permitting uneducated or otherwise unqualified Negroes to vote. At the same time it would be political folly, once the court decision is final, to bar those who are qualified. Democracy can be destroyed by ignorance and no man should be given the vote who cannot demonstrate an awareness of the issues. The Supreme Court has sustained the educational requirements in New York State.

It is an interesting fact, developed by several Georgia editors, that Tom Watson, who long has been Mr. Talmadge's political hero and preceptor, urged Negro participation in the primary and obtained it.

Sun. 3-31-46

It was when he saw the political machine at Augusta voted the Negroes as a bloc, handing out $2 and a marked ballot to each as they went to the ballot box, did he turn and become a violent opponent of Negro participation in primaries.

If the Supreme Court, to which the case now has been appealed, sustains the right, the Negro will make a great error if he allows his vote to go into the box as a bloc of votes. Only if he allows his qualified vote to be voted by a machine or group will his vote be an evil influence.

Progress We have made considerable progress in cleaning up politics. The cotton mill vote used to be voted in blocs. It was common practice in most cotton mills, before the eight-hour day and before education had made as much progress among mill hands as it has today, for the foreman to hand each employe a marked ballot. There are many Georgians who recall this practice.

Other editors are pointing out that it would be harmful to repeal primary laws at this time. The New Orleans court decision did point out a way for a primary to be carried on for a brief period of time. The Supreme Court may disagree with this.

Meanwhile, the consensus seems to be that the Negro who is qualified will, by court decision, be allowed to vote; that the proper procedure should be to go back to the primary laws covering qualifications; to look into the New York State literacy qualifications which have been sustained by the Supreme Court, and to aid the Negro in voting as a citizen, not as a bloc herded to the polls.

Also there is general agreement that the colored voter is doing something no civic clubs, leagues of voters or anyone else has been able to do—he is making the white citizen become interested in the ballot. All of it should mean better government.

Savannah, Ga. Tribune

We are still reminding all of our people who are 18 years of age and over to go to the Chatham County Courthouse and register and become qualified to vote. It is through voting that most citizens participate in government. It is the duty of every citizen to perform this simplest and primary function of government. We must make it our objective to get TEN THOUSAND voters on the rolls. This will be a splendid showing, well beyond that made by the state as a whole. In 1942 in the state-wide primary election, out of 1,772,936 of voting age only 303,151 votes were cast. In Chatham County the number of votes cast in the same election was 7,591 while there were 75,669 persons of voting age in the county. The record for the entire state shows that Georgia does not rank very high in political literacy. This means that the citizens of Georgia, along with those of other states, must develop a larger sense of political responsibility for the kind of government we have, depends upon it.

1-19-46

Ga. Paper Says 'White Primaries Outmoded'

Atlanta Daily World, 1-22-46

VALDOSTA, Ga. (ANP).—The Lowndes County News, a Georgia weekly, commenting on the voting of 300 colored citizens in a recent primary, believes that "white primaries are a thing of the past."

"The occasion marked a step forward for Valdosta and proved that the races can go to the polls and vote on the same issues without any bitter feelings," it added.

GEORGIA ELECTED a congresswoman over seventeen male candidates. Thanks to Negro voters of Atlanta who served as precinct managers and clerks for the first time in a Congressional election. Foolish people, like Harlem's Congressman Adam C. Powell, urge Negroes to leave the South but most Southern Negroes will solve their many problems without running away. This is an example.

Negro Voting Stirs Little Excitement

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Georgians seem to be accepting Negro voting in the Democratic primary this summer without a great deal of excitement.

This became evident yesterday when the cries for an extra session of the legislature to keep the ban on the Negroes died out, and more Georgia counties announced that Negroes would participate in their primaries.

Gov. Arnall disclosed that "not a single soul" had asked him to call the legislature into extraordinary session to amend the election laws.

Wed 3-13-46

To the contrary, Arnall said he had received numerous letters from points throughout the state urging him not to call such a session. Prominent citizens in many counties advised the chief executive to leave the election laws alone.

G-MEN COMING?

At the same time, political observers speculated that Georgia would be filled with federal agents this summer watching for violation of civil liberties laws. They said that any election manager who refuses to permit a person to vote because of his color faces the possibility of criminal prosecution.

Many letters to the Governor said that Georgia should comply with the federal appellate court's decision stating that the Negro is entitled to vote in primaries. Others expressed fear that Georgia's county unit system would be wrecked by any changes in the election laws, and this would permit the big cities to rule the state.

24,000 Negroes vote in Georgia county primary

ATLANTA, Ga. — Twenty-four thousand Negroes, using their right of franchise for the first time, cast their ballots in the Fulton (Atlanta) county primary on June 4.

Atlanta Daily World

Negro Vote Decisive In Georgia Primary

Special to the Daily Worker

BRUNSWICK, Ga., March 28.—Negro citizens voted for the first time in the history of Brunswick and Glynn county in the Democratic primary last week which defeated all incumbent county commissioners.

More than 90 percent of the 2,400 Negro registrants participated in the primary, results of which heretofore have been tantamount to election. Only about 75 percent of the 6,700 white registrants voted, officials disclosed. About 7,000 votes were cast, the largest in the history of the county.

Observers stated that the general trend of the Negro voting was indicated in a precinct in Everett City, which had 112 Negro and fifty-nine white registrants. This precinct went overwhelmingly for candidates opposing the present administration. Nineteen candidates, all white, had offered for the seven county commission posts.

The Negro citizens' right to vote was given by the Glynn County School.

Serving the large number of Negro voters at this precinct were: Mrs. Rachel P. Herndon, Mrs. Dollie Alexander, Col. A. T. Walden, Prof. C. A. Bacote, Dr. J. A. Batts, Rev. Louis J. Bapt. Miles Amos and Rev. C. Westside precinct.

Early reports from Precinct 5-F at Forrest Avenue School indicated that Negroes were voting in large numbers. This precinct, conveniently located to the populace in the Old Fourth Ward is the second largest precinct serving Negroes in the city.

Democratic Executive Committee which decided to comply with the Macon Federal Court ruling by Judge T. Hoyt Davis that Negroes were entitled to participate in Democratic primaries. Judge Davis's ruling was upheld by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. N.Y. N.Y.

Most Negroes voted in the Brunswick District, which named four of the seven commissioners. All four incumbents in the Brunswick district were defeated.

The Brunswick Progressive Democrats, headed by J. M. Atkinson, appealed to the county Democratic Committee to give Negroes a voice in the county primary several weeks ago. There was a general appeal to the Negro voters throughout the campaign.

Early Returns Indicate Record Vote By Negroes

Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.
3-13-46

By JOEL W. SMITH

For the first time in the history of Atlanta, Negroes served as precinct managers and clerks during four clerks were in charge of a large number of voters were on congressional election. In the spe- Precinct 3-B at the R. R. Carterhand to cast their ballots before

official election conducted Tuesday to choose a representative to Congress from the 5th Congressional Dis- STEADY STEAM

When the poll opened at 7 a. m. managers

Negroes in

'Cracker' Democrats Advocate Expurgation Of Negro Vote

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Thurs. 10-10-46

By ROMNEY WHEELER

MACON, Oct. 9—(AP)— Georgia Democrats, in state convention assembled, unanimously and whole-heartedly endorsed today the pledge of Eugene Talmadge that Negroes shall be excluded from Georgia primaries, and agreed to limit future franchise to "white persons who are Democrats."

The convention, almost entirely composed of hand-picked Talmadge adherents, whooped, stomped and hand-clapped as a procession of speakers promised to preserve "white supremacy" and it gave wildly responsive approval to the acceptance speech of Governor-nominate Talmadge—ailing in a Jacksonville hospital, which was read by his son, Herman.

Talmadge View

Talmadge, declaring that Negroes are not yet educated for voting, told the convention: "We Democrats who believe in the Democracy of our forefathers believe that a Democratic white primary should be restored in our Southland."

The convention, which earlier had abolished all existing party rules, immediately adopted new regulations paralleling Georgia's election code, but limiting party membership and election participation to white persons acceptable to party executives.

The convention, in adopting its platform, said: "We unanimously and wholeheartedly endorse the plans of the Democratic nominee for governor, Honorable Eugene Talmadge, for the preservation and perpetuation of the white primary system in the Democratic party.

"We urge the enactment of all laws necessary to accomplish that purpose. We likewise urge the repeal of all existing statutes which may prevent or tend to prevent the accomplishment of that purpose." "We direct and instruct the State Democratic Executive Committee, selected by this convention to adopt and enforce all such rules and regulations as may be necessary and expedient to the preservation of the white Democratic primary and that such rules and regulations provide for every contingency now governed by any statute which it may be found necessary or advisable to repeal."

Follows South's Lead

In effect, the convention's action follows the lead of South Carolina, which expunged all mention of primaries from State law, and made such elections "club affairs" controlled entirely by the Democratic party. The key section of Georgia's party regulations provides: "Any white person who is qualified to vote under the laws of Georgia may become a member of the Democratic party by indicating his willingness to become a member and subscribing to the tenets and beliefs of the Democratic party of Georgia, as pronounced by it in its last platform of declarations of policy." Thurs. 10-10-46

Keynote of the convention was set up by Representative Eugene Cox (D.), Georgia, in a bitter denunciation of Northern "interference in Georgia affairs. Cox castigated outgoing Governor Ellis Arnall, as one who had invited invasion by the CIO Political Action Committee which he described as "the hand of Stalin in our ballot boxes."

But the convention gave only mild applause when Cox declared that the South should break with its traditional support of the National Democratic Party 'in associating with the PAC and with "alien-minded doctrinations."

GEORGE McNABB

Affront To Intelligent

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 7-10-46

(The following is reprinted from The Newnan Herald.)

Can you think of any good reason for the kind of political campaign to which the people of Georgia are now being subjected?

The current political campaign is causing many otherwise amiable people to become irritable and grouchy. It is widening the breach not only between the white man and the colored, but between white men who often have a hard time understanding each other anyhow. It is arousing an ugly cloud of suspicion, mistrust and uncertainty.

What is the reason for such an unfortunate state of affairs?

The answer is a simple one: Some politicians know that, if left to go their peaceable ways, most Georgians are inclined to vote for a retention of the kind of good government we have had for nearly four years. In casting about for a man to take the leadership, a vast majority of us would pick James Carmichael as a logical choice. Therefore, Georgians must be made to forget about good government—their attention must be turned elsewhere if Carmichael is to be defeated.

And so the politicians look about them for a boogerman issue. The first hot one to come along is the question of Negro voting—absolutely made to order for exploitation. The politicians then begin shouting themselves hoarse over a matter they have plucked out of very thin air.

The result: Hatreds are aroused which will cause trouble in Georgia for many years regardless of who is elected this Summer.

The politicians stop at nothing in their attempt to build the boogerman into a scare issue. For instance, Talmadge told a Statesboro audience recently that once Negroes "are secure in their right to vote in our primary, Negro candidates for public office will be as thick as flies around a jug of molasses; they will become arrogant and drunk with their own power."

Unthinking folks may grow afraid and shake in their shoes at such words. Those who pause to think a moment will remember that the phrase "arrogant and drunk with power" was aptly used on Mr. Talmadge himself when he ran the State Capitol by personal dictum, at the point of the bayonet.

They may also recall that the idea of Negroes holding public office and becoming drunk with power may have been literally taken out of a former administration of Talmadge himself.

In May, 1941, Governor Talmadge appointed two Negroes to State office. One of them, Claude Malcom, was given the rather ludicrous title of Special Investigator of Cattle Rustling in Telfair and Monroe Counties—the Talmadge home district—attached to the Department of Public Safety. This man collected $194.66 for two months' service around the Talmadge farm property. But the joker was that he also collected an expense account of $175.42, listing such amazing items as three quarts of whiskey. No doubt Malcom was "drunk with his own power," and on State money. The other appointee, James White, was a bit more discriminating. His expense voucher showed that he bought 12 bottles of perfume and four of liniment on State money.

Perhaps Mr. Talmadge hopes that when he mentions the dangers of Negroes in office under Carmichael, no one will remember those who held office under Talmadge.

The truth is, there is positively no danger from the Negro vote, and anyhow, the Supreme Court and the U. S. Constitution have settled the matter. Talmadge knows this very well, but he must have an issue.

Why must we put up with such stuff?

We Are Grateful

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: God made us black, but He didn't make us bitter. He filled our hearts with humility, but not hate. The Negro is not greedy, he is grateful.

The white man brought the Negro to the South, and the good white people of the South have made him what he is today. For all of the good things done for us, we are grateful. Mon. 7-11-46

We were taught to work. We plow the corn, pick the cotton, and pull the peanuts, to help clothe and feed us all. One of us, George Washington Carver, a humble Negro farm boy, became a teacher of Negro boys and girls, and developed over one hundred different uses for peanuts.

The white people gave us schools, that we might learn to read, write and become more useful. For this we are grateful. We want our own schools. We do not need or want mixed races in schools. We don't want so-called social equality. And the back seats of buses and street cars are just as comfortable as front seats. We like them, and we are grateful.

We have our own Negro churches. We worship the same God as our white friends. We like our preaching by Negro ministers, and we like to sing and shout. White people don't have nearly as much joy or happiness in their churches as we do. We will always have our own churches, and for this we are grateful.

And when world wars come on us and threaten our nation, the Negro does not revolt. There was no passive resistance by the Negro. That may suit the black man in India, but not the Negro in the South. No, our Negro boys cheerfully entered the Army, to help preserve the democratic way of life. Negro boys lie buried in Italy and Germany; in Guadalcanal, on Saipan, on Leyte and Okinawa. We are grateful that they could serve.

We worked, and we fought, to help win your war, and our war.

Now the white man says the Negro can vote. We didn't strike to get the right to vote. The Supreme Court, composed of nine white men, gave us that privilege. Voting is not only a privilege, but it is a responsibility. We will do the best we know how. Good white people, won't you help us? —please don't hate us.

REV. J. T. DORSEY,
Pastor, Mt. Zion Baptist Church,
Atlanta.

One "Uncle Tom" Voted For Gene

The Black-Dispatch Oklahoma City, Okla.

Likes Jim Crow Setup Down In Dixie Sat. 8-10-46

When all of the Uncle Tom Negroes have gone to their damnation, peace may come to black folks down in Dixie. Almost to a man Negroes down in Georgia voted against the Negro hating, rabble rousing Eugene Talmadge, and yet one blind ediot with a black face voted for the man who says openly he will restrict the rights and citizenship of Negroes.

This strange human being bears the name of Joseph Winthrop Holley, 70-year-old founder of a Negro school, where for two generation he has been begging "his white folks" for pittances, and he says in an interview Talmadge will give the Negroes "a first class university."

In a recent interview this Uncle Tom 'fesser proclaimed;

"That would seem to show that the Negroes permitted themselves to be organized and voted in a bloc with the so-called race issue the only question before them."

The gray-haired Negro, graduate of Phillips academy, Andover, Mass.. Boston's Revere college, Lincoln university and Aberdeen university, in Scotland, then disclosed that he had voted for Talmadge.

Dr. Holley explained why he supported the red-gallused campaigner for "white supremocy," who had promised to eliminate Negroes from the Democratic primary. Black Dispatch

"Mr. Talmadge is sincerely interested in the common run of the people in Georgia, black and white. He will give my people a first-class school of the university type, and he will do it now.

"He believes as I do that it is for the best interest of all that the races in Georgia and the South should be in separate schools but the accomodations should be the same. Oklahoma City, Okla.

"The new governor has given the assurance that he will work out a long-range program for the

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

Bad Leaders

Editor Constitution: The matter of opposing Negroes voting in the Georgia white primaries is not a fight against the Negro himself as against those with sinister motives who would use the Negro vote to attain their objectives. These are largely those organizations and individuals outside Georgia of the agitator, radical types, such as Communists, and those who fail to understand the South regarding the two races. These groups would use slogans and prejudice as pretended friends of the Negro to get the Negro vote to elect those who would carry out their evil designs. Thus using the Negro as a cat's paw to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. Tue. 7-9-46

The people of Georgia and the South have brought the Negro along way since being freed and have gotten along on the whole vise of bad leaders more readily peaceably and would continue to than good leaders, for the bad do this if influence of Northern leaders would make them wild agitators and radicals could be kept off the Southern Negro. If the Negroes are not wise, they will be led into a trap by those unreasonable and wild-idea groups.

Since vast majority of Georgia Negroes are not prepared to independently determine how to properly vote, they would follow adviser of bad leaders, for the bad leaders would make them wild promises.

JOHN GOOLSBY.
Washington, Ga.

Teen-Age and Negro Vote Watched in Georgia Primary

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C. Sun. 7-14-46

(By The Associated Press)

Georgia voters, with new faces by the hundred thousand among them, will select a new governor and other political leaders in Wednesday's Democratic primary but they also will settle many a question on practical politics.

Georgians will be voting on state and congressional officials but they will be providing the answers to these questions being asked all over the state:

How will the teen-agers vote? How will the negroes vote?

These two powerful groups of voters will be voting for the first time in a state primary. The state constitution tells the 18-year-olds they can cast their ballots. The United States supreme court says the negro can vote.

There have been other forces which have piled up registrations which total unofficially 1,017,026. The returning veteran has marched in large numbers to the registration office. Absence of a poll tax has helped swell the lists.

Governor Arnall predicts 750,000 persons will vote Wednesday. Others have made lower estimates.

Nomination in the primary is tantamount to election. Voting in the state and congressional races will be on a county unit basis. Pluralities in all races except the governor's contest will determine the winners. In the governor's race if no candidate receives a majority the two high men will enter a run-off primary July 31.

The polls wil open at 7 a. m. all over Georgia and close at 6 p. m. except in counties of 200,000 and more when the closing time will be 7 p. m. Sat.

The heated governor's campaign, which has hinged for a great part around the race issue, has taken the edge off all other races. As usual, Georgia voters have shown little interest in statewide races except the gubernatorial affair.

The gubernatorial candidates are Eugene Talmadge and E. D. Rivers, both ex-governors, the bomber plant chief, James V. Carmichael, and Hoke O'Kelley, the veteran.

Georgians will vote on candidates for a brand new office—lieutenant governor—which six men want to fill for the first time.

In many counties voters will select state representatives and state senators to represent them in the general assembly. Many ballots will include entries for superior court judge and solicitor general races.

Voters will choose winners in nine state administrative races and one judicial contest. All statehouse officials have opposition except several of the appellate judges. One court of appeals judgeship is being contested.

Here are the administrative races: attorney general, controller general, secretary of state, superintendent of schools, state treasurer commissioner of agriculture, commissioner of labor and two public service commissioners.

Seven of Georgia's 10 representatives have opposition. In the congressional districts races have been spirited and issues have varied.

Contests are being held in the First, Second, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth districts.

Qualifications For Voters

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

(The following is by Roy Emmett, Editor of the Cedartown Standard).

While the question of voting is very much in the public mind—thanks to the attacks certain political candidates are making on the question of Negro voting—is a mighty good time for thoughtful and non-partisan consideration of who is qualified to cast a ballot and what should be done to regulate the right of franchise.

It should first be remembered that recent Supreme Court rulings giving the Negroes the right to vote was not and is not directed solely at the Negro. The Constitution prohibits the barring of any group or race from the polls. That is discrimination.

But no ruling of constitutional regulation prohibits any State or other political subdivision from prescribing qualifications necessary before a voter may cast a ballot. In Georgia, the State Constitution provides for a literacy test—the ability to "read and understand" a section from the Constitution of the United States—as a qualification for voting.

But the same Constitution provides for managers at the polls to instruct voters how to mark a ballot if said voters cannot read and write. Mon. 8-1-46

As a matter of actual fact, few if any counties in Georgia adhere to a literacy test in qualifying voters. But it is on the statutes, nevertheless.

We are very firmly of the opinion that any voter — white, black, red, green or mixtures—should not be permitted to cast a ballot if he or she cannot read that ballot. An illiterate person is not a qualified elector—regardless.

Personally, we've always been of the opinion, constitutional or not, that no person should be permitted to vote who was not a taxpayer. Every public officer is, in effect, a hired employe—paid a salary out of the tax dollars paid into the treasury by the property owners, the business establishments of the city, county or state—and those folks who pay the salary should, in all justice, be the ones who employ the official.

But that is, of course, entirely too radical — maybe unconstitutional.

But there should, by all means, be some definite standards of qualification of voters and in this Georgia, as well as all other States, has full and perfect authority to set up its own regulation. We can require that a minimum literacy test be passed by every voter before he is qualified, we can require that no voter will be qualified if he or she has been convicted of a felony crime; we can disqualify any voter who is under indictment by a grand jury.

We can, by intelligent thinking and planning, improve the caliber of Georgia voters to the extent that Georgia's elected officials will be men far more capable of serving the cititzens' of the State.

We cannot prohibit a man from voting because his skin is black or brown or yellow but we can demand that that man meet certain standards of citizenship before placing him on the qualified voters' list. We can do that so long as the white voters are required to meet those same standards.

Many Negroes Line Up To Vote In Georgia

ATLANTA, July 17— (AP) —Long lines of voters crowded polling places throughout Georgia today in the first Democratic primary in which Negroes participated.

In many places long lines of Negroes and whites were in line from the opening of the polls at 7 p.m., Eastern Standard Time. This heavy voting in the early hours indicated a record-breaking number of the more than 1,000,000 registered voters would ballot.

This was the first state primary since the voting age was lowered to 18 years.

In Greenville Sheriff C. H. Collier said seven white men burned a cross in Greenville's Negro section last night, the eve of the primary.

The sheriff said all seven were arrested and later released because "I don't know under what law I can prosecute them."

Collier said the cross-burners were from Manchester, Ga., and that one of the men was clad partially in a white robe.

In some places Negroes and whites voted in the same booths but at others separate ballot boxes were set up. The Negro vote was heavy in the large cities where most of it is located.

As the balloting proceeded, interested watchers were agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Acting upon instructions from the U. S. attorney general's office the FBI men were on hand in several strategic areas to prevent possible violations of civil rights.

Former Gov. Eugene Talmadge seeking his fourth term in the governor's chair, campaigned on a platform promising to "keep Georgia a white man's state" and take the primary from state control as a means of barring Negroes from future participation.

He warned "wise" Negroes to remain away from the polls.

James V. Carmichael, 36-year-old attorney and former state legislator who made the race with the blessing of Gov. Ellis Arnall, and former Gov. E. D. Rivers touched only briefly on the issue of Negro voting in their campaigns.

A fourth candidate for governor, War Veteran Hoke O'Kelley, confined his campaign to infrequent radio speeches in contrast to the heavy state-wide speaking schedules of his opponents.

Arnall Accepts Court Ruling On Negro Vote

Courier Journal Louisville, Ky.

Says He Will Not Call Session of Assembly

Fri. 4-5-46

Atlanta, April 4 (AP)—Governor Ellis Arnall said today that he would not call an extraordinary session of the Georgia Assembly "to do away with the county unit system and the criminal laws governing primary elections."

He said that if members of the Legislature want to assume that responsibility, "they have that right."

His statement was in answer to a question as to whether he cared to comment on action of the United States Supreme Court in refusing to review lower court decisions which upheld the right of a Columbus negro to vote in the Democratic primary election.

'Upholds Constitution.'

"The courts have spoken," the Governor said. "I call upon the people of Georgia to accept their decisions. It is our duty as good citizens to uphold the courts, the Constitution and laws of our land. As Governor, sworn to uphold the Constitution and laws, I will not be a party to any subterfuge or 'scheme' designed to nullify the orders of the courts.

"I am persuaded that the General Assembly would refuse to repeal the law providing a county unit system in our primary elections. This is the law that affords the small counties recognition in State political affairs. Likewise, it is my opinion that the General Assembly would refuse to abolish the criminal laws governing our primary elections. Should the criminal statutes be abolished, the people would have no assurance that the primary elections would not be 'stolen' by corruption and fraud."

Under the county unit system the candidate receiving the highest number of votes in each county gets that county's unit vote, and the state winner is decided by a count of these unit votes. Unit votes range from two to six per county depending on population.

SUMTER COUNTY DENIES CHARGES

AMERICUS, May 23.—There is no discrimination on the part of the Sumter county board of registrars against Negroes registering as charged in press dispatches Thursday, R. C. Moran, chairman, said tonight, adding that no registrant has yet been stricken from the registration lists.

The board of registrars, Moran said in a prepared statement for the press, "has not summoned any registered voter for examination save and except such registrants as those whose right to register has been legally challenged in writing upon constitutional grounds and the name of none of those called and examined before the board has yet been deleted from the list of those registered voters."

Continuing, the chairman's statement revealed "that no registrant has yet been asked to answer any question except such as are provided as the duty of the board of registrars to be propounded in order to ascertain and determine the fitness and qualifications of those questioned to become voters under Georgia laws.

"Every registrant is being accorded his or her full constitutional rights by the board of registrars as defined by Georgia law. This law is the only fair, just and equitable rule by which the qualification of registrants to become voters may be lawfully determined," the chairman's statement concluded.

Many Negroes Vote in Georgia Primaries

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Thurs. 7-18-46

Many Negroes voted for the first time in the Georgia primaries yesterday where interest centered on the contest for a successor to liberal Gov. Ellis Arnall. Arnall backed James V. Carmichael in a four-cornered race with two former governors, Eugene Talmadge and E. D. Rivers, and veteran Hoke O'Kelley. Nomination in the Democratic primary is tantamount to election.

Most Negro citizens were still barred from voting and due to Georgia's voting system the popular vote does not necessarily determine the outcome.

Each county has a certain number of unit votes and the candidate receiving the largest number of units wins. Three small counties with a unit vote of two each can offset the six unit vote of Fulton County (Atlanta) even though their combined population may be only 15,000 compared to Fulton's 300,000.

116,345 Negroes Register to Vote In Georgia Primary on July 17

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

ATLANTA, Ga.—As an aftermath of the Supreme Court decision permitting Negroes to vote, 116,345 colored citizens have registered to vote in the July 17 primary. The total registration in the State, including all races, neared the million mark.

The repeal of the poll tax and the extension of the ballot to 18-year-olds were two other factors in the increased registration. Sat. 6-22-46

Macon Progressive Arrested To Scare 10,000 Negroes

The Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 7-27-46

MACON, Ga.—The president of the Progressive Democratic Club here, a Macon businessman, blamed the disgruntled Talmadge political faction in Bibb County for his arrest last week on a charge of distributing marked ballots in the July 17 primary.

L. Marshal, prominent merchant and president of the Good Homes Development Association, who was released on a $2,000 bond after his arrest, said the beaten faction was trying to frighten the 10,000 Negroes in this Georgia area by making him the goat.

When Marshall was arrested by the Bibb County sheriff, he denied the charge. A deputy sheriff was said to have remarked prior to the businessman's arrest that he knew the move would not scare the Progressive leader but that it might "slow up the other Negroes here."

On July 17 when marked ballots were reported as having been found in Bibb polling places, the police arreested no one. At that time an official said he would press for an investigation by the grand jury.

Heavy Registration In Hancock County

Atlanta Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Tues. 7-5-46

SPARTA, Ga. — (SNS) The end of registration in Hancock County should see upwards of 700 names on the voters' lists. Registration of the group hit a rapid pace here on Monday and all day lines of them were standing in the corridors of the Hancock County Courthouse waiting to get in the Tax Collector's and Registrar's office.

Talmadge to Give Negroes University

Long Range Program Slated, Dr. Holley Reveals

Rome, Ga., News-Tribune
July 21, 1946

BY RUTH BRIGHAM

ALBANY, Ga., July 20.—(INS)—A prominent Negro educator, born of slave parents, today deplored the use by his race of their recently acquired vote in Georgia.

He regretted the solidity of the Negro vote.

Dr. Joseph Winthrop Holley, 70-year-old founder and President until recently of the Georgia Normal School at Albany, pointed out that nearly all of the Negroes who went to the polls in the Wednesday primary voted against Governor-nominate Eugene Talmadge.

In an interview with International News Service, Dr. Holley declared:

"That would seem to show that the Negroes permitted themselves to be organized and voted in a bloc with the so-called race issue the only question before them."

The grey-haired Negro, graduate of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., Boston's Revere College, Lincoln University and Aberdeen University, in Scotland, then disclosed that he had voted for Talmadge.

Dr. Holley explained why he supported the red-gallused cam-

Negroes Register In Increasing Numbers

Irwinton, July 5. Judging from the rush of prospective negro voters in the last two weeks an estimated thousand will have registered to vote in the July 17 primary when the deadline is reached today.

Nearly 300 registered the first three days of this week. The Tax Collector's office and the corridor was jammed Wednesday in a last minute rush to get on the list.

An estimated nine hundred negroes have registered to vote as of July 4th.

Passmore Militia District is said to have the highest percentage of registered negro voters, approximately 85 having registered from that small district. Normal white registration in the past in Passmore has been less than 100 white voters.

Churchwomen Back Negro Vote Appeal

Atlanta Ga. Constitution
Sat. 4-6-46

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Gov. Arnall has threatened to veto any possible legislative action abolishing the county unit vote and laws against election fraud. Senate Pres. Frank Gross, of Toccoa, has declared he will never agree to abolition of these laws. An Atlanta woman's organization has indorsed Arnall's position, which recognizes the right of the Negro to vote.

These were developments yesterday as House Speaker Roy Harris and Rep. James Dykes, of Cochran, a friend of Talmadge, continued their efforts to bring the Legislature into special session to retain the ban on Negro voting in Georgia primaries.

Arnall's veto threat came indirectly in a statement he issued yesterday pointing out that the State Democratic Executive Committee years ago "junked" the county unit system, and therefore could not be trusted not to do so again. Sat. 4-6-46

The Governor said: "I am persuaded that the Legislature will not do away with the Neill Primary Act. I am persuaded that it would be a mistake to do so. To abolish the Neill Primary Act would require two-thirds of the members elected to the Senate and two-thirds of the members elected to the House. These majorities cannot, in my judgment, possibly be obtained."

A simple majority vote of the Senate and House can repeal the primary law. A two-thirds majority is required to override a Governor's veto. Since Arnall said it would take a two-thirds majority to repeal this law, he obviously meant he would veto any efforts if they were successful in obtaining a simple majority.

Gross, a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor who caused a sensation recently when he went into Cracker Party Land at Augusta and opposed a special session of the Legislature, said yesterday: "I can never agree to abolishing the County unit system or to repealing the criminal statutes regarding elections. We must meet the issue honestly and intelligently. We have ample laws of qualification of voters to purge the list of voters." (The Crackers are opposed to Negroes voting.)

The Atlanta Council of Church Women yesterday passed a resolution indorsing wholeheartedly Gov. Arnall's stand in accepting the Negro's right to vote. 4-6-46

The resolution said: "Recognizing the responsibility of church members to function as Christian citizens in a democracy and believing in educational rather than racial qualifications for voting, we, the Atlanta Council of Church Women, hereby go on record as indorsing Gov. Arnall's stand in accepting the Negro's right to vote."

State Agricultural Comm. Tom Linder, who has urged preservation of the white primary, remarked that "if you believe in the Negro's right to vote, it necessarily follows that you believe in his right to hold public office." He said Negroes outnumber whites in many counties. White supremacy will be the controlling issue in this summer's political campaigns, Linder added. It will have to be, because it is a fight for survival, he said. Linder concluded that the candidate who remains silent will be classed as an opponent to white supremacy.

Atlanta, Ga., Constitution
July 18, 1946

Double Voting Forestalled At Muscogee

Constitution State News Service.

COLUMBUS, July 17 — Muscogee County's two elections proceeded smoothly Wednesday, with the only major irregularity being squelched before it could occur. Democratic Executive Committee Chairman Joe E. Chapman, Jr., said he had heard a report that supporters of an unnamed candidate were going to double-vote registrants in the McCrary District who are eligible to vote at either Nankipooh or Bibb City polls.

Chapman said this threat was forestalled by requiring registrants in that district to sign their own names when they voted.

By midafternoon a record-breaking vote, estimated at 12,130, of whom nearly one-fourth (estimated 2,880) were Negroes, had been recorded. Polls for Negroes were set up in the basement of the Courthouse for both the $1,950,000 bond referendum and the primary.

Negroes showed less interest than the white voters in the bond election, with only about half of the Negroes voting on the bond issue who voted in the primary. Three-out-of-five white primary voters also voted on the bond issue.

The ratio of Negro voters to Negro registration totals, however, was greater than for the whites.

Voting Breaks All County Records As White And Colored Mix for the First Time At County Primary Polls

Monroe, Ga. Times
July 18, 1946

Eugene Talmadge, three times Governor of Georgia, was elected for the fourth time Wednesday by a good county unit majority, and has won the race on the first ballot, it appears from returns in hand Thursday morning.

At that hour, with several counties to be heard from, Talmadge was leading with 234 unit votes, Carmichael came second with 152, Rivers third, with 18, and Hoke O'Kelley with none.

Carmichael was leading in the popular vote, however, with 206,052, Talmadge came second with 176,814, and Rivers had 36,933.

A total of 206 unit votes is necessary to nominate, so it appears that Talmadge has a good majority over both his opponents.

Marvin Griffin Leads

For Lieutenant Governor, Adjutant General Marvin Griffin was well out in front of his five opponents, Eugene Cook was reelected Attorney General, Ben W. Fortson Secretary of State, Dr. M. D. Collins, State Superintendent of Schools.

George B. Hamilton is again chosen State Treasurer, Tom Linder Commissioner of Agriculture, Ben Huiet Commissioner of Labor, Walter McDonald and Allen Chappell for the Public Service Commission, Zack Cravey for Comptroller General, and Hugh McIntyre for the Court of Appeals.

Other candidates for the Court of Appeals and candidates for the Supreme Court had no opposition. Neither did Congressman Paul Brown from the Tenth District, nor Judge Henry H. West, as Judge of the Western Circuit.

J. E. Briscoe, Jr., Wins

For Representative from Walton County, Mr. J. E. Briscoe, Jr., has won out over Mr. E. L. Almand, who now holds that office, and Mr. J. R. Bearden.

On the proposal to continue the sale of beer and wines in Walton County the voters registered an emphatic no.

The vote in Walton County was the heaviest in the county's history, and unusual interest was manifested in every precinct. Carmichael received a good majority in Monroe, but the large rural vote cast for Talmadge gave him the county by a 78 majority.

In Monroe district a total of 2,248 votes were polled, 1,731 white, 433 colored, and 84 absentee ballots. The balloting began as the polls were opened at 7:00 o'clock, and continued brisk until late in the afternoon.

In Monroe district Carmichael received 1,253, Talmadge 635, Rivers 276, and O'Kelley 40. A total of 2,599 were registered in this district, 2,193 white and 406 colored.

Many Thrown Out

A large number of ballots voted in this district could not be counted because they were improperly marked, and most of these were negroes.

Thirty-nine votes were thrown out in the Governor's race, 418 in the race for the Court of Appeals, between Butler, Church and MacIntyre, and 250 in the race for Public Service Commissioner between Chappell and White.

Consolidated Returns

Through the courtesy of Ordinary George A. Garrett and his son, George Garrett, Jr., we are enabled to present the official Walton County consolidated returns, which will be found elsewhere on this page.

Atlanta, Ga., Constitution

1,017,026 GEORGIANS REGISTERED TO VOTE; 134,351 OF THEM NEGROES

More than 1,000,000 Georgians are qualified to vote in next Wednesday's Democratic primary, according to unofficial and still incomplete reports.

An Associated Press tabulation yesterday showed a total of 1,017,026 persons registered. Of this total, approximately 134,351 are Negroes.

Officials of two more universities announced yesterday that all classes will be suspended Wednesday so students may return home to vote. Emory University and Mercer University are closing for the election. Car pools have been formed at Emory by students who will drive to their homes in groups.

OF, BY, FOR THE PEOPLE

Negro Offers His Hand In Defining Obligations

By GEORGE GOODW...

The words of Abraham Lincoln and the promise of an aged Negro to "cut off my hand for my government" Friday saved two men from disqualification in special hearings before Deputy Election Registrar Ellis McClelland.

More than a score of Negroes were present to be challenged by Horace H. Scoggins Jr., of Union City, and his attorney, Charles Bruce.

"Send Sons to Army"

After one man had been disqualified for felony convictions and a woman had lost her privilege of voting because she could not define a republican form of government other than to say her obligations to such a government were to vote, obey its law and send her sons to the Army, one of Mr. Scoggins' associates whispered to him:

"That's two up and two down. We are batting a thousand."

Joseph D. Burruss, a Negro in his midthirties, and John Baskin, 76, cut that batting average to .500.

When asked under what form of government he lived, Burruss answered, "A democratic form."

"What is a democratic form of government?" asked Attorney Bruce.

"Government of the people, by the people and for the people," was the answer.

Although the attorney sought disqualification on the grounds that America has a republican rather than a democratic form of government, Deputy Registrar McClelland ruled that the young Negro's knowledge of Lincoln qualified him.

Baskin, who walked with a cane and spoke with difficulty, said he did not know under what form government the nation operates, but he declared that he owned property and had always paid his taxes.

When asked what his obligations were to his Government, he held up his hand and declared proudly:

"To give that hand to them, if they need it."

Again the deputy registrar overruled Attorney Bruce's objections and declared the man fully qualified.

Fail to Shift Burden

As Friday's session opened Attorney A. C. Walden, who is defending all those challenged, declared that Mr. Scoggins should take the stand and prove his charges rather than have those challenged submit to questioning before any specific charges were set forth. He declared that the defendants were being made to testify against themselves and that Mr. Scoggins did not know any of those he was challenging.

The attempt to shift the burden of proof to the challenger was overruled.

Later Attorney Walden called Mr. Scoggins to the stand and attempted to question him on how many people he had challenged, why he was challenging them, and why only Negroes were challenged.

Deputy McClelland ruled that he did not have to answer the questions, and he left the stand after admitting that his signature on all the complaints was a rubber stamp rather than in his own handwriting.

Peacock Flays Negro Group For False Lynching Story

"False and apparently malicious" was the term Sheriff Julian Peacock used yesterday to brand a story from the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches of America which stated a Negro veteran had been killed in Macon "because he dared to exercise his constitutional right to vote." The story was carried on Associated Press wires.

Sheriff Peacock pointed out that primary day was quiet and free from incident in Bibb County this year and that there was no restraint whatever put upon the privilege of registration by Negroes. He cited ballot tabulations to show that more than 5,000 Negroes voted in the primary in which 23,000 votes were cast.

The officer expressed the wish that counter-demand might be made upon the Department of Justice to check on the person who made the statement that a Negro veteran was killed here on primary day and that person held liable under any law applicable.

The statement issued by the Negro church council, according to the AP, was contained in a resolution that asked President Truman and Attorney General Tom Clark to "bring the criminals to justice" for "acts of terror and murder" against six Negroes in Georgia and South Carolina.

The resolution referred to the lynching of four Negroes at Monroe and the gouging out of both eyes of a Negro veteran in Aiken, S. C. Aiken's Mayor H. O. Weeks reiterated a denial of the story that a Negro, Isaac Wooward, had been subjected to such treatment by Aiken police.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
Sept. 19, 1946

Georgia Negroes Register

In the last week or two several unsigned letters have come to this column asking whether or not there is a Negro vote of importance in Georgia. I know there is an underlying propaganda motive to the letters but I see nothing to hide. As far as I can gather from Georgia officials there are now 135,000 Negroes qualified and registered to vote in Georgia. When Georgia abolished the poll tax, the Negro registration took place.

I can't, of course, answer questions as to how many Negroes will register in Alabama if the poll tax is knocked out by the United States Supreme Court or the legislature. Judging by the population of Negroes compared to white, something like 150,000 to 165,000 Negroes might, would or could register.

But if a Negro measures up to the standard of a white, why shouldn't he register if his poll tax disqualifications are removed?.

Quitman, Ga. Press—
July 11, 1946

Will Provide For Negro Votors

Separate Booths Will Be Provided In Election

To facilitate the flow of voters at the polls here in Wednesday's election some of the voting booths will be shifted to the west end of the east and west corridor of the courthouse and these will be assigned for the exclusive use of negro voters, said Messrs E. A. Williams and J. J. Davis, Quitman members of the county executive committee. Two sets of voting managers will be named.

This will be the first time in years that negroes have voted in any considerable number in an election. No exact figures have been available as to the number qualified but it is said to be around 300 to 400. With the registration of 18-year-olds and negroes the voting list will be much larger and it was felt that opening up the other end of the corridor would avoid crowding and waiting.

Record Number Of Negroes On Voters' Lists

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta Ga.

Sun. 7-7-46

Warning Issued Vote Challengers; Some Withdrawn

Registrars of Georgia closed their books Friday, reporting a total 913,515 citizens qualified to participate in the important July 17th Primary election. Of this number, 118,387 were Negro registrants, most of whom have registered within the first six months of the year, following the action of a federal District Judge in ruling Georgia's Democratic White Primary unconstitutional and violative of the 13th, 14th and 17th Amendments to the U. S. Constitution.

Heaviest registrations were reported in Fulton, DeKalb, Bibb, Chatham, Floyd, Richmond, Troup and all of which carrying six unit votes. The total registration of Negroes in these counties is set at 50,347. There are 159 counties for the state with a total of 410 county votes. Sun. 7-7-46

COMPLAINTS POUR IN

Meanwhile, Negro leaders through out the state continue to report subterfuges and threats in newly registered Negroes. A. T. Walden, head of the State Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, stated that a number of lawyers are now working overtime to stem this tide of rank discrimination against the Negro voters. In one county alone, declared Mr. Walden, one man, regarded as a Talmadge henchman, is reported to have signed 700 challenges ,the entire Negro registration for the county, in an effort to keep Negroes from the polls.

One response to this legal service being provided member clubs of the State Association, was that the names of 700 Negroes, were restored to good standing in Ware County, where three members on the Board of Registrars quit in protest to the bias and rank discrimination in purging the names of Negroes and skipping over those of whites.

PROSECUTION SEEN

In Atlanta Saturday, Henry Troutman, prominent Atlanta lawyer predicted that the Federal Government will prosecute these county registrars for arbitrarily purging the names of Negroes from their lists. "County Registrars who are striking off Negroes without also purging white voters are flirting with terms in the federal penitentiary, Troutman said in an interview. Others who have voiced extreme disapproval of the rank discrimination, threats and subterfuges against Negro registrants include Austin Dean, editor at Gainesville, who condemns the "Talmadge Purge of Negro voters in Hall County, where over 600 have been stricken from the list. Active purging of Negroes only is reporting also in Sumter, Houston, Early and in Randolph Counties.

"If this purge story is right, Mr. Troutman said in his interview, it is a part of the plan of such challenges to frighten the Negro voters from appearing and defending their rights to vote, those who participate in such a conspiracy would be guilty of violating section 51 of the Criminal Code of the U. S. Constitution, which provides that if two or more persons conspire to injure or oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise of any rights secured by the Constitution or the laws of the United States shall be fined not more than $5,000 and imprisoned not more than 10 years. Notice that this section says imprisoned and fined. It requires that a prison sentence be given." Sun. 7-7-46

STOP NEGRO MOVE

In further clarification Troutman said: "The Georgia law requires that where a voter's name appear on the list taken from the voter's book, this is evidence of his right to vote." This is set out in the

Ga. Whites Fearful of Future Negro Vote

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sept. 7-13-46

Take Action to Prevent

Frank B. Snow, white attorney, revealed on July 3. Stating that about 825 colored residents already have been registered, Snow, representing the 20 signers of the challenges, contends that only about one-eighth of them are qualified to vote under the new State constitution.

The challenges, filed with the Hall County Board of Registrars, charge specifically that the new registrants do not meet the requirements which cover age, residence, character and ability to read and understand a paragraph of the United States or State Constitution.

GAINESVILLE, Ga.—Apparently fearful of the effect of the colored vote, a small group of white citizens has filed 240 challenges questioning the qualifications of all colored persons in the Gainesville District to vote in the July 17 Democratic primary.

Bias in Georgia: The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored Peoples has requested Attorney General Tom Clark to investigate the attempt to "purge" Negroes from the voting lists in Georgia, where former Gov. Eugene Talmadge is seeking re-election in Wednesday's Democratic primary on a "white supremacy" platform. Joseph D. Burris, among those challenged by the registration board at Atlanta, won his right to vote when he quoted Abraham Lincoln. John Baskin, 75, challenged to define his obligation to the Government, also was accepted when he held up his right hand and said: "To give that to them if they need it."

Associated Press Wirephoto

Pelham, Ga. Journal

105 NEGROES WILL BE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE IN MITCHELL

Information from the offices of the Board of Registrars of this county say they have completed their work of examining the registrant and that 105 have been passed and declared eligible to vote by reason of their ability to qualify under the state law.

In Pelham it is likely the negroes will vote at the F R & N. E colored waiting room. These quarters are well situated, and while it has not been officially passed upon it is very likely this is where the negroes will cast their votes.

About 100,000 Negroes Voted In The State

No Trouble Reported And Few Incidents Marred The Day

An estimated 100,000 negroes voted in a Georgia primary for the first time last Wednesday. In this county only 316 were registered although many more than that tried to register. In Quitman there were 179 and outside Quitman 137. Apparently no separate figures were kept at the rural precincts but in Quitman negroes voted in separate booths and 107 cast ballots.

No untoward incidents occurred here and none were reported in the county. Voting booths were placed in the east corridor of the courthouse and in the sheriff's office for white voters and booths were placed in the west corridor for negro voters.

The Associated Press report for the state said that more than 130,000 negroes were registered and it was believed their vote would run to 100,000. At Cochran it was reported a group of negroes left the polls when a crowd of white men "gathered around them."

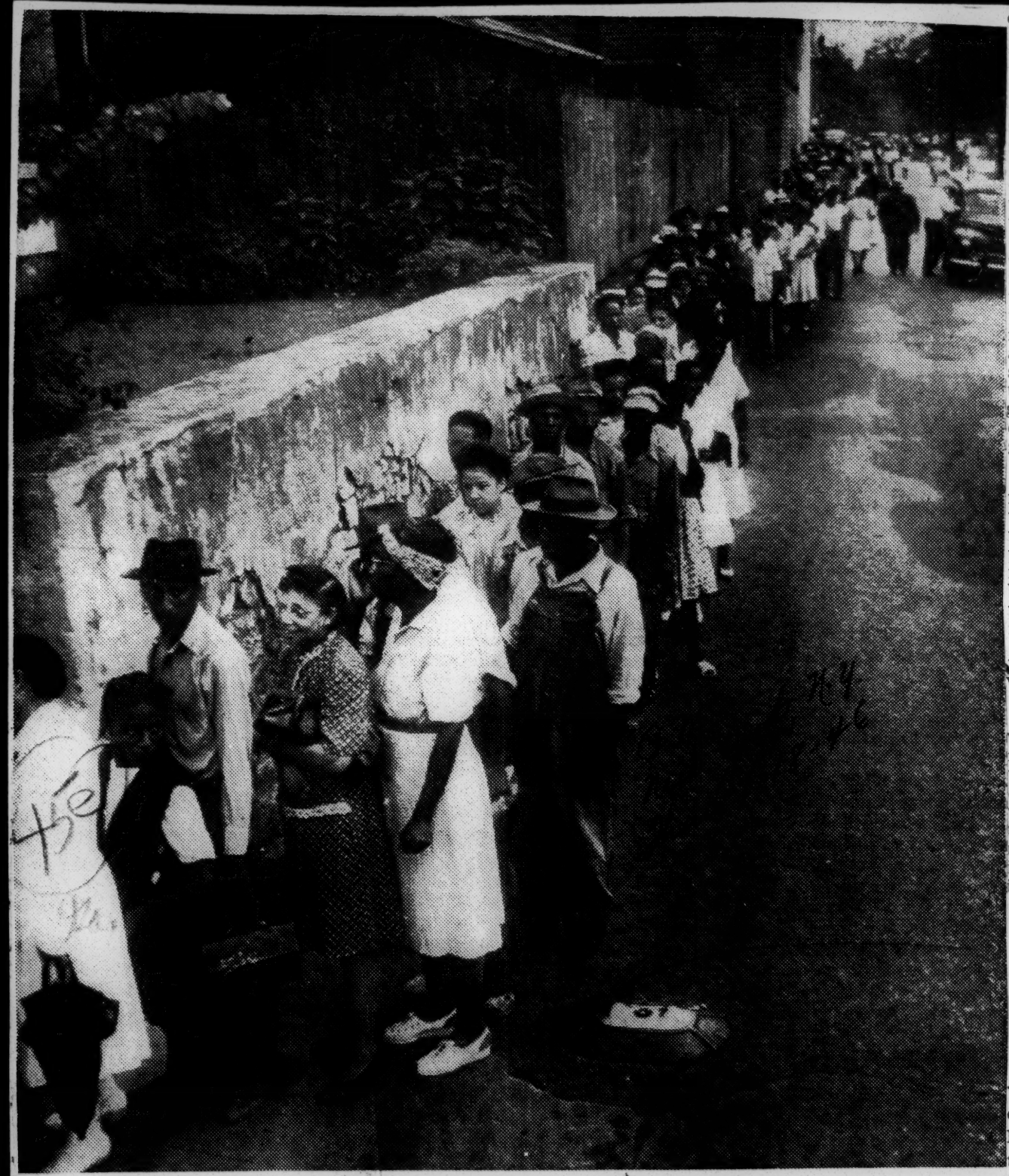
One of the gubernatorial candidates, Mr. Talmadge, made "white supremacy" his main issue and was echoed by Marvin Griffin who was a candidate for lieutenant-governor. Mr. Talmadge said he would restore the white primary although the Supreme Court has ruled that no one can be excluded from an election on account of color.

185 Negroes Vote In Spite of Threat

In spite of threats posted on the doors of Negro churches Saturday night by unidentified persons, most Negroes who were registered and qualified in the Fitzgerald precinct cast their ballots Wednesday. There was no trouble at the courthouse, where white and colored voting was separated.

A total of 186 Negro votes were counted, out of a few more than 200 who were qualified. More than 900 were registered, but most were stricken from the lists on challenges by County School Superintendent Newton Watkins.

Typewritten notices pasted on church doors Saturday night read: "The first Negro that votes in the white, democratic primary, in Fitzgerald, July 17, will never vote again."



Here are Negroes voting yesterday for the first time in a Georgia Democratic primary. This line was at Marietta, hometown of James V. Carmichael, who was trailing under Georgia's county unit vote system, though leading by popular vote for the governorship in early returns. Thousands of Negroes turned out despite warnings of Gene Talmadge, trying for a comeback as governor, to stay away from the polls. Talmadge was leading.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Talmadge Has Legal Loopholes Ready For Halting Negro Vote

Birmingham News Alabama
Mar 9-2-46

BY PERRY MULLEN

ATLANTA, Sept. 2 — (AP) — To make effective Gov.-Nominate Eugene Talmadge's white supremacy plank, the Legislature which meets in January will have available the examples of South Carolina and the constitution of Mississippi.

Throughout the campaign which preceded his nomination in the Democratic primary, Talmadge said from stumps all over Georgia that he would push through the Legislature a bill restoring the white primary. He would do this, he indicated, by asking the legislators to repeal all laws affecting the primary and leaving it entirely in the hands of the party machinery. In that way he and his followers expect to get around the United States Supreme Court decision which opened the Democratic primary to Negroes.

It has been estimated that 100,000 Negroes voted in the Georgia primary on July 17.

* * *

SOUTH CAROLINA last year repealed all state laws referring to the primary so as to insure against Negro voting.

The county unit system in use in Georgia Democratic primaries may be utilized as a constitutional handicap against the possibility of Negroes making their strength effective in the general election. For instance, in Mississippi, the county unit system for the general election has been effective since 1890. It provides that all Mississippi state officials shall be elected by county unit votes, with each county having as many electoral votes as it has representatives in the state House of Representatives.

The Legislature apportions the county representatives. It could thereby give smaller representation to counties with a large Negro population and at the same time increase the representation in the predominantly white counties. This was what Mississippi did.

Thus it is indicated that the Georgia Legislature, which meets in January, may be asked to repeal the law which makes the primary nomination for state offices on a county unit system and at the same time may receive the suggestion to provide for the county unit system of election in the general election. In Georgia's general elections the popular vote governs on a statewide basis.

Mar 9-2-46

IT IS OBVIOUS that if the primaries are left entirely to the parties the Democratic State Committee or state convention would provide as a party measure for nominations to be on a county unit basis, but this would be a party measure and not a state law, as far as the primary is concerned.

The Legislature meets on the 13th of January and Talmadge will be inaugurated the following day.

The Democratic state convention, which meets in Macon on Oct. 9 formally to nominate Talmadge, will frame the platform to carry out his campaign promises. The white supremacy plank is expected to be the most important and it may foreshadow what the incoming governor will ask of the Legislature on this subject.

Georgia Negroes Get First Vote In City Primary

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

ALBANY, Ga.—(ANP) — Negroes here will vote in the city primary for the first time in history Nov. 18.

White were unconcerned over this unprecedented fact when candidates met with the Negro Voters Club and pledged definite improvements if elected, and the city registrar offered further reassurance that only in the Fifth Ward do Negro citizens outnumber the whites.

Sat. 11-16-46

Participation in the primary marks the third time this year that the city's Negroes have voted, the first two occasions being county and state primaries.

Heaviest Vote Due In Liberty County, Ga

The Defender Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 6-15-46

McINTOSH, Ga. — The heaviest voting in the history of little Liberty County was expected here last week as a result of an intensive registration campaign conducted among Negroes by the Liberty County Citizens' Council of which the Rev. W. C. Shipman is chairman.

Two days before the election, it was reported that 1,340 had qualified to vote in the county primary. This figure was believed to be in excess of even the potential white vote.

This condition exists because Negroes constitute a majority of the population of the county. In 1940 the figures were 3,046 whites and 5,518 Negroes.

Tried Purge

Soon after Negroes began registering in large numbers, white politicos saw the possibility of Negroes dominating the political picture and sought to purge their names from the registration rolls.

All Negroes who had registered were summoned to appear in person to take a written examination, the results of which would provide an excuse to strike the names of most of them.

A protest against this procedure immediately was filed with Gov. Arnall. The very day that 200 Negroes appeared to take the examination the chairman of the county board of registrars received a letter from Eugene Cook, state attorney general, declaring that the procedure was illegal.

This county, according to Claudius A. Turner, field worker for the American Missionary Association, is one of the most unusual in Georgia.

Not only do Negroes outnumber the whites, but they own more property.

The financial status of the Negroes is attributable in a large extent to a flourishing credit union and two farm cooperatives that Turner had a hand in developing.

About five years ago, J. L. Jenkins, principal of Dorchester Academy, and N. R. Smith, one of the instructors, launched the Dorchester Federal Credit Union. Preaching the gospel of cooperatives, they carried on for two years until Turner was dispatched to the county by the AMA to stimulate the movement.

The academy, that had been privately financed and had outlived its usefulness, became the Dorchester Cooperative Center and under the expert guidance of Turner the credit union flourished.

Today it has assets of $7,000 and 300 members. Out of it has sprung two cooperatives: The Dorchester Farmers Cooperative, Inc., and the Retreat Farmers' Union.

The former, specializing in hay, crops and livestock, has purchased farm equipment that is used by the co-op jointly.

Retreat Farmers' Union owns 30 acres of land.

The Retreat Farmers' Union is more the economic standard of the Negroes in the community.

Increased production has raised the Negroes' standard of living more of them to Whites, realizing the possibility of children to boarding of it, conspired to have Turner completing their dismissed from his job and haled into court on charges of disturbing the peace.

Acquitted, he returned to Atlanta university where he had been studying during the summers, earned a master's degree in economics and was immediately employed by the AMA as a field worker. His first assignment was Liberty County where his work has won wide praise.

In five years the results of the project are already apparent. The machinery has liberated from farm drudgery many youngsters who are now able to attend school for the full season.

Raised Standard

While principal of Dorchester County Training School in Arkansas, he became interested in the cooperative movement and immediately set out to organize one of the Negroes in the community.

His first assignment was to Whites, realizing the possibility of it, conspired to have Turner dismissed from his job and haled

NEGRO VOTE PURGE HALTED IN GEORGIA

Times, New York, N.Y.

Federal Judges Grant Orders in Some Counties Against Taking Names From Lists

Sun. 7-14-46

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., July 13—A permanent Federal Court injunction was granted today forbidding wholesale purging of the names of Negroes from voter registration lists by Atkinson County registrars. Judge Frank Scarlett at Brunswick issued the order. Hearing on an injunction appeal involving three other south Georgia counties, Coffee, Appling and Pearce, was delayed until Monday.

At Macon, Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis continued "until September" a hearing on an injunction petition seeking to halt the disfranchisement of Negro voters in Ben Hill County. The ruling had the effect of continuing a temporary injunction granted earlier this week. 7-17-46

The court action highlighted developments in Georgia's Governorship campaign, in which former Gov. Eugene Talmadge is seeking election Wednesday on "a white supremacy" platform. James V Carmichael has the endorsement of Gov. Ellis Arnall. Former Gov. E. D. Rivers is in the running and Hoke O'Kelly, is also a candidate.

Registration at New Peak

An unofficial and still incomplete count today showed a record 1,017,026 voters registered, 134,351 of them Negroes. The total registration is about three times the previous record number.

Meanwhile, Negro leaders in Atlanta disclosed that the Justice Department was investigating complaints that Negroes had been purged from registration lists in thirty-one Georgia counties.

C. A. Scott, editor of The Atlanta Daily World, a Negro newspaper, made public this telegram from Theron L. Caudle, Assistant Attorney General.

"Re wire concerning the discrimination against Negroes in the registration process in Georgia: Please immediately furnish United States Attorney M. Neil Andrews (Atlanta) with all available information on subject. Complaints mentioned in your wire regarding other Georgia counties now having attention." 7-12-46

Mr. Scott and C. L. Harper, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had asked Attorney General Tom Clark to investigate alleged purging of Negroes from the voting lists i: Fulton (Atlanta) County and thirty other counties.

It is known that many registrars have refused to disqualify Negroes. The Spalding County board at Griffin dismissed challenges against 200 Negroes "because the charges were too general and the complainant admitted he didn't know the individuals whose right to vote he was contesting." Sun.

The Polk County board at Cedartown dismissed challenges against 199 Negroes, stating that it felt the tax collector had carried out his duties properly when he qualified the Negroes.

NEGROES IN GEORGIA CHARGE VOTE PURGE

Times, New York, N.Y.

Atlantans Ask Inquiry by U. S. Into 'Disgraceful' Actions Laid to 31 Counties

Trib. 7-12-46

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., July 11—Atlanta Negro leaders today called upon United States Attorney General Tom Clark to order an investigation of "disgraceful purges of Negro voters" in thirty-one Georgia counties.

At the same time, a petition charging a "Statewide conspiracy to disfrancise Negro voters" and asking for an injunction in four south Georgia counties was filed in the district Federal Court at Brunswick. A hearing was set for Saturday at 10 A. M.

These steps highlighted the day's developments in Georgia's Democratic governorship primary campaign, in which former Governor Eugene Talmadge is seeking to be returned to office on a white supremacy platform. James V. Carmichael—who has the endorsement of Governor Ellis Arnall—and former Governor E. D. Rivers are the other two principal candidates in the four-cornered race. The voting is next Wednesday.

Foes of Mr. Talmadge say that he has the support of the Ku Klux Klan and allege that Talmadge leaders are spearheading the campaign to purge Negroes from registration lists. Trib. 7-12-46

Hostile Examination Alleged

In a message to Attorney General Clark, the Atlanta Negro leaders charge that Negroes are being discriminated against, that no white voters are being challenged in Fulton County (Atlanta), and that those Negroes whose qualifications have been challenged have been subjected to "a most hostile examination" by Charles G. Bruce, former Talmadge office holder and chairman of the Fulton County Talmadge Club.

"We estimate that over 20,000 voters have been challenged, of which an unknown number have been disfranchised," the complaint reads, dealing with the State as a whole. "We fear this purge pattern wil lspread over the South, if not stopped, making the disfranchisement of the Negro more complete than it was before the Supreme Court decision."

The decision held that Negroes could not be barred from Democratic white primaries.

The complaints lists the thirty-ones counties and is signed by C. A. Scott, editor of The Atlanta Daily World and president of the Fulton County (Negro) Democratic Club, and C. L. Harper, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and executive secretary of the Georgia Teachers and Educational Association.

Challenges Said to Hit All

"In some counties, every Negro registrant is being challenged," it was alleged.

The Federal court petition in Brunswick was filed by Rufus Moore, Douglas (Ga.) lawyer, representing voters in Coffee, Pierce, Atkinson and Ben Hill Counties.

The injunction plea says that practically all Negro voters of the four counties have been notified by their boards of registrars to show cause why their names should not be stricken from the list of eligible voters for the July 17 primary. The petition said that "no challenges and notices to show cause have been sent to other than Negro registrants." 7-12-46 Tri.

Various reasons, the appeal said, were given why the Negro voters should be removed from the lists, some being alleged to be under 18 years of age, others as not having resided in their respective counties for six months, while others were charged with not being legal residents of the State.

NEGRO VOTE TODAY IS GEORGIA FACTOR

The New York Times

200,000 Are Registered for First Participation by Race in Democratic Primary

New York N.Y. Wed. 7/17/46

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, July 16—Candidates for Governor and twenty-six other State offices, as well as for the ten Georgia seats in the House of Representatives ended today campaigns which brought some of the most bitterly contested political races in recent State history. These aspirants, along with candidates for the General Assembly and for local offices, face decisions by the State's Democratic voters in a primary election tomorrow.

Greatest interest centers in the race for the Democratic governorship nomination, which will insure election in November. James V. Carmichael, who bears retiring Gov. Ellis Arnall's endorsement; Eugene Talmadge, who has been elected Governor three times; E. D. Rivers, twice Governor, and Hoke O'Kelly, a veteran of World War I, are contending for the governorship.

Challenge to Negroes Fought

Mr. Talmadge has warned Negroes to stay away from the polls. Sporadic attempts to challenge Negro voters and to causet he removal of their names from electoral lists have been made in various parts of the State, but these attempts seem to have collapsed under cooperative resistance of State and Federal officials. 7/17/46

Predictions of peace officers here are that there will be no intimidation of negroes when they vote tomorrow for the first time in a democratic primary in Georgia.

A note in pencil was found pinned on the door of a negro church in the outskirts of Atlanta this morning. It warned negroes to remain indoors all this week. It was signed "the Flying Unit, KKK."

M. Neil Andrews, United States District Attorney for Northern Georgia, turned it over to the office of John F. Trost, resident agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. Talmadge waged his campaign on the issue of white supremacy in Georgia, charging that white supremacy was menaced by permitting negroes to vote in a democratic primary.

Talmadge Program

He declared that, if elected, he would have deputy sheriffs search railroad trains entering Georgia to evict any Negro passengers found in Pullman cars. He also proposed to stop interstate buses at the Georgia line and force any Negro passengers to ride into or across Georgia in intrastate vehicles which have Jim Crow sections provided by Georgia law.

Mr. Carmichael's campaignpromises involved continuation of the kind of State government Governor Arnall has given. He told the voters that this included a policy of making the State live within its income without new taxes, except possibly for increase of teachers' salaries. He promised that new taxes, if needed, would be submitted to a referendum of the voters.

Mr. Carmichael was manager of the Bell Aircraft plant at Marietta, near here, which manufactured B-29's during the war.

Mr. Rivers promised an extensive road-building campaign and the extension of school and hospital facilities. He assailed Mr. Talmadge's administrations and attacked Mr. Carmichael as a friend and "stooge" of the rich.

Seven House Contests

Neither of Georgia's United States Senators is up for election this year. Seven of the State's ten seats in the House are contested. Representatives Stephen Pace, A. Sidney Camp and Paul Brown are unopposed.

Representative Helen Douglas Mankin seems to face the greatest opposition.

Georgia's county unit system of counting votes, added to the unpredictable number of first votes, makes the outcome of most contests uncertain. 7/17/46

The new registered voters number nearly 500,000. They include an estimated 200,000 young men and young women between the ages of 18 and 21. Georgia, alone of the States, permits voting at 18, the system coming into effect this year. Included also are an estimated 100,000 men and women who reached the former voting age of 21 since the last election and persons other than Negroes encouraged to register for the first time by the repeal of the poll tax.

The number of Negroes who are registered for the first time is estimated at 200,000.

Given the cool, cloudy weather, with only occasional showers, predicted for tomorrow, election officials privately estimate that as many as 800,000 votes may be cast. There are an estimated 1,200,000 registrants.

Under the county-unit system a majority of the popular vote would not necessarily mean the nomination of a candidate. It aimed at preventing control of State political life by the large urban areas.

The eight most populous counties of the State have six unit votes each. The medium-sized counties have four each and all the others have two each. There are 410 unit votes in the State. A candidate for Governor, for example, must win 206 of 410 unit votes to be nominated. If no candidate obtains that number there is a run-off between the two highest.

Savannah Parties Worked Vigorously For Vet-Negro Vote

The Courier-Journal, Charleston, S. C.

By W. D. W.

Tri. 12-13-46

SAVANNAH, Dec. 12: The political potential attributed to the veteran and to the negro was in bold relief here Tuesday in the Democratic primary election for municipal officers.

The Citizens Progressive league and the GI and People's party, bitter contenders for control of the city administration, nevertheless seemed in complete agreement on the desirability of capturing both the veterans' and the negroes' vote. Both parties made overtures to the two groups and both laid claim to the support of "the better element".

Spokesmen at the CPL headquarters charged their opponents with having attached the "GI" label to their party as an obvious and unofficial said the Veterans Progressive viduals.

ture of the camcratic primary, but that so long . The negro vote cast Tuesday was fresh from covthat fact was established, eannot quite as heavy as had been na's Democratic party was determined to gain aexpected, but totaled approximately attention given the votes available, be they blac8,000, slightly less than half the he sight of neor white. enrolled negro vote. The white vote with Democratic There were the expected allegiof approximately 16,500 represent- d the distinction tions at both party headquarte ed a little more than 50 per cent olina's all-white that the opposition was buying nof the white enrollment. Tuesday's gia's mixed 1946 gro votes, attempting intimidatielection was the first municipal pri- pression gathered and coercion and otherwise lowe mary in which negroes had voted. ing the dignity of the ballot. Each candidates and party likewise laid claim to having parties was that gained the support of the more sub- too pleased over stantial and thinking element having negroes vote in the Demamong the negroes.

Most startling feature of the viduals.

club was not representative of the Savannah veterans and was politi- CPL paign to a reporter fresh ering for the CPL South Carolina's primaries was the attention The American Legion, Veterans the negro vote. The si of Foreign Wars, Disabled Ameri- groes conferring with campaign head- can Veterans and other long-estab- party officials at camp lished veterans' organizations took quarters emphasized the of no part in the campaign and re- between South Carolina's fused to be drawn into the con- primaries and Georgia's troversy. Ultimate result of this primaries. The impressio stand and of the conflicting appeals in talking with candi- of the two parties was that Sa- workers of both parties vannah's veterans voted as indi- they were none too pl as a "group of thugs", one GIP of-

Registration for Primary Sets Record in LaGrange

LaGrange Ga. News
October 2, 1946

The largest number of persons in the history of LaGrange have registered for the forthcoming City Democratic Primary, Clarence H. Day, city clerk, has revealed.

Tabulation of all the names of persons who registered have not been completed, Mr. Day said, but between 5,000 and 6,000 persons have signed registration books at the city hall to be eligible to vote in the primary October 9.

Among those registering, between 800 and 900 were Negroes.

In some cases, Mr. Day said persons registered two or three times. A complete check is being made on all names of those registered and the total number will be announced as soon as possible Mr. Day said.

In the race for the position of city recorder T. P. May, J. H Dukes and Paul Pike are opposing J. L. Spikes, the incumbent.

For seats on the city council Robert Hammond, Bill Dunn and W. J. McDaniel are running against James G. Guinn, who is seeking reelection. H. J. Denham and R. E. McTigue are opposing each other for the seat on the council held by William H. Turner Jr., who has announced that he will not run for reelection. Frank Dickinson is opposing Paul Hammett, incumbent, for the third city council position.

AMERICA REVISITED

The Defender

Negro Wins Vote In Savannah

Chicago, Ill. Sat. 6-22-46

By ENOC P. WATERS JR.

SAVANNAH, Ga.—The national capital is further removed from the consciousness of the average southern white man than it is from the Negro who is inclined to regard it as a supreme and somewhat benevolent authority.

The federal court decision ruling out the white Democratic primary, therefore, meant little to the white registrar in the South until the Negro made him realize the authority back of the decision. The ruling did not decide the issue of Negroes voting in the primary, it just raised it.

White Democrats who thought they would never have to be concerned about the Negro vote in a primary, were frightened by the spectre of thousands of Negroes voting after the poll tax was abolished.

First a Trickle

6-22-46

When the first few Negroes presented themselves at the courthouse here and expressed a desire to register for the primary, they encountered no difficulty.

But when the trickle of Negroes desiring to register gradually increased into a flood, the white man began to regard the whole thing with genuine alarm.

According to the 1940 census, the only accurate gauge the whites had of this possible Negro threat, there were in Savannah 50,844 whites and 43,237 Segroes. For Chatham county the figures were just as uncomfortably close: 62,971 whites and 52,883 Negroes.

One day early in October of last year, several score Negroes who formed an orderly line in the courthouse to register were greeted by this sign:

AVOID TAX PENALTIES

Automobile or Personal Property Owners who have not made returns for State and County Taxes, BEFORE REGISTERING, should go to the tax receivers' office across the lobby.

Make declarations and return with certificates which will serve (1) to verify residency qualifications; (2) to avoid return to the courthouse; (3) to lessen tax penalties.

Pay taxes promptly.

Lines Renewed

Many, unfamiliar with the personal property tax, and others, not sure of their qualifications, were temporarily stymied, but in a few days the line of Negroes began to stretch out again to the dismay of the whites.

A second sign was posted, this one reading in part:

Ignorance of, or disrespect for law unfortunately makes this notice necessary. When you register you take an oath. Registrations are taken based upon answer to check and confirm the right to register. These answers will be verified. Any inaccuracies may lead to (1) Question as to validity of registration; (2) Another trip to the courthouse; (3) Rejection of registration; (4) or charge of perjury.

Meanwhile the heads of homes whose addresses had been given by members of the household who had registered began to receive official looking letters. They read as follows:

John Doe who registered at this office for voting states that he lives at your house. To complete the records you can assist him as a reference. As you do not appear to have returned your state and county taxes, and to avoid penalties, you should come to the Court House at once. Then you may give the information required to verify the registration of your lodger. Please bring this to be checked by registration and tax department Chatham County Court House.

Many of those who themselves had registered and felt that they were all set to vote were disturbed to find the following notices in their mailboxes:

A check of the information given by you when registering is inaccurate, incomplete or unsubstantiated according to the records or authorities that are considered acceptable to reasonably assure the validity of your registration.

You have shown your interest by offering to register. Your further interest is to be expected by compliance with this request that you call at this office to be advised of the necessary steps to remove any question or doubt as to the validity of your registration.

Fear Involvement

The long lines began to shrivel. Many who had been anxious to exercise their full rights as citizens began now to waver, not sure of the risk they were taking, and fearful of some involvement with the law.

The few brave souls who continued to show up soon noticed that the line moved very slowly. The simple ritual of registering became drawn out so that only four persons could be registered in an hour. Fed had the time or patience to wait so long.

By this time just a few more than a thousand Negroes had been registered and that figure instead of 12,000 might have been the number of Negroes now qualified to participate in the elections to be held July 17.

But something unanticipated by local white reactionaries occurred. Atty. Aaron Kravitch, a Jewish lawyer, appeared and sought an injunction in Federal court restraining registration officials from employing subtle threats and delaying techniques designed to discourage Negroes from qualifying as voters.

This surprise action announced to local officials the determination of Negroes here to see that the federal ruling was recognized.

Letters Stop

Even before the court ruled on the appeal, the signs came down, the letters stopped and the prolonged registration rite was reduced to a routine affair requiring only a few minutes.

Resigned to a heavy Negro registration, the whites took the only other alternative open to them. They launched a registration drive of their own with the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Civitan club, the Women's Civic Improvement league and various veterans groups taking the lead.

Principal credit for the success of the heavy Negro registration expected to reach 15,000 by July 5 when the books close has been given to indefatiguable John W. McGlockton, West Broad st., a grocer.

Modest, hardworking McGlockton, chairman of the NAACP citizenship committee, was unanimous choice of the Hub to head up its political action committee which was to spearhead the campaign.

The Hub was formed in March 1945 when 55 business and professional men responded to 65 invitations sent out by John Q. Jefferson, director of the USO, who saw the need for an organization of responsible men who could augment the work being done by the local NAACP.

McGlockton President

McGlockton is now president of the Hub, One of the most ardent supporters of the registration drive was the World War II Veterans association, headed by Grover Eubanks, that sponsored two mass meetings and distributed thousands of pieces of literature.

45e 1946 Georgia

INSPIRATION FOR WHOLE WORLD

Democracy Marching on in Georgia And End Is Not Yet in Sight

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta Ga.

AN EDITORIAL FEATURE
By WELLINGTON WRIGHT

Democracy is on the march again!

Here in the United States, it is the same long march that began before the days of the American Revolution—the march that has inspired hope in all the peoples of the earth.

In Europe, it is a march that received its dynamic inspiration from the French Revolution, a march that has gone at times haltingly, but always confidently and surely. Sun. 5-12-46

Elsewhere throughout the world, even in Asia and in Africa, that march is now in struggle to get on the way, the effort of the inarticulate masses to grasp for some of the human dignity which the philosophers of the ages have described as almost divine.

Thus, all over the planet, "from Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand," the march of democracy is either in progress or is in the throes of birth, a living symbol of the voice of multitude seeking to find its adequate expression. And nowhere is the end in sight.

MARCH EVIDENT IN SOUTH

In no place in all the world is that march more evident, more articulate, than here in the South. For here more and more people are going to vote in elections, to participate, many for the first time, in the activities which make democracy work.

Here, as elsewhere, it is a symbol of democracy revitalized, democracy resurgent, democracy on the long march to fulfill its destiny.

In the South, it is really a phenomenon and it arises directly from the decision of the United States Supreme Court to admit Negroes into White Democratic Primaries. In Georgia, an additional factor derives from the recent abolition of the poll tax.

It was inevitable that this identical situation should have come to pass in the South. Recent events have only pushed the time ahead for a few years. That being so, it is just as well to face the issue now, to face it and to solve it.

In Georgia, the new voters already have proved their political power. For in Brunswick, Augusta and Atlanta their votes were decisive in recent elections. In Brunswick and Augusta, they voted out the old machines and put new faces into the picture. In Atlanta, the votes of newly-enfranchised Negroes carried the balance of power in a close Congressional election.

IMPORTANT DECISION

The decision to permit Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries is an important one. But, important as it is, it is not nearly so important as the effect it has had. For it has forced thousands of white people for the first time in their lives to take an interest in public affairs, to exercise their duties and responsibilities as citizens of a democratic society.

Thus, in the days of the White Primary and the poll tax, the largest vote ever cast in a gubernatorial election in Georgia was around 350,000—this is a state with more than 3,000,000 people, more than 2,000,000 of them white! But, under the new dispensation, it is now predicted that the vote for Governor in the coming primary will reach 650,000, maybe a million. And that will be democracy at work!

Many other southern states also face a similar situation. And nowhere has it yet developed that the Negro is likely to put the members of that race into the seats of political power. What it will probably do will be to raise the level of Negro citizenship, a level that is now much too low for the welfare of the South and of the nation. In fact, only in the elections in Brunswick and in Atlanta did the Negroes tend to vote "en bloc." In Valdosta and in Augusta, they split their votes in about the same proportions as the white people. Sun. 5-12-46

BIG AID TO PROBLEM

It is quite evident, then, that, more so than any other event in the past 50 years, the granting of suffrage in Democratic primaries to members of the Negro race has gone far to solve a problem that for years has worried an increasingly large number of Southern white people, the problem of how to induce white citizens in the South to assume their responsibilities as members of a democratic community—in short, how to interest them enough in their civic duty to make them get out and vote on election day.

Now, what the white people of the South apparently could not do for themselves, the Negroes have succeeded in making them do. The present registration of 100,000 white people in Fulton County is sufficient proof of it.

In that way, as in other ways (such as the abolition of the poll tax), democracy is marching on in Georgia. And all indications now are that, with the enlarged electorate, the people of Georgia will get a better and a more representative type of government. And that is something which for a long time the people of Georgia have greatly deserved.

True democracy is the rule of the majority—and the white people of Georgia are greatly in the majority. So, why worry about the outcome?

CALIBER OF DEMOCRACY

The real worry should come from another direction. For, since democracy is always an experiment in government, always an essay into something just a little different from what has gone before, the real worry should be about the caliber of democracy, the quality of the people who make it work. And that, of course, gets down to the heart of the problem, the way in which the people of a democratic society assume their responsibility.

Obviously, here in the South that is a problem that should concern both the white people and the Negroes. For if people tend to vote "en bloc" on the basis of prejudices rather than principles, then democracy is in danger of failure. It is thus the duty of all persons of good will, especially here in the South, to see to it that this shall not happen here.

Naturally, in addition to the admission of Negroes to Democratic primaries and the abolition of the poll tax, there are other factors at work to increase the size of the electorate, to give increased power to the long march of democracy. The increase in the membership of the trade unions is a powerful incentive and, in particular, the CIO, with its Political Action Committee, has acted as a constant spur to enlarge the number of voters. Sun. 5-12-46

POLITICAL MACHINES

In the past, the primary factor which has made democratic society work has been organization. This has created the mechanisms of democracy. Unfortunately it also created the political machines which, especially in American cities, have done so much to negate the processes of genuine democracy.

Now, the CIO with its Political Action Committee comes along and embarks upon a nation-wide campaign to organize the unorganized voters. Its specific purpose is to organize members of CIO trade unions for political action. And, once organized, it seeks to channel these votes into movements that favor candidates which the CIO has indorsed. In recent elections, it has had some marked successes.

This movement already has gained much headway in the North and some headway in the South. At the present moment, the Political Action Committee is establishing headquarters here in Atlanta to carry on its campaign of organizaiton all through the South. And it, of course, will seek to take full advantage of the new electorate in the South, including the Negroes.

Obviously, this movement is going to lead to a counter-movement, an organization of those opposed to the principles of the Political Action Committee. And probably nowhere will that counter-movement be so strong as in the South. Sun. 5-12-46

NEW ERA OF DEMOCRACY

Thus, in the new era of democracy in this country, the people will see better and stronger political organizations and the time is surely coming, especially in the South, when no important election is going to go by default. Ultimately, one of the results will be the establishment of the two-party system in the South, a system that on many occasions has proved its worth as the guardian of the democratic principle.

As an experiment in government, democracy is very old. Long, long ago, Plato and Aristotle were talking, teaching and writing about it. The early Apostles of the Christian Church embraced it. Augustine, Aquinas and Dante advocated it. The great philosophers of modern times have explained and justified it. The Men of the Renaissance have glorified it. Montesquieu, Rousseau and Jefferson have immortalized it. Thus, democracy . . . marching on and on . . . the one imperial force of our times . . . dynamic and powerful solely because great men have expressed great thoughts and have penned them on the eternal scroll!

Why is all this so?

Simply because democracy does for the material world what religion does for the spiritual world, that immaterial world which is the Kingdom of Souls. In essence, it brings hope to the multitude—the kind of hope that makes men free.

DEMOCRACY A PATH

Like religion, democracy is a personal thing. It is for people, men and women. It is a path by which such people may travel to the goals they dream of. The hope it creates inspires ambition—and ambition is a conquering force. Thus, democracy helps people and, best of all, helps them both as individuals and as members of their society.

In the United States, the progress of democracy has been slow, steady and sure. At first, the Founding Fathers, fearful of the too-rapid expansion of the voting franchise, hemmed it in with many qualifications, the ownership of property being chief among them.

However, the lapse of years has witnessed a gradual lowering of the bars and hence an extension of the electorate. At present, there is a tendency throughout the country toward making character and education the sole qualifications for the voting privilege. And that trend is now evident in Georgia and elsewhere in the South.

WORLD MOVEMENT

This movement for the extension of the democratic principle, now so evident in Georgia, is only a part of a world-wide movement. No man now lives alone, no community now lives alone—and Georgia must participate in a movement that now tends to become universal. It is democracy resurgent, democracy on the march . . . democracy dynamic and powerful! Sun. 5-12-46

In the final analysis, it is an effort to improve the lot of all people—the effort to make our century "the century of the common man." It is an effort fraught with great idealism, great hope—and great danger. Clearly, the ultimate outcome depends on the people themselves.

All this explains why democracy still remains the most fascinating human adventure in all history. For it is now, as it always has been, simply an effort to translate into effective and constructive social action some of the noble religious principles we are all so adept at professing.

So, again, democracy is on the long, long march . . . and the end is not yet in sight!

Further Suits Now Unnecessary

Afro American

Baltimore, Md.

Solicitor General Makes Ruling Public

ISSUE SETTLED

Sat 4-13-46

All Primary, General Elections Now Open

WASHINGTON

Hailed as the most progressive step in the fight for a free ballot, since the Supreme Court 56 years ago outlawed the nefarious "Grandfather Clause," the Justice Department last week served notice that no longer can any American be denied the right to vote because of color in a primary or general election" will be subject to prosecution for violation of the U.S. Civil Rights Act.

Observers pointed out that the ruling makes it unnecessary for disfranchised citizens in such States as Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana, to seek long and costly redress through the Federal courts as was done in Texas and Georgia.

Any person denied the right to vote because he is not white, may file a complaint with the Federal Court and criminally has to file a complaint by the Rev. Primus E. King of Columbus, Ga., held that a party primary was an essential part of the State's election process and that party officials were in fact acting for the State in conducting "because of race or color." Under the order issued Friday, "any State or party official who attempts to prevent a person from voting because of color in a primary or general election" will be subject to prosecution for violation of the U.S. Civil Rights Act.

The 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, rulings on a suit brought by the Rev. Primus E. King of Columbus, Ga., held that a party primary was an essential part of the State's election process and that party officials were in fact acting for the State in conducting all them.

Mr. McGrath said the Department of Justice assumed that, by refusing last week to review the decision of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals and the denial of certiorari by the Supreme Court in a recent Georgia case, in which it was held that a party primary was an essential part of the State's election process and that party officials were in fact acting for the State in conducting all primaries and elections in all the States."

Mr. McGrath said the Department of Justice assumed that, by refusing last week to review the decision of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, rulings on a suit brought by the Rev. Primus E. King of Columbus, Ga., held that a party primary was an essential part of the State's election process and that party officials were in fact acting for the State in conducting all primaries and elections in all the States."

Mr. McGrath said the Department of Justice assumed that, by refusing last week to review the decision of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals and the denial of certiorari by the Supreme Court in a recent Georgia case, in which it was

decision in the Primus King case, the Supreme Court "let stand as law" its decision in an earlier Texas case, holding that the right to participate in a primary cannot be denied to a person because of color. Sat 4-13-46

Another spokesman at the Justice Department stated that inasmuch as primaries are party elections the biggest difficulty in enforcement of the law would doubtless come from them.

He pointed out that as a Federal agency the Justice Department would investigate every case where a person had been refused the right to vote because of color.

If evidence is found that such a right has been denied, the case will be turned over to U.S. attorney in the district involved for prosecution, it was pointed out.

Swiftly on the heels of the Justice Department's announcement of its future policy in regard to primary elections, two opposite views came from Southern States, Georgia and Arkansas.

From Atlanta, Gov. Ellis Arnall called up Georgians to accept the right of colored citizens to vote and emphasized that he would not be a party to a "scheme" designed to prevent a free ballot.

The "scheme" to which Gov. Arnall referred was the suggestion by former Gov. Eugene Talmadge that Arnall hastily call a special sesion of the legislature to repeal State primary laws.

"If the members of the legislature want to assume the responsibility they have the right," Gov. Arnall declared. He predicted that even if the legislators convened themselves they would not repeal the State's primary laws, since these statutes setup the county unit system through which sparsely populated counties are given equal recognition with more urban communities.

"Should the criminal statutes be abolished," he said, "the people have no assurance the primary elections would not be stolen by fraud and corruption." Sat 4-13-46

Just the opposite view was expressed by Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas ,who declared colored persons would not be permitted to vote in Democratic primaries in Arkansas this year and that the Justice Department "can crack its whip."

Speaking from Little Rock, Gov. Laney, nominal head of the Democratic party in Arkansas, blasted "we will conduct our primaries for State officials as we have always done."

The Arkansas Legislature last year passed an act which separated Democratic primaries for State office and those for Federal offices.

Legislators frankly admitted the act was designed to prevent colored people from voting in elections for State offices after the Supreme Court had held they could not be barred from voting for Federal officers in primary elections.

Georgia's colored citizens, for over two decades denied the right to vote in State Democratic primaries, tantamount to election, were jubilant over the Supreme Court's declining a review of the King case.

King had sued in the Columbus Federal court, charging that he and other qualified colored electors were denied ballots when they went to vote in the Statewide Democratic primary July 4, 1944, on the basis of color and race. Sat 4-13-46

Harry S. Strozier, white, of Macon, was principal lawyer for the Rev. Mr. King, a Baptist minister, while the defending Muscogee Democratic Executive Committee was represented by Attorney Charles J. Bloch, also a Macon lawyer and president of the Georgia Bar Association.

The Supreme Court apparently saw little difference in the primary as conducted in Texas where a ruling wa made two years ago and in Georgia.

Attorney for the defendents had contended that Georgia had no rules and regulations prescribing to the primary.

Strozier, however, had argued that so interwoven were the State and the Democratic party that the office of the secretary of the Democratic State Executive Committee was maintained at the State capitol.

Colored leaders generally hailed the court's refusal to handle the Georgia primary case.

ADVISE STATE NEGRO DEMOCRATIC CLUBS

In Annual Session At Brunswick

Savannah Evening

CONVENTION TO GATHER AGAIN JUNE 12

Savannah Ga.

In Special Meeting At Albany

Thurs. 5-16-46

Brunswick, May 11. — With the major topic of discussion centering around an increased number of Negro registered voters in Georgia and how best to secure them, the Georgia Association of Citizens Clubs met here today in its first annual meeting, the business session being held at the Boilermakers hall following the public welcome exercises at Risley high school.

The need for solidification of the Negro vote throughout the state was considered at length and much emphasis was placed on the proper evaluation of the various candidates who are running for state offices. The body felt it unwise to endorse at this early date, any gubernatorial can date.

In the midst of the afternoon session, business was suspended long enough for the body to listen in on the radio address by James V. Carmichael, gubernatorial candidate, in which he based his platform on "[illegible] and honest government." The liberal stand which the [illegible] Marietta te expressed on the race question was [illegible] applauded by the [illegible]

The meeting was attended by representatives from many sections of the state and was highlighted by the annual address of President A. T. Walden of Atlanta in addition to the formulation of concrete plans for increased registration

Thurs. 5-16-46

Mr. Walden told of the wide activities of the organization during its first twelve-months period, in which he mentioned the Roosevelt ten-dollar-per-plate dinner which was held last January in Atlanta at Clark university; the appointment by Governor Arnall of himself and C. A. Scott, also of Atlanta, as representatives from Georgia to the Freedom Day celebration in Philadelphia; the part the Atlanta Negroes played in the Fulton county elections of February 12, when for the first time in Georgia, or the south, since Reconstruction days, Negroes were placed in complete charge of an election precinct and in which their votes proved the deciding factor in the election of Congresswoman Helen Mankin; how the association participated in the Augusta election of last month in which Roy Harris, rabid Negro bater, was defeated in his effort to return to the state legislature; and how invaluable aid was, and is being, given to the various associate Democratic clubs throughout the state in increasing Negro registration. He also told how the association assisted Thurgood Marshall and Judge William H. Hastie in preparing brief amicus curi in the Primus King primary case, not only to uphold the lower court, but to award and extend that ruling to include all local privileges, which the Appeals court did.

In laying plans for increased registration between now and the deadline on July 5, it was decided to conduct an intensive campaign with a director for each of the congressional districts. County leaders will work under each director and a county committee under each leader.

The congressional district directors appointed are as follows: First district, T. J. Hopkins, Savannah; second district, Dr. J. H. Griffin, Bainbridge; third district, J. W. Cooper, Eastman; fourth district, L. R. Lyons, Barnesville; fifth district, C. A. Scott, Atlanta; sixth district, Lucius Bacote, Dublin, and L. Marshall, Macon; seventh district too few Negroes for director; eighth district, Dr. M. A. Cassell, Brunswick; ninth district, Dr. E. E. Butler, Gainesville, and tenth district, Dr. W. H. Williams, Athens.

A full time, paid general registration organizer was decided upon for the next two and a half months. An appropriation of $1,500 was made available for his salary at $250 per month and expenses. W. H. Wilburn of Augusta widely known insurance executive was chosen for this position. It will be his duty to travel throughout the state and assist the various communities in this registration campaign. Thurs. 5-16-46

While Atlanta, of course, reported the largest number of Negro voters, 25,000, and the most scientific method of securing registrations, yet Macon in proportion to its population, made the best showing, with 11,000 Negro voters. Savannah reported approximately 10,000.

In view of the need of getting as many as possible of the 634,000 potential Negro voters of the state registered, the association will hold a special meeting in Albany Wednesday, June 12.

The association maintains headquarters in the Herndon building, Atlanta, and its officers are A. T. Walden, president, Atlanta; Charles A. Moore, first vice president, Brunswick; E. J. Granberry, second vice president, Albany State College, Albany; E. M. Calhoun, third vice president, Macon; V. W. Hodges, secretary, Atlanta; L. J. Jones, assistant secretary, Moultrie; J. M. Atkinson, treasurer, Brunswick; Rev. J. F. Carter, chaplain, Albany. Thurs. 5-16-46

An Expert Speaks on the Primary Laws

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Charles J. Bloch, immediate past President of the Georgia Bar Association, is recognized as one of the ablest lawyers in the State. True.

Thus it was that, when a Columbus Negro, Primus King, brought suit against the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee for refusing to allow him to vote in a party primary, Mr. Bloch was retained by the State Democratic Executive Committee to defend the case.

Mr. Bloch studied the statutes at great length. He sought precedents and amassed all evidence obtainable pointing to a decision that Primus King and other Negroes had no right to vote in Democratic primaries. He argued the case—and, by his opposing counsel's admission, argued it well—before a native Georgian, Judge T. Davis of the Macon Division of the U. S. District Court. 5-21-46

Losing there, he appealed to the New Orleans Circuit Court where, in a decision Judge Samuel [illegible] refused to hear the case, thereby upholding the Negroes' right to participate in primaries which are tantamount to general elections. 5-21-46

Thus Charles J. Bloch knows, better perhaps than anyone else, the ins and outs of Georgia's primary laws. And Mr. Bloch and others who know something about law see in his half-baked plan? 5-21-46 says there is no way to retain a white primary in Georgia without opening the door to election frauds and jeopardizing the county unit system.

With all statutes pertaining to primaries repealed, says Mr. Bloch, ballot box irregularities would be invited and unfair election practices encouraged.

Strange, isn't it, that the candidate who is all out for removing the safeguards from our primary system never touches on the dangers which Mr. Bloch and others who know something about law see in his half-baked plan?

Georgia Split on Vote Issue Despite Supreme Court Ruling

(SPECIAL TO THE AFRO)

ATLANTA.—Georgia is split wide open today on the racial issue. Once again, on the verge of a State-wide political campaign, the question of the white primary is uppermost in the minds of all citizens of the State. There are two opinions prevailing, that of the liberal element headed by the present Governor Ellis Arnall and the pro-white group headed by former Governor Eugene Talmadge. Known far and wide for his stand on the color question, Talmadge has indicated that he is going to run for re-election as Governor opposing whatever candidate is endorsed by the incumbent—using the racial issue as his main platform. Sat 4-20-46

Recently the United States Supreme Court ruled that all voters were eligible to participate in the Georgia primaries, which as in all other poll-tax States is equivalent to election to office.

Arnall Adamant

Refusing to call a special session of the State Legislature to circumvent the Supreme Court decision, Governor Arnall recently called upon the voters to give minority group citizens a chance to show how the system will work.

Talmadge, on the other hand, absolutely refuses to give the decision a chance to work and has called for an immediate session of the Georgia State Legislature to devise ways and means of continuing the "white primaries."

Lily-White Platform

In a statement of his intentions, Talmadge recently outlined his platform, declaring:

"The most important issue of all now faces the people of Georgia and of the Southland—the Democratic white primary. Alien influences and communistic influences from the East are agitating social equality in our State.

"They desire others to participate in our white primary in order to destroy the traditions and heritages of our Southland. They desire to pass the FEPC law and to defeat our Southern Senators and Congressmen who have opposed the FEPC. Sat 4-20-46

"They seek policemen, office-holders, tax assessors and many other offices, Federal, State and local, that are held by the white people of this State.

Would Protect Group

"If elected Governor, I shall see that the traditions which were fought for by our grandparents are maintained and preserved.

"I shall see that the people of this State have a Democratic white primary unfettered and unhampered by radical Communists and alien influences.

"Colored persons should be protected under the law. They should have good schools, the opportunity to work, protection of our health laws, the right to earn and make a living and educate their children, but they should not participate in our Democratic white primary in the Southland.

"We must protect them from the Communist organizations and alien influences. Their best friends are their Southern friends. Their best friends in Georgia are their white neighbors and white public officials and citizens in the community in which they live."

Returns to First Love

State Commissioner of Agriculture Tom Linder, a former supporter of Talmadge, who deserted him to support Governor Arnall, now has deserted Arnall on the vote question and has said he would vote for the candidate favoring a white primary.

Linder also assailed Governor Arnall for eliminating the poll-tax and for his letter to Mrs. Roosevelt "insulting men of Georgia who were responsible for Mrs. Roosevelt's not coming to Georgia to address a mixed audience in the city auditorium in Atlanta."

Linder is not expected to seek the Governorship, but his influence will throw a number of votes to the candidate supporting white primaries.

Bias Hit by Ga. Press

The North Georgia Tribune at Cantan has come out flatly in favor of "people of all races" to vote. Says the Tribune, "The old question of open primaries has arisen again in Georgia. Sat 4-20-46

"By the publicized statements of opponents who have a mania to adhere to a democratic form of Government, yet are willing to defeat the first principle of democracy, we are reminded that the old witch-hunting spirit still lingers to hinder progressiveness.

"The intemperance of some racial relation reformers in the nation's capital and the intolerance of fanatical racial subjugators in the South have set the nation at odds, and until all races are regarded as the human race, there is little hope for humanity."

New Registration Highs

In Atlanta, there has been a general rush for registration with a new high being reached compared with other years.

It is estimated that of the 75,000 persons registered, about 10,000 are colored voters, many registering for the first time.

This alarm the "ins" for unusually large registrations usually means turn over in office holders.

One-Fifth in Augusta

In Augusta, also, registration hit a new high of 26,442 against a normal registration of from 12 to 15 thousand persons. Of those registering, 21,825 were white and 4,617 colored, approximately 20%.

What counts most is the fact that the latter are heavily concentrated in segregated areas and thereby will have practically a 100% decision in the election of city and State representatives from their areas!

Outsiders regarding the strife in Georgia are coolly calculating the causes and outcome. Two writers say colored voters already had a part in the ousting of unfavorable representatives, citing the case of Martin Dies.

3 States Stand Alone

Only three States will keep white primaries and white elections this year, it is reported. They are Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina. In some areas of these States, voting has been open.

However, in all three States, during the immediate future, colored voting will undoubtedly be much rarer, more local and more sporadic than white voting.

It is important that eight States which formerly had white primaries now have primaries in which some previously restricted voters will participate. Sat 4-20-46

Rankins in Frenzy

"All of this drives Southern Democrats of the type of John Rankin of Mississippi," say Joe and Stewart Alsop," into a sort of incoherent frenzy."

Quoting a typical Southerner, they said recently, "It's a Communist plot,' he said. 'That's what I know about it. They'll be down there buying elections. They'll try to give the n---r a vote. No n---r will ever run against me.

" 'Of course, we slipped up once. We let them beat Martin Dies and Joe Starnes. We're all asleep at the switch. They're taking over the country; we got to stop them if we want this country.'

Ulimatum for Future

"There was more than a trace of evident fear in remarks which were delivered in a tone half-way between a yelp and a bellow.

"Every sensible Southerner joins every Northerner who does not belong to the lunatic right in regarding Rankin as one of the least appetizing figures in American politics.

"If the CIO campaign is successful, the days of Rankins are numbered in most parts of the South. But if it fails, it will confirm the power of the Rankins and their kin in many areas and it will make them a lot worse."

The question is: "Will the people register and vote?"

THE WALTON TRIBUNE

Prejudice and Passion Flame

(Editor's Note: Ralph Jones is on vacation.)

Constitution

The Tribune has had little to say regarding Negroes voting in the July State white primary because we realized that the Supreme Court of the United States had decreed they could vote, and nothing we might say would or could alter that decree.

This fact is recognized by all the candidates in the gubernatorial campaign, and by a majority of the people, but the Negro appears to be the principal basis for the entry of Eugene Talmadge in the race.

The publisher of this paper supported Eugene Talmadge in two of his races, but left him at his second nominating convention because those running the convention made a bitter attack upon President Franklin D. Roosevelt, even though Talmadge had previously assured me that he would "hands off" the President.

Sunday 6-23-46

Shame and Disrepute

Most everyone will agree that Talmadge made a good Governor during his first term, but later on, drunk with power, he assumed the position of a dictator, and was guilty of several acts which brought shame and disrepute to the State .

Aside from numerous promises which will be impossible of fulfillment even should he be elected, Talmadge's main plank in his present race is an attempt to array the whites against the blacks, and fomenting race hatred which could easily result in trouble among peace loving people, even before the primary.

And yet, Talmadge knows, as we know, and everyone knows, it is impossible to bar the Negro from voting in the approaching primary, for the reason that the Suprem eCourt declares he is entitled to that privilege ,and the Department of Justice has said it would prosecute any person attempting to keep him from voting.

Atlanta, Georgia

Ridiculous Proposal

Any pretense the the State of Georgia could pass laws or regulations to prevent the Negro from voting is too silly to consider, as the State would be powerless to nullify any act of the highest court in the land.

Now it is being proposed to abolish all State election laws and permit the whites and the blacks to have separate primaries in which they could register their choices.

Abolishing present laws would probably result in wholesale graft and corruption, and the suggestion for separate primaries might also result in confusion and trouble.

Many of our people probably havent' thought of it, but a number of Georgia counties have more Negroes than whites, and in these counties it would be possible for the Negroes to nominate and later elect all the county officers if they voted in a colored primary.

Sunday 6-23-46

And in State elections it would be possible for them to vote for Negro nominees for Governor and State House officers, and send Negro delegates to the State convention.

Under the circumstances, it appears for better to obey the law as defined by the Supreme Court and let the Negro vote in the white primary, where he will be under the restraint of white people, and in many cases, will follow their suggestions as to voting.

New Georgia Laws Bring on a Rush Of First Voters

By James T. Howard

The Associated Press forecasts that voters in Georgia's July 17 primary may exceed a million. An AP survey of county tax collectors shows that 897,067 voters, including 116,345 Negroes, have already registered, which is more than double the total four years ago.

Sun. 6-16-46

The sharp increase is attributed to three causes: repeal of the poll tax, extension of the franchise to 18-year-olds and a Supreme Court decision permitting Negroes to ballot in a Democratic primary. New

A letter from a Bainbridge World 'Constitution' in Latin." subscriber referring to reported Other results from over the practices at Blakely in Early County states: state have been reported.

Press Exposure Of Registration Bars Achieves Results

Atlanta Journal

(COLUMBUS, Ga.—(NNS).—The press exposure of crippling and hindering tactics employed by some Georgia registrars against prospective Negro registrants has brought about results

white registrants, numbering 333,000 alone exceed the total vote cast in the 1942 race for Governor when progressive Ellis Arnall ousted reactionary Eugene Talmadge.

Meanwhile, in a speech at Commerce, Ga., Assistant State Attorney General Ben Duke asserted that undercover agents within the Ku Klux Klan had reported that Klansmen were plotting a pre-

"Since these men have been exposed through the press, they are doing much better. They had a most vicious manner in eliminating the prospective registrants. All forms of fake tests were used. One registrant was given a Latin Grammar and told to interpret

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

White Registrants Lead Negro Voters Seven to One

White voters outnumber Negro registrants by a ratio of seven to one, a survey of registration lists throughout the State by the Associated Press has revealed. Excluding the five "big city" counties, the ratio is nine and half to one.

With the approaching July 17 state-wide Democratic primary being the first in which Negroes will have the right to vote, the survey showed 780,722 white persons registered, 116,345 Negroes for a total of 897,067.

Further registrations are possible in all Counties except Fulton, the books in that County having closed June 5, a month before the deadline in other Counties.

An analysis of the survey shows that the heaviest concentration of Negro registrants is in the traditional "big city" counties of Fulton (Atlanta), Bibb, (Macon), Chatham, (Savannah), Muscogee (Columbus), and Richmond, (Augusta).

In these counties, the preponderance of white registrants to Negroes is approximately three and a half to one, with 188,717 white registrants, 55,187 Negroes for a total of 243,904.

The exclusion of these five counties from the list leaves the following figures for the other 154 counties of the State:

White	592,005
Negro	61,158
Total	653,163

This means that outside the "big city" counties, the white vote holds an edge of about nine and a half to one over the Negro vote. Slightly more than half the Negro vote is distributed between these 154 counties.

The five "big city" counties control 30 of the unit votes of the State's 410 in the primary election, leaving 380 for the other counties.

In only one county of the State does the Negro registration approach the number of white registrants. This is Liberty County, which reported 1,470 white registrations and 1,330 Negroes.

In six counties—Webster, Dawson, Fayette, Forsyth, Towns and Union—the survey showed no Negro registrants.

Negro Vote Ban Rumors Are Probed by Cowart

MACON, Ga., June 15—(AP)—United States Dist. Atty. John Cowart said Saturday investigations were being made to determine whether Negroes seeking to register for voting in the Democratic White Primary have been disqualified illegally in some Georgia counties.

Explaining that he could make no specific statement at this time regarding such allegations, Cowart added:

"We are vitally interested in seeing that the rights of Negroes are protected."

Charges of disfranchisement of Negroes have arisen at intervals since the United States Supreme Court recently upheld their right to vote in Georgia primaries. County officials have denied the charges.

Andrews Says He'll Study Complaints

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Tuesday 6-18-46

Citizens Of Both Races Complaining Of Denials, He Says

The office of District Attorney M. Neil Andrews is investigating numerous complaints that in several counties both white and Negro people are being refused the right to register for voting in the state Democratic primary of July 17.

Mr. Andrews also reported that further complaints are being received that whites and Negroes are being arbitrarily purged from the list of qualified voters.

From Rome, meanwhile, came word Monday that petitions challenging the right of 150 Negroes to vote July 17 were filed with Floyd County Board of Registrars by Vaughn Terrell, solicitor of the Floyd City Court.

6-18-46

The solicitor was quoted as saying he would file 150 similar challenges daily until the total of some 1,200 Negro registrants in Floyd have been challenged. He further declared his intention of checking criminal records there "for 50 years back" and of asking the registrars to strike from the lists the name of any Negro who has been convicted of a felony or a crime involving moral turpitude.

District Attorney Andrews said he had received no official notification of Mr. Terrell's action, although Floyd County is in Mr. Andrews' district.

A prepared statement by Mr. Andrews said partially:

"It is my duty to investigate all complaints reaching this office that charge an illegal denial of the right of a citizen to register or to vote and in proper cases to bring criminal action against those who deny or attempt to deny the lawful exercise of the right to vote.

In Sumter County, meanwhile, a group of Negroes was planning civil action in the courts against the Board of Registrars there, charging that some 600 of their race had been stricken from the list in that county.

6-18-46

Middle Georgia District Attorney John P Cowart revealed in Macon, Saturday that his office investigating similar complaints in that section.

More Negroes Are Registering In Washington County

Daily World

SANDERSVILLE, Ga. — (SNS) — Negroes comprise 21 per cent of Washington's County's registered voters and make up 60 per cent of the total population. The list totals 5,137 of which 4,048 were white and 1,089 were Negroes. This represents an increase of 593 during the past month.

Atlanta

The 136th precinct, Buncombe, has more Negroes than whites registered. It lists 26 Negroes and 19 whites.

Vote Buying In Macon Hit

Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

MACON, Ga.—(ANP)—The steering committee of the Bibb County Progressive Democratic Club adapted resolutions last week asking for the cooperation of "the good white people of this country" to use their influence in the eradication of vote buying and selling in the forthcoming primaries.

The resolutions stated: "Buying and selling of alleged influence and buying and selling of votes do not contribute to clean politics or sound government. The club members believe in clean politics and recognize our part of the responsibility in keeping our city, county and State elections on a high level." They further stated "that we seek the good will and the offices of the good white people of this country to use their influence to keep unscrupulous white people and unscrupulous Negro people from buying and selling votes."

5-18-46

L. Marshall is president of the Bibb County Progressive Democratic Club; Frank Hutchins Sr., is secretary and Dr. D. T. Walton is chairman of the resolutions committee.

Separate Polling Places For Whites and Negroes, Careful Purge of Voting List Is Urged

Valdosta, Ga., Daily Times, June 12, 1946

Interest in Coming Democratic Primary Is High Here; Large Number of Negroes, Some Whites Have Been Found "Illiterate."

Keen interest in ballot-casting by qualified voters in Lowndes is evident as time for the forthcoming July 17 democratic primary draws near, and county officials expressed confidence today that a record number of voters will be eligible to participate in spite of the fact that a resolution was unanimously adopted at a recent meeting of the Board of County Commissioners calling for a careful purge of the voting list by the Board of Registrars.

A large number of Negroes are expected to cast ballots, and in view of the crowded conditions that undoubtedly will take place at the polls the Board of County Commissioners also unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the Lowndes County Democratic Executive Committee to as far as possible provide separate voting places for whites and Negroes.

Meanwhile, it was pointed out by Tax Commissioner Jeff Davis, in charge of registration, that a large number of Negroes, appearing at the court house to register to vote have been found "highly illiterate" and therefore disqualified as voters.

A number of whites, although fewer than the Negroes, also have been found disqualified due to illiteracy.

The two resolutions adopted by the Commissioners, in full, were drawn up as follows:

Be it resolved by the Board of Commissioners of Roads and Revenues of Lownds County, Ga. and it is hereby resolved by authority of the same, as follows:

That, for obvious reasons, the Lowndes County Democratic Executive Committee, is herby respectfully requested, as far as it is possible to do so, to provide separate voting places for whites and Negroes in the Democratic Primary to be held July 17th.

Unanimously adopted.

Be it resolved by the Board of Commissioners of Roads and Revenues of Lowndes County, Ga., and it is hereby resolved by authority of the same: That, as we now have the largest registration of voters in the history of the county, and that they will with difficulty be provided with facilities to vote: We respectfully request that the Board of Registrars of the county purge said list of voters with great care, so that the voters actually qualified to vote may not be denied that privilige, and that only those legally qualified be permitted to vote.

Resolution unanimously adopted in open meeting.

Wood, Aldredge Doyal Victors In Balloting

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed.

Voters Also Indicate Choice Of County Manager

6-5-46

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES

Negroes voted for the first time in Fulton County primary Tuesday and reports from precincts where they are registered in large numbers indicated the voted steadily about Fifty-Percent voted. No disorders are reported during the election.

They were out early in the 7 a. m. to 7 p. m. balloting and their lines kept up steadily throughout the day. Ward managers in the most heavily concentrated areas said they outnumbered whites four to one. The interest was particularly encouraging for leaders who fought for their inclusion in the primary voting heretofore open only to white electors and always tantamount to election.

At Ashby Street (E. R. Carter) School, pooling place of 3-B predominantly Negro precinct, 2488 of the 6,300 registrants voted during the 12-hour period. Also here one of the successful candidates R. L. Doyal received the majority vote of 1483 again his opponent Ellis B. Barrett who polled only 834 votes.

There was no election machine at 3-B, although the precinct has one of the heaviest registrations of any in the city. Mr. Sharp predicted it would be late before his finaling votes was complete.

Talley was likewise heavy going at ballots was being cast by Negroes in the Precinct F of Ward 5, located at through the late afternoon, when the group at the Forrest Avenue School. In the white registrants reported in larger 4-A. There were the nine voting First Ward at Precinct E located numbers. At other polling places machines in operation there which at the Milton Avenue School, the of the First Ward--at the Court- the voters operated with ease and manager reported that during the house, the Ed S. Cook School, on pleasure. It has been stated that the entire 150 machines purchased by the City of Atlanta and Fulton County will be in operation and use at the "heavy" precinct places on July 17, date of the state primary.

Memorial Drive, the Georgia Ave. School--voting by Fulton County was heavy. There was considerable voting by a group at the Lee Street School. There were the nine voting lines in operation there which voters operated with ease and pleasure. It has been stated that

A Safeguard Against Omission From The Voters' List

4-30-46
Atlanta Ga. Daily World

In the April 25th issue of the Statesman, Ex-Governor Talmadge is urging the Tax Collectors and white citizens all over the state to purge the names of Negroes on the registration lists.

All the laws regarding registering and voting were published, including the following law: Georgia Code Section 34-605. "List Open to Inspection; Proceeding to Contest Right to Register.—The list from the voters' books furnished by the Tax Collector to the Registrars shall be open to public inspection, and any citizen of the county shall be allowed to contest the right of registration of any person whose name appears upon the voters' list, and upon filing a contest as to the qualifications of the voter the registrars shall notify said voter and shall pass upon said contest. Each challenge shall specify the ground of the challenge, and when notice is given the voter by the registrars a copy of such challenge shall be furnished the challenged voter at least one day before passing upon the same."

As a safeguard against the names of Negro registrants being eliminated from the voters' list, we recommend the following: Jue. 4-30-46

(1) The formation of voters or political clubs in every county.

(2) Purchasing of a complete list of the Negro voters after the deadline for registration which is July 5th for all counties except Fulton which is May 4th.

(3) If a registrant is sent a notice of challenge, he or she should answer it promptly and within the one-day time limit.

It will require organized action to acquire our full and free political rights. The possession of a list of the voters will be evidence of eligibility to vote in case any registrant's name is omitted without notice.

Frankly, we do not believe many, if any, of the Registrars will try this scheme suggested by the ex-governor, but if they do, we hope the parties concerned will promptly call on the F.B.I. and the District Federal Attorney. The present administration has promised to uphold our rights to register and to vote. Jue. 4-30-46

The right to register is a Constitutional and Federal right because if one cannot register he cannot vote even in a general election every four years for President. We must not compromise on our right to register and to vote.

Let Them Sin No More

Atlanta Daily World

Attorney A. T. Walden, President of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, called attention this week to specific instances in which Registrars in certain Georgia communities are hampering the registration of Negroes by illegal and extra legal maneuvers. It appears that in Sumter County, for example, the Sheriff, in cooperation with the Registrars, is calling certain Negroes in for a "quiz" on the Constitution. Strangely enough, the report indicates that teachers, some holding Masters degrees, were the ones selected to take the so-called "quiz," rather than some of the less literate ones. But whether educated or uneducated, it is not the practice in this state to make such requirements and Registrars doing so should let that fact be known and then should apply it without discrimination as to race or color. Atlanta, Ga.

Other reports show that Negroes in Early County are experiencing difficulties and delays in registration by the Registrars in an effort to slow up the progress. These are samples of a situation rather widespread in some communities in South Georgia. Perhaps there is no great cause for alarm about these violations, except the fact that these Registrars must no longer think that they are running local self-governments and that it is nobody's business when they choose to violate some right belonging to a Negro. Of course, such a view is dangerous and will constitute a serious cause of action by the Government, if not discontinued. We take it that these Registrars have already learned that U. S. Justice Department officials stand ready to deal firmly with everyone who elects to set the Negro off as a special case, to be handled as local feelings dictate. The law is that Negroes, like all others, are to be registered and if there is anything spurious about it, he should be prosecuted under the same law. Jue. 5-25-46

It Can Be Done!

Atlanta Daily World

Georgia Negro Democrats, headed by Attorney A. T. Walden of Atlanta, have announced a campaign to step up the registration of Negroes over the state in order to secure 100,000 additional registered voters by the time the books close on July 5. And in order to attain this objective, they have approved the appointment of W. H. Willborn Augusta, Georgia leader, as full-time State Organizer. In addition, they elected a captain each for 8 of Georgia's 10 congressional districts to superintend registration activity.

In acting thus, we believe the Association has chosen well and wisely. Mr. Willborn is no stranger in Georgia. He is capable, tactful, yet sufficiently intelligent and courageous to prosecute registration throughout the state without engendering hostility or friction among local Negro organizations seeking to achieve the same ends. His service is to be understood as an addition to, rather than in the place of, existing Negro agencies. Taken in this light, there is no good reason why all of us should not be proud of the results Mr. Willborn, working with others, will be able to attain. There is great need right now in Georgia for Negro leaders to relegate to the background any sort of leadership jealousies they may have and let the present registration campaign reach its highest crescendo in these next 7 or 8 weeks. In simple truth, we are in a race with time. And if we fail to clasp hands with those who are working at fever heat to get Negroes registered, we will lose the opportunity of a generation. So that, Mr. Willborn's chief task will be that of advising and working with local groups in helping them to keep their eyes on a single objective—getting as many of their people registered as possible within the next 60 days. We know it can be done. We believe that it will be done. But it is going to require the united efforts of each of us, young as well as old, teachers as well as ministers. Get behind this registration drive!

Atlanta Ga.

SOLIDIFYING OUR VOTE

Every thinking citizen in Savannah is concerned about what is going to happen with the vote. Those who appreciate the importance of the new status which Negroes have assumed by virtue of being enfranchised, and the danger of having their political potential nullified, are no more concerned than those who would exploit this new possible power. It would be to the definite advantage of those who are suspicious of the new and unexpected interest Negroes are manifesting in political affairs, to divide and scatter the Negro vote. So everybody, honest leaders and demagogues included, is ransacking mind trying to find a way to give the voters the information they need at this critical time. The time is critical because one: that Negro voters do not intend to be misguided-"sold down the river" by anybody; that Negroes they intend to get and follow honest leadership and everything ership. The kind of organization needed o everything. The kind of organization needed r. for eighty years ing called for the purpose of attempting to s will require hard work to perfect, but it to solidify the voters, must be done. Every district must be ious time was consum- organized and carefully supervised. We we believe some pro- know those who have been selected to head Many people were im- the organization are aware of the job ahead y speakers took the op- of them. Every voter in this county lk. However, it must should be interested in lining up behind t even though there these leaders so that they may feel the enmperate talk and much couragment which numbers give. It should sphere was positively be the civic responsibility of every right he chance given to all thinking citizen, white or black, to drum of their chest. Be- it into the minds of new voters to listen to s, the meeting did one their leaders, to refuse to be bought by least. If the people anybody for anything. The future of de- representative of the cent government in our community depends they put selfish lead- upon intelligent participation in it by all their road will be hard good citizens. Atlanta. 5-18-46

We Must Not Turn Back

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

A visitor at the Hungry Club meeting recently commended the Negro citizens of Atlanta for their patriotism in civic and political affairs. He mentioned our activity in the recent congressional campaign, our inspired drive to get 25,000 Negroes registered and our fight to insure more adequate public school facilities from the proceeds of the proposed Bond issue.

It is fine for these visitors to pat us on the back. We need to be praised when we are working for the benefit of the whole city. But we must not let the small successes we have gained go to our heads. The battle has just begun. In the words of the well known hymn, "We have put our hands to the plow and we will never turn back no more."

Negroes in Atlanta are facing trying days and we must gird our loins for a hard and continuous battle. For the first time in decades we have the opportunity to vote in the Democratic Primary. Let us take advantage of this and vote. Twenty-five thousand registered citizens may be no good if all of them do not vote intelligently. The following opportunity to vote will come to us within the next 12 months: (1) Fulton County primary; (2) Gubernatorial election (3) Congressional election, and (4) City of Atlanta Bond issue for improvements. All of us who are qualified must vote on each if our interests are to be protected. And we must vote intelligently. Wed 4-24-46

"The price of safety is eternal vigilance." To us this means that we must be forever watchful of our own interests and be ready to vote for better schools, better councilmen and liberal and fairminded officers in all positions of public trust. We started out to get 25,000 registered names on the Registrar's books. We cannot stop until we have passed this mark!

CHOOSE YOUR CANDIDATE

Within a very few days all candidates for election will be presenting their platforms to the people of Georgia through the newspapers, on the radio and in mass meetings. It is almost the solemn duty of voters to make use of these mediums to keep informed as to the records and promises of candidates. They will be unable to vote intelligently if they do not know them and what they stand for. It will be possible during the campaign to determine upon what candidates to place their ballots. If a candidate's record discloses that he has been an opponent of good government; that he has not been a friend to the forgotten man; that his conscience is elastic, especially on moral issues as they regard basic human rights-voters will know what to do with his name on the ballot. Voters in Chatham County will have the opportunity to vote for a Municipal Court judge, three members to the state legislature, and a state senator, in addition to a lieutenant-governor, a governor and other state officers. We are very anxious that Negroes do a good job of voting this time. We must not bungle it. Atlanta 5-16-46

ILLITTRACY HELD NO BAR IN VOTING

Atlanta Daily World

ATLANTA, May 7 —(AP)— Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said today that it was not necessary for a person to be able to read and write to qualify as a voter.

Cook and his legal aids said a registrant could qualify as a voter if he met either one of these constitutional requirements:

1. Be of "good character" and understand the duties of citizenship "under a republican form of government."

2. Be able to read and write any paragraph of the State and Federal Constitutions.

Cook's assistants explained that a person could exhibit evidence of understanding citizenship requirements without being able to read and write. Wed. 5-8-46

As the state's legal department explained this phase of registration qualifications, the state proceeded to roll up unrecedented lists of qualified voters.

During the past few weeks registration officials throughout the state have reported turning down would-be voters because of failure to pass literacy tsts and meet character requirements.

Other qualifications stressed by Cook today included being at least 18, being a Georgia resident for one year and having lived in the county where he intends to vote "six months next preceding an election in which he offers to vote."

Meanwhile, the gubernatorial candidates who will seek the votes of those who have qualified through registrations polished up their plans for opening their campaigns.

James V. Carmichael, Marietta, will start off his stumping in Moultrie Saturday. E. D. Rivers will initiate his campaign in Waycross on the same day. Eugene Talmadge will begin his vote drive in Lyons May 18. Wed 5-8-46

Negro Vote

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: In the name of all that's fair and just, let us look at this matter of the Negro vote in an unprejudiced and unbiased way. We compel these people to pay taxes, we draft and force them to help fight our wars and make them obey our laws. Another thing, we originally forced them to come to this country without their consent and against their will. We don't need to ever have social equality with them, but we cannot legally and without rhyme or reason deny them the right to vote in our elections without incurring the displeasure and hostility of our higher authorities. This is not an attempt on my part to engage in any prolonged discussion, crimination or recrimination with any individual or group; am only trying to see this matter through in its broadest light. Somebody just as well start praying—we are going to stay on our knees until you do.

L. MITCHELL JOHNSON

Atlanta. Wed 4-17-46

Vote-Getting

The Atlanta Constitution

Editor Constitution: In reply to Mr. Talmadge's remarks in The Constitution of April 18, saying: "If Negroes vote you'll go to their homes, knock on their doors with hat in hand, shake hands with all of them and kiss their babies if you want to be elected."

I wish to ask if the white people who run for office in Georgia go around and kiss the white babies to get the parents to vote, and visit from house to house shaking hands. If so the whole of Georgia might as well be thrown in a trash can. Each candidate should have a platform and let the people vote for what they think the State should have.

His remarks are solely to play on the ignorant whites to put him in office. You can fool some of the people sometime, but you can't fool all of the people all the time.

MRS. CORNELIA JOHNSON.

Tuskegee, Ala. Sun. 4-22-46

FOE OF NEGRO VOTE DEFEATED IN GEORGIA

New York Times New York

AUGUSTA, Ga., April 17 (AP)—Roy V. Harris, Speaker of the State House of Representatives, who campaigned for retention of the white Democratic primary, conceded defeat today for renomination as a member of the legislature.

Harris blamed his defeat by William S. Morris, publisher of The Augusta Chronicle, on the vote of Negroes, balloting for the first time in a county Democratic primary.

He said he would continue a State-wide campaign for repeal of the primary law which the courts recently declared permitted Negroes to vote. He said he would either be in the race for Governor or would support somebody who would advocate retention of the white primary. Thurs 4-28-46

Morris had the backing of an independent group which sought to break the hold on county politics for 20 years of the self-styled Cracker Party. Besides Harris, another member of the House and three county commissioners, all supported by the Cracker Party, were running about 2,500 votes behind independent candidates. Registration totaled 26,500, the largest in the county's history.

Griffin Opposes Negro Vote in White Primary

Constitution Atlanta Ga.

Constitution State News Service.

DUBLIN, June 1—Adj. Gen. Marvin Griffin, candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Saturday praised his "fine opponents" in a speech here but declared the race should be based on issues rather than personalities. 6-2-46

"A candidate seeking the Democratic nomination for Lieutenant Governor is either for or against Negroes voting in a Democratic primary in Georgia," he said, adding: "I am unalterably opposed to Negroes having the balance of power and taking over my party and your party, and I am not afraid of the Negro vote."

Griffin explained he believed steps should be taken to disqualify Negroes from White Primary participation by removing the Neill Primary Act from the statute books. Sunday

Abolition of these laws against Primary fraud and chicanery would not cause any more "political shenanigans" than already have been witnessed in "our party machinery," Griffin said. 6-2-46

Gov. Arnall Tells Georgia To Accept Negro Vote Rights

Black Dispatch Savannah 5-18-46

ATLANTA — (ANP) — Acceptance of Negro voting rights in Georgia primaries was urged here last week by Gov. Ellis Arnall before the state Democratic executive committee. He denounced those who are unwilling to uphold the law as unworthy of citizenship and pleaded for honesty.

"Let's not run from the quacks who would confuse the issue," he said. "Let's not be afraid of the demagogues."

There is no poll tax this year, Arnall pointed out, and there are more young veterans registered than ever before. There are more women registered than men. Thousands of Negro voters have registered to vote in the primary, which will be held on July 17, since federal court ruling upheld their rights to ballot in Democratic primaries.

"It is the first election in the history of Georgia where our young people can really speak out and have a voice in the government of Georgia," Arnall remarked. Oklahoma City

The governor, prevented by the state constitution from seeking a second consecutive term, declined to announce what candidate he will support. Former Gov. Eugene Talmadge, a race baiting gubernatorial candidate, has promised to maintain white supremacy if elected.

Arnall "well knows Henry Wallace is at the head of a movement of the PAC (Political Action Committee) to take control of the voting strength of the south through the Negroes and to pass the FEPC," Talmadge commented on the governor's statement before the executive committee.

24,280 Register in Atlanta Drive

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. By GRIFFITH DAVIS

ATLANTA — A total of 24,280 colored people registered in Fulton County to vote in the Democratic primary on July 17, when registration closed on May 4.

More than 350 more, who stood four abreast for half a block at the courthouse, were unable to complete registration, although the deadline had been extended an additional five hours.

The intensive campaign drive to boost the registration of colored people, with a special appeal to veterans, resulted in a grand total of approximately 124,000 registrants. 5-18-46

Mankin Raps Action in Fulton County.

Congresswoman Mankin opposed the committee's action, which would enable two smaller counties, Dekalb and Rockdale, with only 20 per cent of the population, to outvote Fulton with 80 per cent. If Mrs. Mankin protests, it is felt that the State committee would uphold her.

The Democratic executive committee of the Fifth Congressional District voted 8-6 last Friday to abandon nomination of a Congressman by plurality vote and return to the county unit system, it is felt that the increased colored registration in Fulton County.

45e 1946

RALPH McGILL

Atlanta Constitution

Reporting

Atlanta, Ga.

On a Trend

Wed 4-3-46

Merely for the sake of the record, it may be well to discuss factually the Supreme Court ruling which declares the present Georgia primary must permit Negroes to vote.

Negroes already vote in Democratic primaries in all but three Southern States, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina.

They have voted in a number of small Georgia primaries and indications are that most Georgia counties, while demanding literacy and other voting qualifications, will obey the law as it now stands and permit Negroes to vote in the primaries to be held this summer and fall.

The number of Negroes who have been able to qualify in the states to which primaries have been opened to them, runs from a few thousands to 40,000 in Oklahoma. There the Democratic party has found them an asset and the white Chairman of the Executive Committee recently stated they regretted they did not long ago bring them into the party. Texas, Florida and Alabama also accepted Supreme Court decisions, but there has been no comment from their party officials indicating what their reactions are.

While Texas, Florida, Alabama and Oklahoma are new additions to the Southern States permitting Negro participation, it must be kept in mind that North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky have allowed Negroes, who were registered and who met other qualifications, to vote for a great many years. The average is something more than 25 years. The Negro vote in Shelby County (Memphis), Tennessee, has been one of the real strengths of the Crump machine for at least 30 years.

It must be admitted that in none of these states, with the possible exception of parts of Tennessee and Oklahoma, is the way made easy for a Negro to vote. Judicial boards of registrars, qualifying laws which theoretically apply to white and colored alike, and other laws covering the ballot are interpreted against him. The rural counties have relatively few who wish to vote and by making the registration books difficult to reach that number is cut down. Nevertheless, the Negro now votes in some numbers in the primaries in all but three states in the Union—Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. Court tests are in the making in two of those states.

County Unit Georgia's eventual position is not clear. Apparently there is not now any great desire to call a legislative session, although sentiment for one may be developed.

What holds back most of those who are not in favor of a special session seems to be one of three reasons or a combination of them. They are:

An unwillingness to abolish the county unit system, which would have to be done if the primary laws are repealed.

A belief that the trend of courts and opinion cannot be halted and that any legislation would be a stop-gap job. Also—and this sound idea is gaining—to accept the court ruling but to set up literacy standards and apply them to all voters alike.

And, thirdly, that since the Negro was called on to fight in the war, is required to pay taxes, he should be allowed to vote in the primaries or elections which select the officials who will govern him.

Admittedly this third reason is not often advanced, but it is in the minds of more persons than ever before because of the war.

The county unit system is the chief reason for a holding back from legislation which would abolish all the primary laws.

The county unit system is an effectual check on the influence of large city populations. This is painful to a person with majority beliefs, but it is a fact. As long as the county unit system is a part of the election laws of the State the rural counties will dominate politics. When it goes the cities take over.

The CIO The growing strength of the CIO bloc, largely an urban strength, is another reason why the rural county leaders have not as yet hurried into a special session. With the CIO already proclaiming its determination to enter politics in Georgia in an aggressive manner, the rural counties are not eager, apparently, to enter any plan which would abolish the county unit system and substitute for it a party declaration without legal standing.

Wed 4-3-46

Georgia

It is perfectly true that a white primary could be set up, as its proponents claim. It is perfectly all right to establish a party in which only those with red hair or blue eyes may vote; one in which only Masons or Catholics may vote, and so on.

The federal court steps in, on complaint, only when these primaries produce, year after year, the usually unopposed officials in the regular election. Should a white primary be established, free of all State connections, it would inevitably disintegrate or be subject to court action were it successful as the old white primary was.

With only three states left in which the courts have not opened the way to Negro participation, most of the counties seem to take the attitude that the court will be obeyed but that "they can handle it."

Meanwhile, the discussion has brought about the largest registration in history. Ninety percent of it is white registration.

Democracy for Georgia

New Republic New York, N. Y.

The Supreme Court has made its expected decision upholding the right of Negroes to vote in the Democratic primaries in Georgia. It could have made no other. Two years ago the Court ruled that Texas Negroes could not be barred legally from voting. This case was on exactly the same principles. The Court did not even see fit to deliver a decision. It merely refused to review a lower-court ruling that a Georgia statute limiting primary voting to whites violated the Fifteenth Amendment.

Mon 4-8-46

What is amazing is the blatant bigotry of the Georgia election officials who made the appeal. They placed the issue of white supremacy squarely before the Court, asking it to rule "on the right to confine the right of suffrage in primaries to white citizens." From one point of view, it is fortunate that they did not seek to confuse the issue. The Court's decision is so clear that it is hard to see how Georgia can do anything but comply.

Bars To Negro Vote Falling

By V. W. HODGES

Slowly but surely, the barriers to the participation of Negroes in the political life of the state are being removed one by one. The age limit has been lowered from 21 to 18. The poll tax is no longer required. Unlike our neighbor Alabama, Negroes in Georgia are not required to submit to the gruelling tactics of a vote test or examination before being accepted on the Registrars' book. And now with the affirmation of Judge T. Hoyt Davis' decision by the New Orleans Appellate Court upholding the right of Negroes to vote in all elections without regards to race and color, there is no good reason why we should not chalk up between 100,000 to 150,000 registered Negroes between now and early Summer. The road is open and the responsibility on Negro leadership is inescapable.

There can scarcely be any doubt as to the binding effect of the New Orleans decision opening the primary to Negroes. Broadly interpreted as it is the decision not only permits Negroes to vote in general elections but in ALL elections federal, state and municipal. That the decision will be appealed, has already been indicated. However, responsible authorites agree that the decision will be ultimately confirmed.

There is also some talk of summoning the Georgia Legislature back in session to repeal the Neil Laws with reference to the primary. Regardless to the action which may be taken to attempt to circumvent the ruling, it is fairly well established now that Negroes in Georgia will vote in the approaching September primary. And this despite news stories announcing the presence in Washington last week of Georgia House Speaker Roy V. Harris and Charles Bloch, President, Georgia Bar and chief defense lawyer in the primary case, ostensibly to seek an appeal hearing before the United States Supreme Court.

WHITE PRESS IN ACCORD

The splendid reception and endorsement given the decision by Georgia newspapers, both rural and urban, foreshadows a new determination on the part of responsible white leadership in the state that the integrity of the law shall be upheld and the Negroes shall be accorded their rights as citizens.

THE ATLANTA JOURNAL — continuing its stand on the franchise for Negroes, said in an editorial entitled "An Expected Decision," "Primus King, a Negro of Columbus, has won his second and probably final round of his legal fight to vote in Georgia primary elections . . . King's case was argued in the first instance by white attorneys, Georgian born and bred, that Negro Citizens who profess to be Democrats, cannot legally be excluded from Democratic primaries. The opinion of the appellate court, sustaining Judge Davis' ruling, was written by Judge Samuel H. Sibley, of Marietta, Georgian born and bred. There can be no charge, therefore, that Georgia is being afflicted with carpet-bag government or that the law is being laid down by outsiders unmindful of our traditions and our ideals."

THE COLUMBUS LEDGER-ENQUIRER—in a second editorial endorsing the right of Negroes to vote—said: "Since we have felt for some time that qualified Georgia Negroes have every moral right to participate in Democratic primaries we are neither surprised nor alarmed at the unanimous opinion of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in the case of Primus E. King . . . The truth is that the law of the thing is settled."

THE CLAXTON ENTERPRISE: "Of the late we have wondered if it would not be a good idea to permit the Negroes to vote. Perhaps this would insure that the whites would take full advantage of their right to express their judgement."

TIFTON, GA. GAZETT: In an editorial anticipating the court's ruling, said: "It is doubtful that the courts will sustain an exclusively white primary of any kind Further, that might not be the best approach to the problem. If the white people of Georgia are afraid that Negroes will become the determining factor in our elections, it might be that the real solution would be

the federal courts already have ruled on the question. And suggesting more voters over the state in order to insure victory against which Talmadge, Atlanta Journal column poll 130,000 votes cast of the cities. And that means under ist Mogan Blake, said: "Let's assume for the sake of argument that Talmadge got about 130,000 votes. He might get the county unit vote system that sume for the state and Arnall got 50,000 votes. Well, where does that leave Governor Eugene Talmadge will most certainly win that the vote numerically in this state? If leaves him the election. year's primary will be the same as will vote almost solidly against any it was in the last gubernatorial with 120,000 votes. Most of the Armany election manager who more. Let us assume that Rivers man who has the reputation of be- that any leading lawyers' opinion will cross the path of former ing a race-baiter. If the county refuses a Negro the right to vote Governor Eugene Talmadge. If Ne- unit law is repealed the Talmadge because of color is laying himself groes are permitted to vote, they open to criminal prosecution, since will get 50,000 votes. Well, will be the third candidate votes will come from

announcement of white reporters

INDIVIDUALS

following the decision, quoted

for more white voters to go to the polls."

system of centering his campaign in the small rural counties will be uprooted."

WHOSE MOVE NOW

We repeat, there are relatively no obstacles in the path of Negroes to get themselves registered in Georgia today. Whether the Negro leadership in the rural and urban communities will take advantage of this opportunity and urge Negroes to register, remain to be seen. As things stand today, nothing of any exceptional note is being reported, if we should omit Brunswick, Atlanta and possibly Athens and Valdosta. They can no longer sit around in barbershops and cuss the way Talmadge goes on. There is a cure for that: Get qualified Negroes to register. Otherwise, they will have a right to be left alone to stew in their own juice of indifference.

Better World

Atlanta Constitution

Editor Constitution: I want to commend the writer L. Mitchell Johnson of Atlanta, on the letter written 17 April, 1946 in the Pulse of the Public column of the editorial page—subject: "Negro Vote." Personally, I don't think it's any Negro voters' aim to clamor for social equality. The general idea, I think, is to have equal opportunity on the basis of moral character, education and qualifications, and if the majority of the people looked at the situation in an unprejudiced and unbiased way, the whole world would be a better place for us all in which to live.

Veteran of World War II.
FRANK C. TUCKER.
Atlanta.

Negro Vote In Georgia Studied By Politicians

Courier-Journal

By HENRY LESESNE.

Brunswick, Ga., March 24 (AP)—The nearest thing to mass suffrage—white and black—in the Deep South has come out of this county, steeped in Southern tradition since colonial days.

Louisville, Ky.

It has resulted in a political upheaval but does not answer what is on the politicians' minds: How will the Negro, flushed with his newly won right, vote?

In the border states, where Negro participation in the Democratic primary is accepted as a matter of course, the Negro has voted—or neglected to vote—just about as white people do.

But what happened last week in the coastal county of Glynn was the first thing of its kind in the Deep South. Negroes have voted recently in two Georgia municipal primaries but not in great numbers.

Monday

Vote Total Is Tripled.

Ordinarily 2,000 votes is a good turnout in Glynn County, which the last census gave a population of 13,356 whites and 8,564 Negroes.

Yet in the primary last week 2,400 Negroes alone registered and nearly all voted. There were 6,700 whites registered. In all 6,512 votes were cast.

How did this amazing change come about?

Georgia last year repealed its poll tax. It is the only state which permits 18-year-olds to vote. U. S. District and Circuit Courts have said Negroes may vote in Georgia primaries.

3-25-46

Mass Registrations Made.

Virtually alone in the South in its action, the Glynn County Democratic Executive Committee granted a request by a Negro political organization to allow Negroes to vote in the "white primary."

Mass registration of whites and Negroes followed. Georgia law gives tax collectors pretty wide discretion in passing upon qualifications of applicants for registration.

Yet the charge has never been raised here that there was any discrimination against Negroes. "We registered white and black alike," says Tax Commissioner J. M. Exley. "They came in taxicabs, everything. Sometimes there were 50 or more in line."

However, in the neighboring and larger county of Chatham (Savannah), a group of Negroes a few days ago filed suit charging discriminatory methods of registering Negroes—a charge which officials denied.

Effect of Vote Not Known.

The Glynn County election resulted in the ousting of seven County commissioners.

There is no way of knowing definitely how the Negroes voted. Whites and Negroes voted in the same booths. Once separate booths were considered but it was decided this would be unfair.

The request for Negro voting was made by a local Negro political organization, the Progressive Democratic League. Its president, John Robinson, a Negro who runs a wood yard here, says his organization supported the defeated commissioners.

"We spent a lot of our money and we worked hard to get members of our race to vote intelligently and sincerely," he says.

War Workers Blamed.

One of the defeated commissioners, declining to be mentioned by name, blamed his defeat not so much on the Negro vote as on the vote of war workers who have remained in this "war-boom" town.

3-25-46

Politicians view the "Glynn experiment" with a weather eye. The Governor's race is coming up this fall. Other Deep South states have poll taxes or other voting restrictions.

Georgia's neighbor, South Carolina, has got around the Supreme Court decision that Negroes can vote in primaries by the expedient of stripping all laws relating to primaries from its statute books, and leaving the primaries unregulated.

A movement in the same direction in Georgia was halted by the general acceptance of the opinion that it would mean the scuttling of the county unit system of voting by which small rural counties control politics.

Primary Ballot Seen for Negro In Many Counties

Atlanta Constitution

Indications that many counties are planning to permit Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries without excitement were seen yesterday, as political leaders predicted the Georgia legislature would not meet in special session and that the Muscogee Democratic committee would lose any appeal it might make to the United States supreme court to ban the Negro.

Atlanta, Ga.

Telephone communication with political leaders in several rural counties revealed that these areas were not greatly excited over the coming of the Negro vote.

Nearly all the counties that have held primaries since Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis, of Macon, ruled that the Negro is entitled to cast a ballot in the primary have permitted Negroes to vote. Bulloch county last week stopped the Negroes from voting, after many Negroes had started casting ballots.

Sun. 3-10-46

Glynn county will permit the Negroes to vote in its primary March 20. The Brunswick News says, however, that the Negro is on trial in that county. If Negro votes are sold again, as they were at one time, some way possible will be found to deny Negroes the ballot box in primaries in Glynn county, the paper warns.

Negroes voted in city primaries in Valdosta and Athens, without incident.

Leading lawyers yesterday pointed out that any election manager who refuses a Negro the right to vote because of color is laying himself open to criminal prosecution, since the federal courts already have ruled on the question.

Attorneys for the Muscogee committee will meet with Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook Monday or Tuesday to decide whether they wish to appeal the fifth circuit court of appeals decision to the United States supreme court. The attorney general entered the case as a friend of the court, arguing that the state is not involved in party affairs. The state Democratic committee has not become involved in the case.

Sun. 3-10-46

Several attorneys and party officials, who would not be quoted, said that the legislature could do nothing to circumvent the federal court's decision. Any effort on the part of the legislature to repeal primary laws would leave the county unit system of election in the hands of a committee, without any state supervision. They feared this would mean the end of the county unit system, and rule of Georgia by the big-city counties.

Tom Linder, commissioner of agriculture, meanwhile has suggested that the state repeal the Neill primary act and substitute for it a "poll of public opinion" under which any group could conduct a "poll" among those of its choosing. He suggested that under the setup, the county unit system of voting be retained.

Suffrage

Atlanta Constitution

Editor Constitution: Except for Federal Court decisions, under Georgia Law no colored man in Georgia can be a Democrat and no white man in Georgia can be anything else but a Democrat.

As one who has been a duress Democrat for several years by operation of repressive election laws, let me again protest that law of March 1943, requiring the signature of 5 porcent of all registered voters in order to qualify any candidate not a member of the Democratic party.

Atlanta, Ga.

No one has ever confessed authorship or sponsorship of the repressive five per cent election law—and it will be repealed as quietly as it was enacted. It is now obvious that no arbitrary classifications will ever exclude citizens from the basic elections. In this connection many of us voted against the present Constitution of the State of Georgia solely because it did not set up those educational qualifications for suffrage which ordinary foresight would have provided. As it stands now, illiterate paupers (not criminals) have in Georgia equal suffrage with those who have accepted citizenship training in our schools and whose taxed earnings pay for state services.

Mon. 4-1-46 L. R. BOYD.
Atlanta.

90 Per Cent Of Negro Registrants Participate

Atlanta Daily World, Ga.

Fri. 3-22-46

BRUNSWICK, Ga.—(SNS)—More than 90 per cent of the 2,400 Negroes registered in Glynn County voted in the democratic primary here Wednesday when all incumbent county commissioners were defeated.

It was the first time that Negroes had voted in the Glynn County primary, results of which heretofore have been tantamount to election. Only about 75 per cent of the 6,700 white registrants voted, officials disclosed. About 7,000 votes were cast, the largest in the history of the county.

General trend of Negro voting, according to citizen-observers, probably was indictated in a precinct in Everett City which had 112 Negro and 59 white registrants. This precinct went overwhelmingly for candidates opposing the present administration.

Nineteen candidates, all white, offered for the seven county commission posts.

BASED ON RULING

Right to vote was given Negro registrants by the Glynn County Democratic Executive Committee which decided to comply with the Macon federal court ruling by Judge T. Hoyt Davis that Negroes were entitled to participate in Democratic primaries. Judge Davis' ruling was upheld by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

Most Negroes voted in the Brunswick district, which named four of the seven commissioners Whites and Negroes voted together and it was possible to determine the choice of Negroes.

All four incumbents in the Brunswick district were defeated. Nominated were Floyd E. Gressel, and Arthur True, Joe C. Stewart, Sam Levine, Ray W. Whittle, Alton H. Perry and Oscar Nail. Official consolidation of the vote figures showed that W. McD. Harley first reported re-elected, was defeated. An error in tabulation of votes placed Harley in the winning column, but the official count showed the place went to Nail.

Fri 3-22-46

APPEAL FAVORED

The Brunswick Progressive Democrats appealed to the county Democratic committee to give Negroes a voice in the county primary several weeks ago. The committee decided in Negroes favor after consideration of the Primus E. King case ruling, and there was general appeal to Negro voters throughout the campaign period.

In upholding Judge Davis' decision that Negroes were entitled to vote in the Democratic primary the Circuit Court of Appeals held in order to preserve white primaries that conducting the primary was an action of the state and that Talmadge and former Governor Eugene denying King the vote violated the fourteenth, fifteenth and seventeenth amendments to the federal constitution. Some Georgia political leaders have suggested that state laws governing Democratic primaries be repealed

45e 1946

Georgia

Negroes Voting in First Primary In Glynn; 5-6 of Registered Ballot

The Atlanta Constitution Ga.

Thurs. 3-21-46

BRUNSWICK, March 20.—An estimated 5,000 of Glynn county's 9,100 registered voters, including 2,000 Negroes, had voted by 4 p. m. Wednesday in the Democratic primary to nominate seven county commissioners from a field of 19 white candidates.

Negroes were voting in a Democratic primary for the first time. One precinct was predominately Negro and the result of this box was of prime interest. The polls closed at 7 p. m.

Of the 2,400 Negroes registered, approximately 2,000 had voted by 4 p. m., officials estimated.

Voting at all polls has been quiet and orderly, officials said, adding 4,359 ballots had been cast in Brunswick and about 700 in the county.

Another departure in today's primary placed candidates on record before the voting regarding their background and stand on various issues. A voters' committee polled candidates and published their answers. Thurs. 3-21-46

Candidates were asked whether they favored slot machines, pinball games and similar coin-operated games of chance. All 19 said they opposed slot machines and gambling devices. They gave varying answers regarding the best route for the proposed new coastal highway through Brunswick. Other questions dealt with their educational background and whether they had ever held political office.

VOTE IN PRIMARY IS GIVEN NEGROES

Birmingham Ala. Age Herald

ATLANTA, April 1—(AP)—Georgia, a deep South state with a heavy Negro population and no poll tax, was told by the Supreme Court today the minority race can vote in its "white primary" this Fall.

The effect amounted to that when the court declined to review lower Federal Court rulings that Negroes are entitled to vote in the Georgia Democratic primaries—the actual elections. Wed 4-3-46

The Supreme Court gave no reason for its refusal to review the Georgia case, but two years ago, in a similar case from Texas, the court upheld the right of Negroes to vote in the primaries.

In view of the Texas decision, Georgia politicians frankly did not expect the high court to act otherwise; but they wanted the court to rule, one way or the other, before the Fall primaries.

The decision heightened the prospect that Georgia will become the first deep South state with a large Negro population and no poll tax to witness the mass suffrage of Negroes.

Other "black belt" states either have a poll tax or other voting restrictions, or have found a way to get around the decision of the Supreme Court.

Collect From Negroes By Sales Tax--Griffin

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Declaring that Negroes should pay their fair share of taxes if they are going to vote, Adj. Gen. Marvin Griffin, candidate for Governor, advocates a sales tax for Georgia. He would abolish the ad valorem tax.

"We have more than three million people in this state," Griffin said yesterday. "Of this number, there are 1,089,000 Negroes who pay little or no taxes. I think it mandatory if we are to provide the necessary funds for education, public health and old-age assistance in Georgia, that we call upon this segment of our population to pay their fair share of the tax burden. Sat 4-20-46

"Most of them are making good wages at this time but there is no way under the present tax system in Georgia to collect anything from them.

"Up to now I have never been an advocate of a sales tax because of the trouble the collection of this tax brings to our merchants, but there is no other source that I see at the present time. Business is already taxed to capacity.

"We should revise our tax system, abrogate the state ad valorem tax except for nonresidents, and levy a sales tax. In my opinion, this will raise the revenue necessary to adequately provide for increased teachers' salaries. It is foolish to speak of increasing teachers' salaries 50 percent and not increase taxes," Griffin said.

Negroes have obtained political rights in this state, but under the present tax system they are not called upon to pay a prorata share of the cost of services rendered to them, the candidate asserted. A person who participates in government should help pay the cost, he concluded. He spoke to the Kiwanis Club at Commerce.

Arnall Decries 'Subterfuge' To Kill Negroes' Voting Rights

P. M. New York, N.Y.

Sun 4-7-46

By United Press

ATLANTA, April 6.—Gov. Ellis Arnall called on Georgians yesterday to accept the Negroes right to vote and said he would not be a party to a "subterfuge scheme" to prevent Negroes from voting by calling a special session of the Legislature to repeal State primary laws.

"If the members of the Legislature want to assume the responsibility, they have the right," Arnall said. But he predicted that even if the legislators convened themselves, they would not repeal the State's primary laws, which, he pointed out, set up the county unit system which "affords the small counties recognition in state political affairs."

Arnall's statement was issued in reply to demands of House Speaker Roy Harris and Former Gov. Eugene Talmadge that a special session be called to take action to preserve the "white primary."

The U. S. Supreme Court earlier this week refused to review a District Court ruling that Negroes must be permitted to vote in primary elections.

Federal Suit Filed Against County Registrar

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Sat. 3-30-46

District Judge Scarlett Sets Hearing April 18

SAVANNAH, Ga., — (SNS) — Determined to remove all discriminatory impediments being lodged in the pathway of Savannah Negroes seeking to qualify as registered voters, a group of local leaders, headed by young Dr. J. W. Jamison, filed a Civil Action suit Thursday, charging the Registrar, John L. Cabell, Chatham County, with employing outmoded and repressive measures as a means of discouraging heavy registration among them.

Specifically, the suit charges that the Registrar has consistently discriminated against Negroes by requiring a personal property tax return prior to registration; that the methods thus employed are "repressive, purely discriminatory, and calculated to discourage legitimate enrollment of Negroes on the Registrar's rolls.

DENIES ALLEGATION

Cabell denies the allegation, stating that applicants are not required to pay any tax at the time but are asked simply to file a tax return on taxable property owned.

Federal District Judge Frank M. Scarlet set a date for the hearing on the request for the injunction and declaratory judgement for April 18.

For many months past, Savannah has been a beehive for registration activities among Negroes. At the recent session of the Legislature a bill, sponored by Senator Grayson of Chatham County, attempted to invalidate the majority of the more than 7,000 Negro voters. Two local organizations, the Savannah NAACP and the A F of L have spearheaded the registration drive.

ANOTHER DETERRENT

Another objective feature of Savannah registration tactics is the presence of a large sign, threatening prosecution of delinquent Negroes. Sat. 3-30-46

The suit seeks also an injunction, restraining the registration officials from displaying these or such other signs which apply only to a certain race or class. In specific terms, it wants the officials to desist from "using any sign or employing any method different from those employed toward white people, and which would have the tendency to hinder, delay, hamper, restrain, repress or in any sense interfere with the free and unhampered right to register as citizens of the United States for participating in the primaries and elections.

Chatman County is, thus far, the only county in the state whose Registrar reportedly has so much as mentioned the educational qualification idea as a possible enforceable requirment for registration although two counties have been said to be still using the unpaid poll tax argument as a means of discouraging Negro registrants.

LET 'EM VOTE

Atlanta Ga. Constitution

(Sparks Eagle)

The White Democratic Primary is outlawed. It should stay that way. Any Negro Democrat, qualified to vote, has the right and should be allowed to vote in any Democratic Primary. We work with them in our homes, farms and factories, and with very rare exceptions in peace and harmony. We can do the same in elections, and if nothing else, it will be an incentive to the white voters to go to the polls and vote in all elections. Mon. 4-22-46

Negroes Registering In Increasingly Large Numbers

Atlanta Ga. Constitution

Thurs 4-4-46

Judge Frank M. Scarlett is sued a directive yesterday to Tax Collector John L. Cabell for him to show cause in the United States District Court on the morning of April 15 why an order for the inspection of the voters' registration records by a group of Negro citizens should not be granted.

The right for the privilege of inspecting the records was asked in a petition filed by Dr. J. W. Jamerson, Jr. and others who claim that according to the number of Negroes who have registered to vote in Chatham county, there should be upwards of 8,000 Negroes' names on the registration lists whereas Tax Collector Cabell claims there are only about 5,000 on the lists.

The petition also requests Judge Scarlett to set a time and place for inspection of the registration lists, and it further states as no receipt is given to a registrant, it is impossible for him to be positive of his voting status until the day of the election when he presents himself at the polls.

Others who signed the petition, besides Dr. Jamerson, are J. W. McGlockton, J. Q. Jefferson, Dr. H. M. Collier, Jr., Rev. A. C. Curtright, Mrs. Florine Foreman, John Roberts, Willie Nichols, Lorenzo Elleby, Robert Mumford, Thomas Daniel, Fred Hill, Louise Green, Crawford Smith, Mrs. Nancy Elliott and Cyrus Cohen.

A request to examine the registration lists was made by the committee of Negroes in a conference followed a conference with Mr. Cabell last week before last in which he was accused of discriminating against Negroes seeking to register to vote. The daily and concealed use of this privilege, crimination and using repressive tax collector requirements was made by Mr. Jamerson, Jr. and others stating that it was impractical and unfair to the registration officials, and it was stated that the books were in daily and constant use in his office.

On April 18 by Judge Scarlett.

It was set out in the petition filed with Judge Scarlett this week that it is necessary that the records be examined prior to the hearing of the bill in equity now pending against Mr. Cabell.

The petition sent to Judge Scarlett Monday night by Aaron Kravitch, attorney for the Negro group, declared that registration slips should be examined of "thousands of Negroes in Savannah who have been permitted to register" and "whose registration is being questioned" or who have been refused permission to register and which rejection and questioning . . . are alleged by your petitioners to be without legal warrant or authority."

In the meantime, the campaign of the Negro leaders to place 25,000 Negro names on the voters lists of Chatham county has been greatly boosted. For the past two weeks Negroes have been registering at the rate of approximately 125 a day. Thurs 4-4-46

Many civic, religious and business organizations have been throwing their entire weight behind the drive. A number of the leading ministers have accompanied large numbers of their congregations to the registration window at the court house and many civic organizations have registered en masse. All the undertakers have joined in the campaign and have placed their cars at the disposal of the leaders of the drive to carry applicants for registration to and from the court house, free of charge. In addition to this, many business firms are seeing to it that their employees register 100 per cent.

Registration to vote has become the watchword of most of the leading clubs; it is the theme of many a Sunday sermon, and the people as a whole are becoming registration conscious. It is confidentially believed that the goal of 25,000 Negro voters in Chatham county will have been achieved before the registration books in the court house close on July 5.

M. L. ST. JOHN

Atlanta, Ga.

Time Running Out; Crackers Nervous

Atlanta Constitution

Wed 4-3-46

House Speaker Roy Harris, of Augusta, is conducting what amounts to a frantic appeal to keep the ban on Negro voting in Georgia Democratic primaries. He has said he would ask Gov. Arnall to call a special session of the Legislature to repeal primary laws in an effort to get around the federal court decision. He has tried to get members of the General Assembly to agree to convene themselves in special session. He has urged members of the State Democratic Executive Committee to have Chairman Lon Duckworth convene that committee in immediate session. He has written numerous State officials warning them that unless they come out publicly in favor of retaining the white primary they will have opposition in their races this summer.

Harris has had little response to any of his pleas. Legislators are more concerned with keeping the county unit election system than they are in losing the white primary. State officials realize that the reason for Roy's nervousness is his "local problem."

Time is running out on the Cracker Party. The Richmond County Democratic primary is scheduled for April 16, and Harris and other Crackers have strong opposition from indepndents. The registration of Richmond County, usually a closely-controlled figure of the Cracker Party, has been doubled. Three thousand Negroes are registered.

Unless the Legislature and the State Democratic Executive Committee act and act quickly, these 3,000 Negroes will be legally qualified to cast their ballots in Richmond County. Like ex-Gov. Talmadge in his state-wide fears, the Crackers have no doubt how the Negroes will vote, if given an opportunity. With Harris and others saying flatly that the Negroes won't vote, and United States Attorney General Tom Clark saying his agents will enforce the law in Georgia, the Richmond county primary promises to offer Georgia her first test of Negro voting under opposition. Virtually all other counties which have held primaries since Federal Judge Hoyt Davis, of Macon, upheld the right of Negroes to vote have permitted Negroes to cast ballots without any excitement.

While the eyes of the entire State will be on Richmond County and its battle between Crackers and Col. Effingham's raiders, the most interested in this test on machine-control politics and Negro voting is Chatham County, which is one of the State's strongest machine counties. The Savannah newspapers sent a staffer to Augusta to do a story about the independents' uprising. This staffer, a former Augusta newsman, wrote a story favorable to the anti-Crackers. This was surprising, since the Savannah papers, unlike the Augusta papers, usually work with the machine. The Augusta papers have teamed up against the Crackers. The Herald, violently anti-Cracker, has indorsed the Chronicle's publisher, Bill Morris, for the House seat against Harris.

Wed 4-3-46

New Writer

John Couric, Jr., of Dublin and Macon, has joined the Capitol staff of The Constitution. Members of the Legislature and Statehouse officials remember him from the January session of the General Assembly which he staffed for the Macon News and Telegraph. John recently completed four years' service in the Navy, rising from the enlisted status to the rank of lieutenant, junior grade. He saw service in the Mediterranean, Atlantic and Pacific areas aboard the vessels of the amphibious force. A native of Dublin, Couric graduated from Mercer University, and worked on the Dublin Courier-Herald and Macon Telegraph before the war.

Capitol Sidelights

Pres. Peyton Jacob, of Georgia Southwestern College at Americus, looked around the Department of Education during his visit here the other day, and remembered many of its employes as former students of his when he taught at Mercer University. . . . Superior Court Judge Renfroe, of Swainsboro, a former member of the Board of Regents, had lunch with employes of the Board when he visited the Capitol. . . . Youthful A. J. Moye, of Randolph County, a Capitol visitor, says he will seek re-election as representative. . . . So does Rep. Buford Mitchell, of Monroe County. . . . And the youngest member of the 1945 General Assembly, James Murphy, 26 years old, who sat in a wheelchair across the aisle from Rep. Ben Fortson, the wheelchair solon now Secretary of State, will be running for re-election from Haralson County. . . . He and his brother and friends were at the Capitol this week.

Those Unfounded Fears

Memphis World, Memphis Tenn.

The splendid reception and strong endorsement of the Circuit Court of Appeals' action in holding that Georgia Negroes must no longer be deprived of their constitutional right to vote in the state's Democratic primary merely because of their race and color, is heartening evidence of a trend in the thinking of fair-minded white Georgians which will grow more pronounced. In fact, that trend was well indicated Friday in the reply of Governor Arnall to the noisy clamor which House Speaker Roy Harris has been making for a session of the Legislature to circumvent the action. The governor very properly told Mr. Harris:

"We have discussed the question of the Democratic primary in the light of the opinion of the U. S. circuit court of appeals. We are undertaking to determine upon a proper solution of the problem which will be to the best interest of Georgia. We are considering the matter and will take up our discussion at a later date." Fri. 3-22-46

The governor does not make himself crystal clear when he said that "we are considering the matter", but we hope he means, and we take it to mean that members of the State Democratic Committee are considering the wisdom of dropping all appeal talk as well as the stupid suggestions of House Speaker Roy Harris, and that it is hoped that some specific announcement can be made soon in which the question of Negro voting will be taken as right and final. There can be scarcely any doubt that the great majority of white Georgia leaders will applaud such a ruling from the Committee. And we believe the Committee will sense the wisdom of speedy and forthright action. Fri. 3-22-46

There appeared in one of the dailies recently as a survey which indicates that there are in the state forty nine counties in which Negroes outnumber the whites. There is absolutely no sound reason why this simple truth should have any disturbing effects on the normal process of electioneering either in rural or urban Georgia communities. It is true that Negroes have voted as a group in the case of Mrs. Mankin. But such a thing can never happen where candidates discuss the merits and demerits of the vital issues. If we should ever reach the stage in Georgia politics where the Negro issue can be eliminated, there will never be a problem of Negroes voting as a block. Only men like Talmadge and his ilk can force the Negro vote to such behavior.

Some Habits Are Quickly Acquired

Atlanta Constitution

The Nashville Tennessean, taking cognizance of our regret over the relatively small turnout of voters in the recent congressional election, offers editorial consolation. Sat. 3-9-46

What we overlook, says The Tennessean, "is that exercise of the suffrage, the foundation upon which our democratic system is built, is a habit, a good habit, and that like other habits it is established by practice. Neither in Georgia nor in Tennessee has the present generation been free to acquire the good habit of voting.

There have been no majority-of-the-people elections in this century. The fathers have not voted, the sons have not had the example of voting before them. What is a greater deterrent, in all probability, is the lack of confidence in elections that has grown in company with the power of organized minorities in a shriveling electorate." Pillar Ga.

All of which is patently true.

But if The Tennessean or anybody else got the idea from our previous editorial that we considered the case hopeless—or from this that we intend to wait a couple of generations until nature takes its course and voting is established as a universal habit—then they are very much in error.

Use Illegal Vote Devices In Georgia

The Journal and Guide Norfolk Va.

By O. E. McKAINE

SAVANNAH, Ga.—Lady Astor recently shocked Savannah natives when she told them that the city needed its face washed; but the proud citizens of this momentary world monetary capital promptly proceeded to clean up. But much of white Savannah is still dirty behind the ears if it is to be judged by the actions of the city's registration officials. Sat. 3-23-46

Notwithstanding the decisions of the U. S. Supreme court, the various state courts and more recently the Federal District Court in New Orleans that, in Georgia, Negroes must be permitted to vote without hindrance in the primaries, the registration officials of Savannah and Chatham county, Ga., are still using illegal procedures to prevent Negroes from qualifying to vote in the primaries.

Since the poll tax has been abolished by the state legislature, the demand on the part of officials for the payment of a tax to qualify to vote is manifestly illegal. However, it is alleged that, here in Savannah, many Negroes have been obliged to pay their personal property taxes before they were permitted to have their names enrolled on the registration books.

In the county court house, the tax collector's office is located just across the hall from the registrar's office and when certain types of Negroes request to be registered they are first asked if they have made their tax return and if they respond in the negative they are given a slip of paper and directed to first clear with the tax collector and then return to complete their registration. Sat. 3-23-46

DEMAND BACK TAXES

Usually those who comply are registered without further questioning. And in nearly all cases the Negroes who register without having gone to the tax collector receive, in a few days after registration, a blue or a pink slip demanding the payment within five days of from two to seven years "back taxes" under threat of having their furniture seized by the sheriff for non-compliance. Sometimes these delinquent taxes amount to more than thirty dollars. And as a natural result of these tactics the registration of Negroes has slowed up considerably.

Within the past nine months, the number of Negroes registered has increased from approximately 1,800 to about 6,500. And under the impetus of a newly organized registration drive, Negroes have been qualifying at the rate of more than 100 daily. This number has now diminished to about 40 per day.

NOT DISCOURAGED Sat. 3-23

The Savannah Negroes are not discouraged; only very indignant. The Hub, an organization of Negro professional and businessmen, backed by the Committee for Georgia, an affiliate of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the NAACP, has retained a lawyer to bring suit in the Federal Court at once to oblige the registration board to conform to the law in dealing with Negro voters. Several white Savannahians who witnessed the illegal treatment of the Negroes have expressed their willingness to testify in their behalf.

J. W. McGlockton, prominent businessman and chairman of the Political Action Committees of the Hub and the NAACP, states that while these maneuvers of the registration officials may momentarily slow up the registration, they will not bring it to a complete halt.

The lawyer for the Negro group, Aaron Kravitch is taking

Incumbents Lose As Ga. Negroes Get First Vote

Sat 3-30-46

BRUNSWICK, Ga. — (ANP)— For the first time in the history of Brunswick and Glynn County Negroes voted last week in the Democratic primary, and, incidentally, all incumbent county commissioners were defeated.

More than 90 per cent of the 2,400 Negro registrants participated in the primary, results of which heretofore have been tantamount to election. Only about 75 per cent of the 6,700 whites registrants voted, officials disclosed. About 7,000 votes were

First Negroes Vote In Bulloch Primary

Atlanta Constitution Ga. Saturday

STATESBORO, March 8.—Negroes voted in the Bulloch county primary this week for the first time since the early '90s, during the time of Tom Watson when the Populists and the Democrats were "a feuding." 3-9-46

Soon after the polls opened several Negroes voted. 3-9-46

After the first group voted, the Negroes who came to the polls were told at the door of the courthouse that they could not vote and they left without protest.

Ft. Valley Negroes Vote In March 29 Democratic Primary

Atlanta Ga. Daily Record

FORT VALLEY, Ga.— On Friday, March 29, Negro citizens of Fort Valley participated for the first time in the Democratic primary. Approximately 200 Negroes were registered and a large percentage took advantage of the voting privilege. A mayor, three aldermen, and other city officials were elected. Voting took place without incident of any sort.

Negro Opinion

Mon. 3-18-46 Atlanta Ga.

Editor Constitution: Recently I have read numerous articles in The Atlanta Constitution, many which were excerpts from other Georgia Publications, concerning Negroes' voting in the primaries of this state. That the Negro is partaking of these rights doesn't necessarily mean he is attempting to rule the political roost of Georgia. The Negro is only attempting to help chart courses which he'll have to travel as a citizen of this state. World conflict today would be less prevalent if all races had equal rights along all lines of life.

There can be no real peace until all nations (including America) grant equal priviledges to each individual regardless of race or color. In conclusion: Why make such a ruckus about the Negroes' voting. After all, he's within his rights. Constitution.

LEONARD SUMMERS.

Atlanta. Mon. 3-18-46

Illegal Tactics Used to Check Ga. Voters

Afro-American Baltimore Md.

SAVANNAH, Ga. — (ANP) — Registrars here are employing illegal tactics to discourage registration in spite of rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court, the State Courts and the Federal District Court in New Orleans, the NAACP charges. 3-30-46

Registrars are requiring some applicants to present their receipts for having paid personal property taxes, while in many instances tax collectors are billing prospective registrants for two and three years of back taxes, which must be paid within five days.

Increase in the number of colored people registered within the past nine months has jumped from 1800 to about 6,500. But the registrars' tactics have decreased the 100-a-day qualification rate to about 40 a day.

Plots Against Negro Voting Pointed Out

Daily Record Atlanta, Ga. Sat 4-27-46

Civic-Political League Hears Many In Macon Meeting

BY V. W. HODGES

MACON, Ga. — (SNS) — Negro leaders were warned Thursday against the efforts of thin-skin shysters and clandestine plotters in Georgia to undermine and embarass their participation in the State's primary elections this fall. The occasion was the biennial session of The Georgia Civic and Political League at Macon, Georgia, where nearly 250 Negro leaders were gathered from over 43 counties to map plans for the effective organization of their political forces over the state.

John Wesley Dobbs, president of the statewide group, presided over the session and in his message called upon the representatives to "continue to stick together, organize and plan wisely" for the political welfare of "our people" in Georgia and in a "non-partisan way." Sat 4-27-46

Dr. Allen R. Cooper, pastor, of Stewart Chapel AME Church, extended official greetings to the delegates on behalf of his congregation. And Dr. M. J. Sherard, pastor, First Baptist Church of Macon, felicitated the meeting on behalf of the citizens of Macon.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

"We must think together; we must stick together, and until that day comes when we have fully acquired our liberty and freedom as full-fledged American citizens, we must even vote together," declared President Dobbs.

Mr. Dobbs, who prefaced his message with a number of citations where Negroes in the state were being deprived of their rights to vote, read excerpts from letters from the United States District Attorney's Office, assuring him that all such violations will be dealt with rigidly and in conformity with the laws guaranteeing Negroes their vote rights. "We cannot vote unless we register," he continued, "and it must be our first objective to get Negroes registered."

LAUDS ARNALL'S STAND

In recounting developments in the primary suit and its successful victory up to the highest court, Mr. Dobbs commended the lofty and liberal position taken by Governor Ellis Arnall in refusing to become a party to any scheme seeking to circumvent the decision. "Our Governor of Georgia," said he, "has said that Negroes now have a right to vote in Georgia elections. He has refused to call an extra session of the Legislature. For this courageous stand, I think we should not only commend the Governor, but that we should make a secret pledge in our hearts to remember and support him wherever a future occasion should permit us to do so," he suggested.

STROZIER SPEAKS

Delivering an impromptu address to the delegates, Attorney Harry S. Strozier, principal lawyer in the Primus King suit, accepted with moderation the credit for victory in the suit; paid high compliments to Dr. T. H. Brewer and his associates in the prompt, businesslike manner in which the payments were made, and then cautioned Negroes not to become discouraged if here and there, a few of them may encounter difficulties in voting this Fall, said he.

"I do not take any special credit for the primary victory. It was one of those cases any lawyer would have jumped at. It was easy to win, because the law was on the side of Negroes voting. But more than that, I was paid a good fee for handling the suit. And I would have taken it, even if I had believed that I would lose, because I had the conviction that the Negro possesses every right which any white man in Georgia has to cast his ballot." Sat 4-27-46

The Macon lawyer paid special tribute to the services of his partner, Attorney Oscar Smith, Columbus, Georgia and took occasion to observe that the Primary victory was a wholesome thing not only for the Negro but for the white Georgians, because it has caused all of them to evince a new interest in good government. However, he advised, only Negro Democrats of Georgia, rather than Republicans, can take advantage of the decision, since it is primrily a Democratic primary."

OTHERS PRESENTED

Others who were presented to the delegates included W. S. Hornsby, president, Pilgrim Health and Life Insurance Company, of Augusta; Dr. T. W. Josey, physician, Augusta, Major Hopkins, of Savannah, Dr. E. R. Searcy, of Thomasville, I. D. Harvey, Pelham, Ga., Rev. J. F. Carter and Clinton King, Albany, Georgia, F. M. Hutchins, W. J. Shaw, Atlanta, Joseph Crawford, Atlanta, Dr. W. F. Dyett, Macon, President of the League, Macon, Ga., and Roy Ware of the Improved Order of Wesley, Wilberforce president, de-

supremacists, whose philosophies cannot be tolerated by Negro voters.

political

registration ca. and increased upon all of the more than 35 civic leagues over the state to continue their efforts in order that we may report between 200,000 and 300,000 voters before the books close.

The delegates, almost in unanimous chorus, shouted down the mere mention of the names of Eugene Talmadge, Roy V. Harris, Marvin Griffin and lesser white be on the alert.

REGISTRATION SOARS

Glowing accounts of registration activity in all sections of the state were reported. Total registration reported between 200,000 and 300,000 voters before the books close.

The delegates, almost in unanimous chorus, shouted down the mere mention of the names of Eugene Talmadge, Roy V. Harris, Marvin Griffin and lesser white

to build up a fund for the purpose of supplying large quantities of liquor to irresponsible Negroes and whites and thus create incidents and riots at the polling places were warned in Macon two weeks ago," said Mr. Ross, talking with a local white man, who tried to dissuade him from such a dangerous course." The Negro leaders were warned by Dobbs, in his plea for unanimity.

Samaritans, Athens, Georgia and others. Sat 4-27-46

Mike Ross, International Representative of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, CIO was presented because of the part he is playing in the registration campaign in Macon. He revealed to Negro leaders, a clandestine plot being hatched over the state by one of the gubernatorial candidates

More About The Augusta Election

Atlanta Daily World, Ga.

Official figures on the results of the Richmond County (Augusta) prmary election last Tuesday which repudiated Speaker Roy Harris and his Cracker Party which has been in power there over 20 years, disclose some interestng facts.

First, a majority of the white voters in the County voted for the Independents, thereby repudiating Roy Harris and his Cracker Party and their issue of the campaign "white supremacy" and restoration of the white primary. This is significant in that the majority of the white people are showing they don't believe in denying the Negro the right to vote in the primary. This should be a clear notice to the rabble rousing race-baiting candidates of the futility of their efforts.

Tues 4-23-46

Second, that 1994 Negroes voted for the Independents and 437 for the Crackers. At first it would seem that this is a small percentage out of a registration of 4600. But the fact that several hundred Negroes who had been in line to vote long before the polls closed only to be turned away at the closing time, partly explains this. However, there has not been explained how Speaker Harris and his Cracker Party who ran on a platform committed to disenfranchise our race got even one Negro vote. For instance, in the Fourth Ward Harris and his ticket received 352 Negro votes as against only 221 for the Independents. It should be noted, however, it was in this ward where several hundred Negroes in all probability anti-Harris votes, were turned away at closing time of the election. But suppose the election had been closer and it would have been revealed that Harris and his party won by the margin of the Negro vote? This could have happened. Every single vote is important and every citizen must realize this. We can take no chances with our precious ballots.

We will have little choice in the next few elections. Our simple duty must be to concentrate on the best candidate or ticket to assure that a race-baiting demogogue will not slip into office through a divison of the votes. This is common sense and it is a matter of self-defense.

Tues 4-23-46

When the race issue is gotten out of the campaigns then we can be normal citizens and consider the candidates and tickets on their merits as to political and economic principles. But until then, we have little individual choice, less we through division, become re-enslaved politically.

Also we noticed in the Augusta election the practice of using separate voting booths for Negroes was carried out. This enabled officials to tell just how the Negroes voted. This fact may explain why the Cracker Party got some Negro votes. We happen to know that the Cracker Party cracked the whip over the head of every Negro it could reach and demanded support for their ticket. One Negro of questionable influence who was obligated to the Crackers and could not square his conscience with the idea of supporting the Crackers wanted to leave town but he was warned not to do so until after the election.

All in all, considering this election was probably the first time of voting for most of the Negro participants, we have no criticism for their conduct. And of course, we are very gratified over the results of the election.

All Georgia Votes

Daily Worker New York

DEMOCRACY'S battle is going ahead in the South.

Negroes, voting in a Georgia primary on a wide scale for the first time, were decisive in retiring from the Legislature one of the state's top reactionaries and in electing an entire independent county slate.

The election results are highly significant for the entire country. They demonstrate that, as the Negro people win the right to vote, they will help to clean up the Tory gang that has dominated the South and has blocked progress in Congress.

New York

The "white primary" is slowly being defeated in one state after another largely because of the great national drives that have been conducted against the polltax. That drive has also forced some states to take action by themselves against the election tax.

The harder the pressure on Congress for elimination of the polltax, the greater the successes in the individual states for the right to vote. Fri 4-19-46

Backbone of the struggle for the franchise is the labor movement. The CIO drive to organize the South will do much to cut out the remaining checks on a free ballot.

Registrars Slow Up Savannah Voters

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta-Ga.

Fri. 3-22-46

By O. E. McKAINE

Recently Lady Astor shocked Savannahians when she said the city needed its face washed; and the proud citizens of this momentary world monetary capitol promptly proceeded to clean up. But much of white Savannah is still dirty behind the ears if it is to be judged by the actions of registration officials.

Nothwithstanding decisions of the U. S. Supreme court, the various state court, and more recently the federal district court in New Orleans that in Georgia Negroes must be permitted to vote without hindrance in the primaries, the registration officials of Savannah and Chatham county are still using illegal procedures to prevent Negroes from qualifying to vote in the primaries.

Since the polltax has been abolished by the state Legislature the demand on the part of officials for the payment of a tax to qualify to vote is manifestly illegal. However it is alleged that here in Savannah many Negroes have been obliged to pay their personal property taxes before were permitted to have their names enrolled on the registration books. In the county court house the tax collector's office is located just across the hall from the registrar's office and when certain types of Negroes request to be registered they are first asked if they have made their tax return and if they respond in the negative they are given a slip of paper and directed to first clear with the tax collector and then return to complete their registration. Usually those who comply are registered without further questioning. And in nearly all cases the Negroes who register without having gone to the tax collector receive in a few days after registration a blue or a pink slip demanding payment within five days of from two to seven years "back taxes" under threat of having their furniture seized by the sheriff for non-compliance. Some times these delinquent taxes amount to more than thirty dollars. And as a natural result of these tactics the registration of Negroes has slowed up considerably. Fri- 3-22-45

Within the past nine months the number of Negroes registered has increased from approximately 1,800 to about 6,500. And under the impetus of a newly organized registration drive, Negroes have been qualifying at the rate of more than 100 daily. This number has now diminished to about 40 per day.

The Savannah Negroes are not discouraged; only very indignant. The HUB, an organization of Negro professional and businessmen, backed by the Committee for Georgia, an affiliate of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the NAACP, has retained a lawyer to bring suit in the federal court at once to oblige the registration board to conform to the law in dealing with Negro voters. Several white Savannahians who witnessed the illegal treatment of the Negroes have expressed their willingness to testify in their behalf.

Georgia County Has First General Voting By Negroes In South

Birmingham Ala. Herald

Sun. 3-24-46

BY HENRY LESESNE

BRUNSWICK, Ga., March 23—(AP)—The nearest thing to mass suffrage—white and black—in the Deep South has come out of this county, steeped in Southern tradition since Colonial days.

It has resulted in a political upheaval but does not answer in any definite way what is on the politicians' minds: How will the Negro, flushed with his newly-won right, vote? Sun. 3-24-46

In the border states where Negro participation in the Democratic primary is accepted as a matter of course, the Negro has voted—or neglected to vote—just about as white people do.

But what happened this week in the coastal county of Glynn was the first thing of its kind in the Deep South. Negroes have voted recently in two Georgia municipal primaries but not in great numbers.

Ordinarily 2,000 votes is a good turnout in Glynn County, which the last census gave a population of 13,356 whites and 8,564 Negroes.

* * *

YET IN THE PRIMARY this week 2,400 negroes alone registered and nearly all voted. There were 6,700 whites registered. A total of 6,512 votes were cast.

How did this amazing change come about?

Georgia last year repealed its poll tax. It is the only state which permits 18-year-olds to vote. The U. S. District and Circuit Courts have said Negroes can vote in Georgia primaries.

Virtually alone in the South in its action, the Glynn County Democratic Executive Committee granted a request by a Negro political organization to allow Negroes to vote in the "white primary."

Mass registration of whites and Negroes followed. Georgia law gives tax collectors pretty wide discretion in passing upon qualifications of applicants for registration.

* * *

YET THE CHARGE has never been raised here that there was any discrimination against Negroes. "We registered white and black alike," says Tax Commissioner J. M. Exley. "They came in taxicabs, everything. Sometimes there were 50 or more in line."

However, in the neighboring and larger county of Chatham (Savannah), a group of Negroes a few days ago filed suit charging discriminatory methods of registering Negroes—a charge which officials denied. Sun 3-24-46

participated in the Democratic primary here. Sat 4-13-46

Candidates for election included mayor, three aldermen and other city officials. No incidents of any sort were reported.

Ft. Valley Colored People Vote In Primary Election

Atlanta Daily World

Sun. 3-24-46

FORT VALLEY, Ga.—When approximately 200 colored citizens registered and took advantage of the voting privilege, Mar. 29, it was the first time they had ever

The Glynn County election re-sulted in the ousting of seven county commissioners.

There is no way of knowing definitely how the Negroes voted. Whites and Negroes voted in the same booths. Once separate booths were considered but it was decided this would be unfair.

Politicians view the "Glynn experiment" with a weather eye. The Fall. Other Deep South states have

periments from its statute books, and the primaries unregulated

There is no way of knowing definitely how the Negroes voted in the

Georgia's neighbor, South Carolina, has got around the Supreme Court decision that Negroes can vote in primaries by the expedient of stripping all laws relating to pri-

leaving this 'election' included aldermen and other officials. No incidents of any sort were reported.

Evasion Is Not The Answer

Atlanta Daily World, Ga.

We noticed with interest the suggestion by Commissioner of Agriculture Tom Linder that a so-called executive committee be substituted for the Democratic Executive Committee in the conduct of the coming primary and continue to exclude Negroes from participation. The declared position of many responsible white citizens that qualified Negroes should be permitted to vote in the primary without regard for race and color is much sounder than this idea advanced by Mr. Linder. 3-16-46

This plan would be a clear attempt at evasion and we believe those who would permit themselves to become a part of such a scheme would be subject to contempt charges. Moreover, the election of those nominated in the primary for national offices could be challenged. And this may also be true of those elected to state offices. Sat.

The proper way to meet the question of the Negro voting is to meet it squarely and fairly. Evasion will prove unsatisfactory to both sides. The fact that Atlanta Negroes voted preponderantly for the successful candidate in the recent congressional election was cited as a reason for continuing to exclude the Negro from the primary. Eliminate the race issue in the campaigns and you eliminate the reason for the Negro voting as a race or bloc. Then, too why should Mr. Linder complain of the Negro voting as a race when the South has voted as a section for many years. Furthermore, the candidate Negroes voted for was one that had been elected in a white primary several times.

Friendly compliance with the law as has been done recently in Athens and Valdosta and is to be done in Brunswick this month, is the only just and therefore, final way to settle this vital issue. Georgia can never be a truly Democratic state until political discrimination and denial on the basis of race and color is eliminated.

Georgia Trys Poll Tax Substitute'

Chicago Defender Sat 3-30-46

Chicago Ill.

SAVANNAH, Ga. — Since the poll tax has been outlawed, registrars here are using the personal property tax to balk the registration of Negro voters, it was reevaled this week.

The number of colored voters registered within the past nine months has jumped from 1,800 to about 6,500 under the impetus of a newly organized registration drive.

But the 100-a-day qualification rate has been slowed down to about 40 a day because of the registrars' tactics.

The right to register to vote here is being based on the payment of personal property taxes. In the county court house, the tax collectors office is just across the hall from the registrars' office.

Negroes who come in to register are asked if they have made their tax return. If they respond in the negative, they are given a slip and directed to pay their taxes first.

Those who comply are usually registered without further questioning. In all cases where this is not done, the voter gets a demand for payment of taxes as far back as five years under the threat of having their furniture seized by the sheriff for non-compliance.

Reaction to the registrars' methods has been a deep indignation and the mapping of plans for legal action. Atty. Aaron Kravtich had been retained by the Hub, an organization of Negro business and professional men backed by the Committee for Georgia, and the NAACP. Both organizations plan to have a showdown in court.

The registrars may slow up the registration but they can not stop it, said J. W. McGlockton, fighting prominent Negro businessman and chairman of the political action committees of the HUB and NAACP. Several white residents here have witnessed the illegal treatment of Negroes and have expressed a willingness to testify.

Atty. Kravitch is hopeful of obtaining an injunction against the registrars within the next 10 days.

Let Negroes Vote, Drop 'Subterfuge', Arnall Pleads

Atlanta Constitution, Ga.

Fri 4-5-46

By JOHN COURIC

Gov. Arnall has called upon Georgians as "good citizens" to accept the Negro's right to vote and has flatly refused to "be a party to any subterfuge or 'scheme' designed to nullify the orders of the courts."

Declaring he will not call the Legislature into an extraordinary session, the Governor, in a statement yesterday said he was convinced the General Assembly would refuse to repeal the State's primary laws even if convened.

However, he added, if such a repeal were effected, primary elections, in his opinion, still would be a part of the State's election machinery and therefore subject to federal laws.

Pointing out the County Unit System and laws against election fraud would be voided by a repeal of State primary regulations, the Governor said he would not assume responsibility for such a move.

"If the members of the Legislature want to assume the responsibility, they have the right," he declared.

He termed the County Unit System a "law that affords the small counties recognition in State political affairs." The importance of this section is the basis of his belief that the Legislature would not repeal the White Primary Law.

"Should the criminal statutes be abolished," he added, "the people would have no assurance the primary elections would not be 'stolen' by fraud and corruption."

Both House Speaker Harris and former Gov. Talmadge have advocated the repeal of the State's primary law as a means of preventing Negro voting. They also have argued for keeping the County Unit System and regulations against fraud by rulings from the State Democratic Executive Committee.

The Governor's statement in full follows:

"The courts having spoken, I call upon the people of Georgia to accept their decisions. It is our duty as good citizens to uphold the courts, the Constitution and laws of our land. As governor, sworn to uphold the Constitution and laws, I will not be a party to any subterfuge or 'scheme' designed to nullify the orders of the courts.

"I am persuaded that the General Assembly would refuse to repeal the law providing a county unit system in our primary elections. This is the law that affords the small counties recognition in state political affairs. Likewise, it is my opinion that the General Assembly would refuse to abolish the criminal laws governing our primary elections. Should the criminal statutes be abolished, the people would have no assurance that the primary elections would not be 'stolen' by corruption and fraud. Fri 4-5-46

"It is my considered legal judgment that even if the county unit system and the criminal statutes against corruption in primary elections were repealed, the courts would still hold that the primary elections are a part of the state election machinery in that they are recognized on the official ballot and are, therefore, protected by the provisions of the United States Constitution.

"I do not propose to call an extraordinary session of the General Assembly to do away with the county unit system and the criminal laws governing primary elections. If the members of the Legislature want to assume that responsibility, they have that right."

Augusta Negroes Vote Today In Hot Primary Race

Daily News Atlanta, Ga.

June 4-16-46

The political pot of Richmond County (Augusta) is boiling and the Negro question and white primary are the main issues on which the Cracker Party is asking a vote of confidence and retention in power. The Cracker Party is headed by Speaker of the House Roy Har-

Following filing of this report, after two weeks' session checking lists of registrants and examining those whose rights to register had been challenged, the Board of Registrars announced they will remain in session for 10 days in order that appeals from decisions may be filed with them. 7-1-45

The complete statement of Board of Registrars follows: 6-8-46

"A qualified list of registered voters has been filed by this Board with the Clerk of Sumter Superior Court.

"The task of examining registrants against whom a formal challenge of the right to register as voters has been filed has been completed by the Board.

"The Board will now begin the task of examining those registrants against whom no formal challenge has been filed. This work will require sometime to complete. All registrants who registered for the first time this year will be called for examination by the registrars.

"As required by law, the Board will remain in session during the ensuing 10 days in order that appeals from their decision rendered in the case of any registrants may be filed with them. A notice posted on the official sales and order bulletin board at the Courthouse gives information as to where the sittings of the Board are being held.

"It is believed the examination of registrants will be completed in time to permit revision of the qualified list of registered voters now on file in the office of Superior Court Clerk H. E. Allen before June 11. The examination of registrants will be continued along the same lines as heretofore and identical methods of qualification will be used in the case of all persons certified to the Board by the County Tax Commissioner."

Sumter Voters List Largest In History

Atlanta, Ga.

June 4-8-46

Constitution State News Service.

AMERICUS, June 5—Despite the fact that the largest number of citizens in the county's history have registered this year, only 92 Negroes have qualified, according to a report filed by the Board of Registrars with the Clerk of Sumter Superior Court.

Of the total of 4,384 qualified registered voters, 2,344 of this number are white men, 1,948 white women, 34 Negro men and 58 Negro women.

The election today in August will be the second primary in the state in which a large number of colored voters will participate. It is reliably estimated there are 5000 Negroes among the 26000 qualified voters.

The Cracker Party which controls the city and county governments is being seriously challenged today for the first time in 20 years. And despite its stated position of preserving the white primary and a boast made by Harris that his victory would be a spring board for stumping the state for restoration of the white primary, the Crackers are trying to woo every Negro vote it can get. A daily paper is circulated in the Negro Community.

But judging from the sentiment expressed at a mass meeting last Friday night by the colored voters of Augusta the Cracker Party will be

The Independents are headed by William Morris of the Augusta Chronicle. The election will select three county commissioners and three members for the State Legislature.

Trial of Negro Vote Asked Before Action

Atlanta Constitution, Ga.

Sun 4-7-46

By M. L. ST. JOHN

As former Gov. Eugene Talmadge staked his political comeback attempt on an anti-Negro campaign and Commissioner of Agricultur Tom Linder moved away from the Arnall camp and away from gubernatorial campaign, Rep. Claude Pittman, of Bartow, asked Georgia solons to try out the Democratic primary this summer with Negroes voting and then decide whether this is worse than junking the county unit election system and laws against election frauds.

Several weekly newspapers said they were more concerned with the possibility of losing the county unit system than permitting Negroes to vote.

Talmadge's formal announcement for Governor yesterday followed many months' speculation that he would seek a comeback. He is the second avowed candidate in the field, Adj. Gen. Marvin Griffin already having announced. No announcement has yet been made by former Gov. Ed Rivers, who is regarded as a sure candidate this summer.

Internal Revenue Collector Marion Allen, who is gaining strength as a prospective candidate, will launch another series of speeches this week, and will soon decide whether he will run. Meanwhile, observers have predicted that Sec. of State Ben Fortson, Jr., will seek the governorship, and that he will have the backing of Gov. Arnall.

Linder, who campaigned for Arnall against his former boss Talmadge in 1942, has left Arnall on the Negro voting issue, and has announced he will support a candidate who promises to keep the white primary.

He termed Arnall's position on Negro voting a climax to the Governor's "opposition to including the county unit system in the new State Constitution; his abolition of the poll tax; his lowering of the voting age; his support for Henry Wallace in the last National Democratic Convention, where Wallace attacked the people of the South, and his letter to Mrs. Roosevelt insulting men in Georgia who were responsible for Mrs. Roosevelt's not coming to Atlanta to address a mixed audience of whites and Negroes in the City Auditorium."

Indications that Linder would not seek the governorship were seen when his home town newspaper at Hazlehurst, The Jeff Davis County Ledger, indorsed State Auditor B. E. Thrasher, Jr., for Governor. The Ledger recalled that newspapers in Richland, Watkinsville, Greenville, Valdosta and Augusta already had indorsed Thrasher. The Sylvester Local, Warm Springs Mirror and Tri-County Review, at Cuthbert, last week praised Thrasher.

Friends of the Auditor say, however, that Thrasher won't agree to make the race.

vocation and act in the light of actual experience at the next regular session.

Pittman expressed fear that abolition of the county unit system would lead to control of Georgia by big city machines.

The Lowndes County News, at Valdosta, the Pike County Progress, at Jasper, and the Claxton Enterprise, at Claxton, each said repeal of the county unit law will be risky, and that the average Georgian is not as concerned about Negro voting as is the political machines. The Newnan Herald said that demagogues are using the Negro voting issue as a scare campaign to fool the people. The Herald said many Negroes can vote intelligently; that no one, white or Negro, should be permitted to vote if he is incapable of understanding the issues involved. Sun 4-7-46

The Thomaston Times said the Negro vote is here to stay in Georgia and expressed the opinion that the situation can be handled satisfactorily. At any rate, it would be well to let the law take its course for try out before making any effort to amend it or revoke it, the Times added.

A Talmadge newspaper has indorsed Roy Harris for re-election as speaker, as the Augustan, battling for his political life in a local campaign, tried to convene the Legislature in special session to repeal primary laws preparatory to keeping the white primary. The Dodge County Advertiser, at Eastman, denounced Democratic Chairman Lon Duckworth, Senate Pres. Frank Gross and Gov. Arnall and called for the election of Talmadge as Governor and Harris as Speaker. Sun 4-7-46

The North Georgia Tribune, at Canton, has come out flatly in favor of the right of Negroes and "people of all races" to vote. Says The Tribune: "The old question of Negro voting has arisen again in Georgia, and by the publicized statements of opponents who have a mania to adhere to a Democratic form of government, yet are willing to defeat the first principle of democracy, we are reminded that the old witch-burning spirit still lingers to hinder progressiveness. The intemperance of some racial relation reformer in the nation's Capitol and the intolerance of fanatical racial subjugators in the South have set the nation at odds, and until all races are regarded as the human race, there is little hope for humanity."

"WHAT IS WHITE?"

Rep. Pittman, once a candidate for Governor and a former Superior Court Judge, asked the Legislators if "we should not deliberate before violating or circumventing the Constitution and laws of the United States and our oaths to uphold them?"

"If the State Democratic Executive Committee is to say only white persons can vote in a primary, then the question will arise: "Who is white?" Pittman pointed out. "Is a mulatto white? Is a Chinaman, a Jap, a Cuban, a Mexican, a Filipino, or brown races white? Shall white be held to mean only the descendants of the English, French, German and other original settlers of the state? We are trying to build a new political bridge before testing the old one, which has been redesigned and remodeled by the courts, clothed with a solemn duty to interpret our constitutions and laws. After all, ours is a Government of laws rather than of men and executive committees. So why not save the expense of another con-

Effective Cooperation

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

The splendid manner in which the entire Atlanta Negro community organized, worked and sweated in an effort to secure 25,000 eligible voters, is enough to inspire Negroes in every community in the South. Measured in terms of other events in Negro life, there is nothing with which to compare it, not even the popular appeal of the Jitterbug King, which all too frequently in the past, has claimed too much of the attention of Negroes at the expense of things more meaningful. Fri 5-10-46

For this magnificent organization and cooperation the credit is ascribed to no one person or club, or church or school. It was the result of the effective, unselfish and wholehearted unity of everyone, young as well as old, literate as well as unlearned, well-to-do as well as poor, together with the church, the school, the clubs and various organizations, partisan and non-partisan, cemented by a flaming spirit of togetherness, never before attained for any single objective. Although final and conclusive figures are still lacking, it is more than an even guess that the goal of 25,000 was reached, thus trebling the voting list of the County in less than six weeks. We congratulate Atlanta and the vision evidenced by these leaders.

Says Brunswick Negro Vote Not Solid For Opposition

Atlanta Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Democratic Club Secretary Gives Primary Analysis

Sat. 3-30-46

J. M. ATKINSON
(Secretary, Brunswick, Progressive Democratic Club)

BRUNSWICK, Ga.— (SNS)—Approximately 2,000 Negroes voted March 20 in Glynn County primary to nominate seven Democratic nomiees for election as Commissioners of Roads and Revenue. About 93% of the 2,400 Negroes registered voted, as compared to about 75% of the 6,700 white registrants who voted.

According to an official announcement of the Democratic Executive Committee of the county an entirely new set of commissioners were nominated. The Negro Progressive Democratic Club supported five of the incumbents, who were overwhelmingly defeated. Two candidates the club supported --Joe C. Stewart and Arthur True --were successfully nominated.

Untrue allegations have been made to the effect that the Negroes voted overwhelmingly for opposing candidates and that this accounted for the outcome of the election. Newpapers all over the state have carried a story relating to the outcome of the balloting of Everett District in the county, where there were 112 Negroes registered to 59 whites to indicate the trend of the Negro's voting throughout the county. Sat. 3-30-46

It is interesting to note that in the Thalman District where there are no Negroes registered, the incumbents got only 15% of the votes cast, but in the Everett District a majority of the registrants were Negroes, 27% of the votes went to the defeated incumbents.

It is true, however, that the solidarity of the Negro vote was greatly hampered by several factors outside the influence of the Progressive Democratic Club. At election time, there were four different slates among our people.

Despite adverse factors, it can be said with good support that the election was lost by the incumbents because of the fact that the several opposing candidates were instrumental in putting nearly 4,000 white registration on the list for the sole purpose of having them vote fora new board.

Administration candidates attributed their defeat to two causes. They believe the Negro vote was against them and that hundreds of residents who had never before voted in the county voted against them vote for a new board.

There was no disorder of any kind at or around the polls.

Plots Against Negro Voting Pointed Out

Black Dispatch Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MACON, Ga. — (ANP) —Leaders of Georgia's political circles, meeting here last week at the biennial session of the Georgia Civic and Political league were warned against the efforts of thin-skin shyers and clandestine plotters attempting to undermine and embarrass their participation in the state's primary elections. 6-1-46

Some 250 community leaders gathered from over 43 counties of the state to map plans for the effective organizotion of their political forces over the state.

In his message to the gathering, John Wesley Dobbs, state president, called upon the representatives to "continue to stick together, organize and plan wisely" for the political welfare of "our people" in Georgia and in a "non-partisan way."

"We must think together; we must stick together, ond until that day comes when we have fully acquired our liberty and freedom as full-fledged citizens, we must even vote together," declared President Dobbs, who is also grandmaster of Prince Hall Masons in Georgia.

The president of the state group revealed that the United States District attorney's office assured him that all such violations of political rights as might come through subterfuge would be dealt with by that office.

In recounting developments in the primary suit and its successful victory up to the highest courts, Dobbs commended the lefty and liberal position of Gov. Ellis Arnall in refusing to become a party to any scheme seeking to circumvent the decision. "Our governor of Georgia," said Dobbs, "has said that Negroes now have the right to vote in Georgia elections. He had refused to call an extra session of the legislature. For this courageous stand, I think we should not only commend the governor, but that we should make a high complements to Dr. T. H. secret pledge in our hearts to report him wherever which the payments were made, member and support he should permit and then cautioned, Negroes not a future occasion should become discouraged if here and us to do so." 6-1-46

Atty. Harry S. Strozier, principal lawyer in the Primus E. King case, accepted with moderation the credit for victory in the suit; paid Brewer and his associates in the prompt, business like manner in

Sat.

It is Time For A Change

The Atlanta Daily World Atlanta Ga

The inspiring manner in which colored Atlantans flocked to the courthouse in the recent vote drive to qualify for the approaching special congressional election presages a new determination to share in the protections and benefits of representative government. With approximately 7,000 reported on the current registration rolls, their actions give indication that they want a change in the old order. 1-13-46

They want protection from police brutality and unfair discrimination practices in employment. They want better schools for their children. They want justice in our law courts based upon justice rather than upon race. They want representation on the Councils which determine policies affecting their interests and welfare. They believe that an intelligent use of the ballot will, at least help, to bring about these changes. It is time for such a change. 1-13-46

Negroes of course, must not delude themselves in thinking that 7,000 votes can work some magic wand. They will not. Our point is that we have made a praiseworthy beginning. But our hardest struggles are still ahead. We must continue the vote drive with vigor. The registration books, while closed for this special election, remain open until May 1. Let all who have not done so, get registered.

M. L. ST. JOHN

Atlanta Constitution

Discusses Negro Vote in Georgia

Atlanta, Ga.

This is a discussion of the Negro in Georgia politics. 2-17-46

While a United States district court in New Orleans studies the plea of a Columbus Negro for the right to vote in Georgia Democratic "white" primaries, Negroes already have cast their ballots in primaries in at least two Georgia cities in recent months, and will be voting in primaries in many Georgia counties during this election year. There were no incidents when the Negroes voted for mayors of Athens, in north Georgia, and Valdosta, in south Georgia. Now in a general election in Atlanta the Negroes have exercised the balance of power in naming a congressman. Tom Camp and Helen Mankin went into the Ashby Street school precinct neck-and-neck, and Mrs. Mankin came out the winner by 800 votes.

There has been much undercurrent talk about the way the Negro officials of the Ashby Street precinct conducted the election. A few white people have telephoned The Constitution that their cooks claimed the election officials voted for them. The cooks according to their white employers, said when they asked for ballots they found them already scratched except for one name. They were told that the election officials would "fix up the ballots" for them, the cooks were quoted as saying. The ordinary's office investigated these serious reports. It said the Ashby street election was conducted orderly. It said no Negro voter had made any charge of fraud to that office. However, one candidate has protested the election. The office said it is the duty of election officials to aid voters, if the voters wish help. Since many Negroes were visiting the ballot box for the first time and looking at a ticket of 19 names, it is probable that some were confused and desired help.

May Be Issue

Some groups are planning to make capital out of this election and the rumors. They are expected to use it in an effort to preserve the white primary on a state-wide basis. They will use the rumors as truth and say, "If that's the way the Negro uses his ballot, he can't be trusted with it." They will view with alarm the Negro being a deciding factor in an election. As a matter of record, the Negro's deciding vote in Atlanta was cast in a general election—and the Negro has always been permitted to vote in general elections in Georgia, and could have been exercising his power before in general elections.

Tom Camp, who lost many votes because of his connection with the railroads, may run again this summer. He carried two counties, whose combined unit vote equals the unit vote of Fulton county.

In the recent Valdosta voting, Negroes were praised by both factions of white persons for the way they conducted themselves at the polls. It was the bitterest fight Valdosta has ever witnessed, and the tempers of white people were on edge—yet the Negros cast their ballots without any incidents. The Negroes were not herded to the polls and voted in a bloc by either one of the two white factions. This was attested by both Mayor-elect H. B. Edwards and outgoing Mayor Frank Rose. There were two elections conducted simultaneously—enough to confuse experienced voters. The people voted in a general election on the public power issue, and in a primary for mayor and council. For weeks before election day, Negro leaders held public meetings in school houses and explained voting procedures to their people. The Negroes went to the courthouse, cast their ballots and left, amidst favorable comment from the white people.

By The United Press.

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 12—The Alabama Democratic Executive Committee removed today a seventy-five-year-old specification that only white persons can vote in the party's primaries, thus allowing Negroes to vote in the May 7 primary.

Negro Attacks Deprivation Of Right To Vote

Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser

Georgia Case Is Carried To Court Of Appeals As Racial Issue Is Raised

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 19.—(AP)—A contention that Negroes may not be barred because of their race from participating in Democratic primary elections in Georgia was taken under advisement today by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Application of the 15th amendment to the U. S. Constitution, providing that voting rights shall not be abridged because of race, and of the federal civil rights act, were involved in the case originally brought by Rev. Primus E. King, Columbus, Ga., Negro minister, against the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee.

U. S. District Judge Hoyt Davis in Macon awarded King $100 damages for deprivation of his right to vote in a Muscogee County Democratic primary election July 4, 1944. The decision was appealed to the court here.

King's attorney, Harry S. Strozier, of Macon, told the circuit court today the previous decision gave his client "only half a right to vote." He said Judge Davis' decision was subject to the interpretation that the election officials were wrong only in preventing King from voting on the U. S. offices of senator and congressman, and asked the Appellate Court to affirm his right to participate in primary elections for state and county offices as well. 2-20-46

Much of the argument turned on a U. S. Supreme Court decision in 1944 which held Negroes could not be excluded because of their race from Democratic primaries in Texas.

Charles J. Bloch of Macon, attorney for the Democratic Committee members, said the decision was not applicable to Georgia. Texas laws, he said, govern the organization and operation of parties to such an extent that the laws "create the Democratic party in Texas."

On the other hand in Georgia the parties are voluntary organizations and make their own rules, he asserted. Therefore Georgia party officials are not acting for the state when they make their rules, and a vote in a party primary is not an official vote of the nature guaranteed by the Constitution, Bloch contended.

A similar argument was contained in a brief filed by Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia, as a "friend of the court." Cook attended the hearing today, but made no oral argument.

The 15th amendment was first mentioned by Presiding Judge Samuel H. Sibley, who asked Bloch whether it was not "the big law" governing the case. Bloch agreed, but said the question of whether primary elections and the rules governing them came under state activities still had to be determined.

Negroes Will Vote In Georgia County

BRUNSWICK, GA., Feb. 19.—(AP)—Negroes will be permitted to vote in the Democratic primary in Glynn County on March 20.

The County Executive Committee, meeting yesterday to fix rules and regulations, pointed to the decision by Judge Hoyt Davis, of the Middle District of U. S. Federal Court, holding Negroes are eligible to vote.

It will be the first time Negroes have been permitted to vote in a Democratic primary in this county. 2-20-46

A committee representing the Progressive Democrats of Brunswick and Glynn County, Negro organization, appeared before the committee and requested that Negroes be permitted to vote.

Seven members of the County Commission will be nominated in the primary.

Glynn Primary Set March 20; Negroes To Vote

Atlanta Ga. Constitution

BRUNSWICK, Feb. 19.—March 20 has been selected as the date for the county primary at which seven members of the Glynn county commissioners of roads and revenues will be nominated. In setting the date, the Glynn county Democratic executive committee also announced that Negroes will be permitted to vote in the primary for the first time.

Noon on Saturday, March 2, was set as the deadline for candidates to qualify, and the deadline for voters to register in order to be eligible to vote in the primary. The entrance fee for candidates was set at $50 each. 2-20-46

Meanwhile, indications are that the race will be spirited one. Six of the seven incumbent commissioners today announced they will be candidates for re-election, and four others have also announced their intention to become candidates. In addition, at least four others are expected to announce their candidacy in the next few days, so that probably in all there will be some 14 candidates competing for the seven offices.

Incumbents who will offer for re-election include Chairman R. A. Gould, C. V. Abbott, J. N. Parham, J. B. D. Paulk, J. C. Strother and Norman A. Way. W. McD. Harley, a present member of the commission, said he hasn't definitely decided yet whether or not he will become a candidate.

Those who have already announced they will oppose the present group include Joe C. Stewart, Olaf Olsen, T. Arthur Nail and Sam Levine. All except Levine announced within the past few days, while Levine has been waging an active campaign for the past 10 weeks.

7,000 Negroes Eligible To Vote in Atlanta

Atlanta Ga. Constitution 1-25-46

ATLANTA. — (ANP) — Upwards of 7,000 Negro residents of Atlanta and Fulton county are now qualified to vote, it was revealed last week following a record breaking registration up to the deadline for a special congressional election.

Extra clerks were required to register the deadline runners who filled the lobby of the Fulton courthouse.

Potential voters were assisted by representatives of the Atlanta branch of the NAACP.

T. E. Suttles, tax collector, said that approximately 70,000 persons are now on the voters' lists, 7,000 of them being Negroes. Over 700 of the new registrants were persons between 18 and 21 years of age, given the right to vote at the beginning of the Arnall administration.

According to reports, registration by Negroes is continuing at a brisk pace for the state and general elections to come in the fall.

directed to show cause crimination in the registration of
Court on April 15 why approximately 8,000 Negroes
in Federal Court Their petition stated that John L.
for inspection of voter registered in Chatham County.
registration records by a group of Cabell, Tax Collector, claims there
Negro citizens should not be are only about 5,000 Negroes regis-
granted. tered.
Federal Judge Frank M. Scarlett set a hearing on the petition filed
of the Negroes who claim there suit against Cabell alleging lis-

Chatham Negroes Seek Vote Record

Atlanta Ga. Constitution

SAVANNAH, April 4—(AP)—The Chatham County Tax Collector

TREND

(From THE ATLANTA JOURNAL)

Atlanta Daily World - Atlanta, Ga.

WHILE ARGUMENT was being heard in Federal Court in New Orleans on the question of whether Negroes shall continue to be barred from voting in Democratic primaries in Georgia, the Glynn County Democratic Executive Committee was meeting and deciding that there will be no disqualification because of color in the local primary to be held on March 20.

Sun. 2-24-46

The contest in Glynn is for the nomination of seven Commissioners of Roads and Revenues who constitute the county government. The decision to permit the vote of qualified colored citizens followed the appearance of a committee of members of a local Negro Democratic Club who asked the right to participate in the primary.

It is significant that within recent weeks Negroes have voted without let or hindrance in primaries in Athens and Valdosta and in Atlanta's congressional election.

Of little less significance are such editorial expressions as this from last week's issue of the **Claxton Enterprise** in deeply southern and intensely rural Georgia: "Of late we have wondered if it would not be a good idea to permit the Negroes to vote. Perhaps this would insure that the whites would take full advantage of their right to vote in all elections. Reports from the County Commissioner's office indicate that many Negroes are enrolling their names on the registration books while eligible white voters are negligent."

Valdosta Accepts

Atlanta Daily World Wed 2-20-46 Atlanta, Ga.

Valdosta, located in South Georgia and a typical city of the state, accepted the spirit of Judge Davis' decision on the state's white primary system and permitted Negroes to vote in a city primary election which selected a mayor and councilmen and in addition decided the question of whether the city would purchase an electric utility. This makes the second city in the state to accept Negro participation in a primary election. Others led the way last November.

Commenting editorially under the caption "White Primaries a Thing of the Past," the Lowndes County News, a white newspaper, stated: "It proved that whites and Negroes can go to the polls and vote at the same time on the same issues without any bitter feeling. The occasion marked a great forward step for the Negroes of Valdosta, to whom we think a large part of the credit for no disturbance is due."

The achievement of the right to vote on a basis of equality and freedom, to be sure, is a great forward step for us, as the News observes, but it is a step we must make if we are to be first class citizens and the achievement of it is the only way the so-called race problem will be solved at least partially. Therefore, it should be important to the responsible white people that we exercise freely our right to vote on a basis of equality as citizens. Sat 2-20-46

Let us hope that when the Democratic Executive Committee of Georgia meets to make rules for the coming state primary which will elect a Governor, Senator and ten Congressmen besides members for the State Legislature, it will make it possible for qualified Negroes to vote. This would settle the issue for the entire state.

The primary this year will be most important because it will determine whether the state will continue with progressive and liberal government or revert to the days of Talmadge-ism. Every Negro who is over 18 years of age and has not already registered should do so immediately so he can be qualified to make his contribution if the opportunity is available.

The Victory Of Atlanta Voters

Memphis Tenn. World Fri. 2-22-46

(From THE LIGHTHOUSE AND INFORMER)

Three major victories were earned in last week's voting for Georgia's fifth congressional district by colored Georgians. First, Negroes — in a general election and without participation in the controversial "white primary" — "white primary — voted in united fashion more of their race than is generally recalled in that state. To get these people interested enough and organized for voting in bloc was a great victory for the people who led them.

Secondly, in Atlanta's 3-B ward Negroes acted as managers, clerks, etc., conducting the voting of their people themselves. Certainly, this is a great victory. Finally, perhaps by co-incidence, perhaps through Divine blessing, the 956 of them who voted for Mrs. Mankin — an overwhelming majority of the 1,041 votes cast in the precinct — were the deciding voters in a close and hotly — contested race. Their candidate finally led with 808 votes, a fact which would have been impossible had they not voted for her or had voted for the next in line.

Fri. 2-22-46

The Atlantans have demonstrated, more than anything else, that Negroes can make their votes felt in means other than through the Democratic primary, although this too may be effective as was shown in Texas two years ago. But the only effective voting, the only final voting is done in the general election. The Georgians had organized for this election, they had, maybe unwittingly, employed the procedures of the Progressive Democratic Party in South Carolina. And they have fired the ambitions of others like them all over Georgia. Negroes in such cities as Augusta and Savannah are reported as registering en masse. They have seen the doors opened and they want to taste this dessert to citizenship, too.

There is another demonstration of the Atlantans which should not pass unannounced. The Negroes in Atlanta threw away traditional party lines on election day and put their race first. That is why they won. That is why we can always win.

Negro Vote Claimed Decisive In Georgia Congressional Race

Times-Dispatch Richmond, Va.

ATLANTA, Feb. 13—(AP)—The Atlanta Daily World, Negro newspaper, said today the Negro vote decided the race for Congress in the Fifth Georgia District won by Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, State Legislator, over 17 male candidates.

Mrs. Mankin, backed by the CIO, received 11,099 votes to win a close race with Thomas L. Camp, former secretary to Robert Ramspeck, whom Mrs. Mankin succeeds. Ramspeck resigned recently to take an aviation post. Camp was given 10,329 votes.

Camp led by 146 votes in the unofficial count until returns were received from precinct B in the third ward, predominately Negro. This precinct gave Mrs. Mankin 956 votes and Camp seven.

"It was clear," the Daily World said, "that the Negro vote had decided the race in a photo-finish." 2-14-46

The newspaper said Negroes served as precinct managers and clerks in Atlanta for the first time in a congressional election.

Balloting was in a general special election and all of the candidates were Democrats. Negroes vote in general elections in Georgia and a court test is underway which seeks to give them the ballot in primaries. A primary was not held in the Fifth District congressional contest.

Negro Vote Ousts Georgia Officials

Montgomery Ala Advertiser

BRUNSWICK, GA., March 21 —(AP)—All of Glynn County's seven county commissioners lost bids for renomination in a Democratic primary in which Negroes voted for the first time.

One box where 112 Negroes and 59 white voters were registered, voted overwhelmingly for an entirely new slate of commissioners. Most political leaders said it was probable this box indicated the general trend of the Negro voting.

Most of the Negro vote was polled in the Brunswick district. There were four voting booths in the courthouse where Negroes and white voted together and it was not possible to determine the choice of the Negro voters in the district. 3-22-46

Nomination in a Democratic primary generally is equivalent to election in Georgia.

A Negro political organization, the Progressive Democrats, staged a drive to register voters after the County Democratic Executive Committee heeded a plea from the group that Negroes be permitted to take part in the primary. 3-22-46

The 9,100 registered voters included 6,700 white and 2,400 Negroes. Approximately 7,000 votes were cast, a record for the County. More than 90 per cent of the registered Negroes voted. Only about 75 per cent of the whites cast ballots. Friday

First reports indicated one of the incumbent commissioners survived the drive of the opposition, but the official count showed all were defeated. A mistake in tabulating 100 ballots indicated renomination of W. McD Harley. The official consolidation showed he lost to Arthur Nail.

Others nominated were Floyd E. Gressel, Arthur True, Joe C. Stewart, Sam Levine, Ray W. Whittle and Alton H. Perry.

Negro Vote Decisive In Georgia Primary

Pittsburgh Courier

BRUNSWICK, Ga.—Negroes voted for the first time in the history of Brunswick and Glynn County in the Democratic primary last week and were the decisive factors in defeating all incumbent county commissioners. N.Y. 4-6-46

Better World

Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: I want to commend the writer L. Mitchell Johnson of Atlanta, on the letter written 17 April, 1946 in the Pulse of the Public column of the editorial page—subject: "Negro Vote." Personally, I don't think it's any Negro voters' aim to be a better place for us all clamor for social equality. The in which to live. Sat 4-20-46 general idea, I think, is to have equal opportunity to have equal opportunity on the basis of moral character, education and qualifications, and if the majority of the people looked at the situation in an unprejudiced and unbiased way, the whole world

FRANK C. TUCKER.

Atlanta.

More than 90 per cent of the 2,400 Negro registrants participated in the primary while only about 75 per cent of the 6,700 white registrants voted, it was learned. There was a general appeal to the Negro voters throughout the campaign.

M. L. ST. JOHN

'People's' List Will Finally Dwindle To One

Sun. 3-10-46 Atlanta Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

This watchful waiting is getting on Georgia's political nerves. It's getting late, and no seriously announced candidate for governor is in the field. DeLacey Allen announced several months ago, and now he has pulled out. Former Govs. Rivers and Talmadge are operating campaigns, with only the speaking missing—yet both of them have left a foot back far enough where the limb can't be sawed off . . . neither has formally announced. A large list of potential "people's candidates" has been mentioned, and several are sampling public opinion over the state. Some of these have been indorsed by a few newspapers. Some have had clubs organized to push their candidacies. But the people generally, the press generally, and Gov. Arnall—who plans to campaign for the person the people indicate they want when entries close—remain silently watching and waiting.

We have talked with many of the persons mentioned as potential "people's candidates" for governor. Despite the large crowd of them so mentioned, we can say the field will not be crowded when the entries close. Because each of these candidates who showed any inclination whatsoever to heed the call of the people said he positively would not run unless he were the "people's candidate." In other words, none would venture forth, unless he had the full support of the progressive forces, and the campaign support of Arnall. Many said they were more interested in continuing the policies of the present administration than in becoming governor themselves. So, regardless of the multitude of "people's candidates" mentioned between now and the campaign, the campaign will get under way with most of this multitude backing one "people's candidate." Sun. 3-10-46

One of the potential candidates who has sampled public opinion in many parts of the state made this observation: "There has been much propaganda that this campaign will be a fight between Rivers and Talmadge, without a third candidate in the field. I have been in many sections of the state and talked with people. I find them waiting. They know Talmadge and Rivers are running, and yet the people are still waiting for a candidate. I know of no better opportunity for a third candidate to run and win."

Over Georgia If the white people of Georgia are afraid that Negroes will hold the balance of power in the elections, the real solution might be for more white voters to go to the polls at each primary and election. That's what the Tifton Gazette says in predicting the courts wouldn't permit any such "white primary" plan as suggested by Tom Linder. The Gazette also believes the veterans can elect a governor, if all of them support the same candidate.

Civic clubs are feeling their citizenship duties to the extent of urging people to register and vote. The Rotary Club at Covington has launched an active campaign to get people registered.

An all-out campaign to register all adults in Glynn county resulted in 1,795 new persons registered in three weeks. Of these 532 were Negroes. Negroes will be permitted to vote in the local primaries. The Brunswick News says government is made wiser and safer every time the governing class is enlarged.

Brunswick Shows The Way

Atlanta Daily World Georgia

Atlanta Negroes are in the midst of a heated registration campaign to secure the names of 25,000 on Registrar's roll by the time the books close May 5. If present pace, heartily joined by church, civic and school groups, is maintained, it is not unlikely that their goal will be achieved. But there is a world of difference between having that number on the rolls and later, getting them to exercise their right by going and voting for the candidates. For 25,000 names on the Registrar's book certainly can have no meaning save in the fact that they are there to be used in the proper manner when the opportunity comes to do so. 3-24-46 Sunday

Not so in Brunswick, where accounts show that of the 2,400 registered Negro voters, virtually 75 per cent of whom had registered within the past 30 or 40 days, 90 per cent, or 2,000 of them, joyously and without incident, cast their ballots in the primary election last Wednesday. That is a noble demonstration of civic interest and pride, surpassing anything we have heard of anywhere in the state among our people. We wish other Negroes in Georgia communities will take heart and emulate the example set by Brunswick Negroes. Atlanta, more than any other community in the state, should take up the challenge, for it certainly is a challenge to the pride and patriotism of all of us who believe in good government. 3-24-46

U. S. Supreme Court Declines Review Of Primus King Case

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World.

Action Climaxes Long, Expensive Court Battle Originating In 1944; District, Appeals Decisions Stand

Tue. 4-2-46

Without comment or delay, the U. S. Supreme Court Monday tossed back into the laps of Georgians the Primus E. King primary case, in which a Georgia federal District judge and judges on the Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans agreed that the Democratic Party in Georgia was an instrumentality of the State, and that as such, Negroes had a constitutional right entitling them to participate in all elections.

The action of the Supreme Court climaxes a long and expensive court battle orginating back in July 4, 1944 when the Rev. Primus E. King Columbus, Georgia Negro along with other qualified Negroes were denied ballots by election officials of the Muscogee County Democratic Committee.

DAVIS RULING

At the hearings last October at Macon, Georgia federal District Judge T. Hoyt Davis, held that for 40 years the Democratic Party had successfully excluded Negroes from participation in the primary elections; that the custom and practice was violative of a federally secured right under the 13th, 14th and 17th constitutional amendments and that henceforth, Negroes must be permitted to vote in primary elections. In addition to the vote ruling, Judge Davis also awarded Rev. King cash damages of $1[illegible] plus interest from date of the decision. The New Orleans Appellate Court sustained Judge Davis' ruling and enlarged it to include all elections, federal, state and municipal.

Harry S. Strozier, Macon, Georgia attorney was the principal lawyer for Rev. King. At the original hearings he introduced documentary evidence to show that the White Primary was an integral part of the state's election machinery; that with the exception of three general elections, the Democratic Party was the only party in the state which conducted an election in 40 years and that for a similar period, the state had been prohibiting and interferring with Negroes exercising their constitutional guarantees So interwoven were the state and the party, concluded Mr. Strozier, that the office of the Secretary of the State Democratic Executive Committee was maintained at the State Capitol. Tue. 4-2-46

COUNTER CLAIMS

Representing the defendants was attorney Charles J. Bloch, also a Macon lawyer and President of the Georgia Bar Association, who contended that the Georgia primary unlike those of Louisiana and Texas, in that these states have rules and regulations prescribing when and where primaries must be held, that in Georgia there is no law requiring that primaries be held.

Immediately it will be difficult to forecast what reactions white Democratic leaders will take in view of the decision. In Atlanta Sunday a well known Journal columnist quoted Chairman J. Lon Duckworth as saying that there would be no meeting of the State Democratic Executive Committee until after the decision was handed down by the Supreme Court. In the face of that decision it now remains to be seen what will be done.

PRESS BEHIND RULING

Neither Talmadge nor Tom Linder nor Speaker Roy V. Harris can be expected to do less than they have always done—seek some methods or loopholes in which the decision might be circumvented. The white press of the state, led on by the powerful Atlanta Journal, has stood behind the ruling in favor of Negro oting as a unit. Suprisingly both rural and urban papers are giving splendid editorial support to the Negro vote rights.

United States Attorney General Tom Clark, speaking in Atlanta at a Jackson Day Dinner gathering a fortnight ago, told news reporters that he anticipated no trouble in Negroes voting in Georgia. Said he: "After the U. S. Supreme Court ruled Negroes could vote in Texas, the party permitted them to vote. As a citizen of Texas I have noticed no change in the result of the election since Negroes have been participating. "Mr. Clark, when questioned specifically about Georgia, declared that he would enforce the law if there were any violations. Tue. 4-2-46

REGISTRATION CONTINUES

Meanwhile Negro registration over the state is keeping up an even tenor. In Savannah, where civil action suit was filed to restrain the Registrar of Chatham County from interferring with Negro registration, leaders are seeking 10,000 voters by the time the books close. Another 25,000 are being sought in a city-wide drive in Atlanta.

The Renaissance Club, a group of veterans of Albany, Georgia as already rolled up 3,000 registered voters since January and other efforts will be eligible to vote in Glynn County. The decision by Democratic action on the decision of Judge Hoyt Davis, of the Middle District Federal Court, holding primary to name seven members of the county commission, that Negroes are eligible to vote in primaries. 3-24-46

The committee based its action on the decision in the primary by Negroes recently decided to permit White registration totals 6,730. Registration ended on March 2. The committee ruling on Negroes was made Feb. 18 and Negro registration increased sharply.

2,400 Negroes To Vote In Democratic Primary

Wed. Atlanta Daily World

BRUNSWICK, GA., March 19.—(AP)—Twenty-four hundred Negro progressive Democrats, Negro or-

Talmadge In A Dither Over The Negro Vote

Atlanta Ga.
Daily World

By V. W. HODGES

The handwriting on the wall for race-baiters, rabble-rousers and political demagogues in Georgia is written in large, capital letters. Talmadge and his friends are beginning to see it. For example, in the latest issue of The Statesman, his personal mouthpiece, he gives front page prominence to the significance of the vote of Negroes if they are permitted to participate in the Georgia primaries. Says he: Sun. 4-2-46

"The people of Georgia are becoming aroused over maintaining the Democratic White primary. If we do not maintain the Democratic white primary, our southern traditions and heritage will be lost.

"Judge Sibley, in his opinion, pointed the way out by saying that neither federal or state statutes would prevent primaries being composed of white citizens or colored, or Jews, or men, or women.

"The FEPC and Harlem crowd want the Negro to vote in Georgia. They are being aided and abetted in this by the present administration who would resort to any measure to stop Talmadge from being governor.

"If the Negroes are permitted to vote in Georgia, their first objective will be to defeat the Southern Senators and congressmen who have fought FEPC. Along with this, they will attempt to elect a governor of their own choosing, who would aid them in their plans. If the Negroes vote in the primary in September, you will see Negro policemen in Atlanta, Macon, Savannah and Augusta by this time next year. Sun. 4-2-46

"If the Negro vote is to be dealt with in the primaries in the metropolitan areas where the Negroes vote in substantial numbers candidates will place Negro deputy sheriffs on the ticket, Negro clerks on the ticket, in order to obtain the Negro vote. Negroes at present vote in general elections. This is in accordance with their constitutional rights. We must, however, preserve our own Democratic white primary. Negroes outnumber the white people in about forty counties in Georgia They could elect the county officers, the senators and representatives. It would not be but a few years in these counties before Negro tax assessors would be determining the amount of taxes to be paid on property.

"If Negroes participate in the Democratic white primary, within ten years, many schools of this state would be attended by both white and black.

"The people of Georgia must determine whether or not, we shall retain our southern heritage and traditions, or whether the Southland will become an adjunct of New York where they have Negro firemen, policemen and school teachers in official positions."

TALMADGE IS RIGHT

Fundamentally, Talmadge reasoning is sound. The ballot for the Negro in Georgia is going to mean the end of race-baiting in the State. It is going to mean better schools and more schools for Negro children. It is going to mean a more equitable distribution of job opportunities afforded by public taxation. More than that, it is going to mean that men like Talmadge will have to get accustomed to seeing Negroes in positions, other than menials and servants. The former governor, we repeat, is essentially correct in his reasoning about the Negro vote. Except we think he places too much stress on the Negro voting for demagogic United States senators and representatives and not enough on their electioneering for the candidates for governor Negroes are far more concerned with the kind of governor, the kind of mayors we have in our cities, the character of the sheriffs and councilmen, than they are about the kind of officials they have in Washington. And while Negroes will overlook the importance and responsibility of their vote in these, their first concern will be to see to it that they have aided in the election of candidates who will possess a sense of fairness and justice to Negroes—who form a third of the State's population. Sun. 4-2-46

BIG VOTE AGAINST TALMADGE

Talmadge, in the current issue of his paper, urges all "white people" that will be 18 before the general election in November, 1946, to go to the ourt House and register. Either the former governor is insincere in his advocacy of continued registration, or else he is not fully aware of the true significance of a large vote. A large vote has never been to the advantage of the demagogue. To the contrary, it is the restricted vote that gives men like Talmadge, Bilbo, Rankin, Eastland and the others, their best chance for election. Moreover, the best informed writers in the state pin their hopes on a large vote to keep Talmadge where he properly belongs—out of the Governor's seat. As an example, The Macon (Ga.) News says: "The possibility that a Talmadge can tie out enough votes to constitute a balance of power diminishes in proportion to the increase in registration. Political bosses are successful only when the masses of people take no interest in governmental affairs."

If Negroes in Georgia will only take an active interest in the present vote registration campaign over the state and get registered in large numbers, they can still the voice of men like Talmadge. Talk won't do it, that has been tried for many years. 4-2-46

Since this story was completed, news has just been received that the U. S. Supreme Court Monday, refused to review two lower courts decision upholding right of Negroes to vote in all elections.

Effect of Atlanta Vote Belittled

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON (ANP). — Expressing fear that minority groups might expect too much from Mrs. Helen D. Mankin in Congress, a number of writers are refuting the contention of some papers that the heavy colored vote in Atlanta won the seat for her.

Declaring that Mrs. Mankin's total plurality was 770, one writer pointed out that "770 white persons who voted for her also might claim that it was their franchise that did the work."

Although denying the statement that she won because she is a "liberal" and not "radical," another writer admitted that although her sympathies attracted a large colored and labor vote, the opposition really clinched the victory.

Explaining, the writer said, "Her opponents tried to make political capital of this support, but she successfully resisted the charge that she was the candidate of any group or clique." 3-2-46

Georgia Negro's Vote Plea Heard

Courier

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 19.—(AP) The plea of a Georgia Negro for the right to vote in that state's Democratic primary was taken under advisement Tuesday by the U. S. circuit court of appeals.

Primus E. King, of Columbus, Ga., denied the right to vote in Muscogee county on July 4, 1944, was awarded $100 damages against the county Democratic executive committee. The committee and state Democratic party officials appealed the decision of the middle Georgia federal court to the circuit court.

Charles J. Bloch, of Macon, attorney for the committeemen, said the lower court ruled the Georgia case should be governed by the U. S. supreme court decision in a 1944 Texas case. The supreme court held Negroes could not be barred on account of their race from Democratic primaries in Texas. 2-26-46

The Macon attorney contended, however, that Georgia primary laws differ with those of Texas. Political parties in Georgia, he said, are entirely voluntary organizations and set their own rules of procedure. In Texas the law requires the holding of primaries by major parties and regulates operation of county, district and state executive party committees.

Harry S. Strozier, of Macon, attorney for King, said the lower court decision gave the Columbus Negro "only half a right to vote." He asked the circuit court to enlarge on the district court decision and affirm King's right to vote on any candidates in a Democratic primary election.

Georgia Negroes Vote In Primaries

Miami Herald
Miami Florida

VALDOSTA, Ga.—(ANP)—Several hundred qualified Negro voters cast ballots in last Tuesday's city primary for candidates for the offices of mayor and city councilmen, and in a special election to decide whether the city would purchase and operate an electrical distribution system.

The total number of registered voters for these elections was 3,700. According to the registrar of Lowndes county where Valdosta is located, 654 Negroes were listed on the books and of this number 437 were qualified to vote in the primary and special election. 2-16-46

A run-off election was scheduled for Friday in the primary to determine whether H. B. Edwards or the incumbent, Frank Rose, would head the city government. Edwards, a former state senator, led Mayor Rose by a vote of 1,246 to 1,180 and David Bell was third with 447 votes.

Voters decided against the city-owned electrical distribution system by a vote of 1,559 to 1,208.

Cloud On 'White Primary' Darkened By High Court

Advertiser
Montgomery Ala.

ATLANTA, April 1.— (AP) — Georgia, a deep South state with a heavy Negro population and no poll tax, was told by the Supreme Court today the minority race can vote in its "white primary" this fall.

The effect amounted to that when the court declined to review lower Federal court rulings that Negroes are entitled to vote in the Georgia Democratic primaries—the actual elections.

The Supreme Court gave no reason for its refusal to review the Georgia case, but two years ago, in a similar case from Texas the court upheld the right of Negroes to vote in the primaries.

In view of the Texas decision, Georgia politicians frankly did not expect the high court to act otherwise; but they wanted the court to rule, one way or the other, before the fall primaries.

The decision heightened the prospect that Georgia will become the first deep South state with a large Negro population and no poll tax to witness the mass suffrage of Negroes.

Other "Black Belt" states either have a poll tax or other voting restrictions or have found a way to get around the decision of the Supreme Court.

In South Carolina, all laws relating to the primary have been stripped from the statute books and the primaries are unregulated by the State. 4-2-46

Georgia admittedly made a move in the same direction last summer when it adopted a new constitution leaving out all mention of primaries.

To get around the Supreme Court decision, Georgia politicians admit they would have to scrap a law which permits a county unit system of voting and gives poltical dominance to small rural counties. Ala.

They admit the legislature would never do this.

An alternative has been suggested by gallus-snapping Gene Talmadge, whose regime in Georgia was broken three years ago by young Gov. Ellis Arnall, and who is regarded as a candidate for governor again this fall. Tuesday

Talmadge suggests that the State Democratic executive committee, which makes the rules governing the Democratic primary, meet and adopt the county unit system as part of its machinery.

Then, he says, the legislature could meet and scrap the law. However, Gov. Arnall—constitutionally barred from a second term—has shown no indication he is inclined to do this.

The issue of Negro suffrage and the prospect of a red hot gubernatorial campaign has brought about unprecedented registration in Georgia in recent months. Any number of organizations are behind the movement. Tuesday

House Speaker Roy V. Harris, of Augusta, who has been regarded as a possible candidate for governor, has like Talmadge urged an early session of the legislature and the Democratic State eecutive committee to take action. 4-2-46

Poll Tax and the Vote

Editor Constitution:

Gov. Arnall, in Washington to-day, declined immediate comment on the Supreme Court's refusal to consider the litigation. That does not mean I will not have any comment, but there will be none until I have read the court's opinion," he told a reporter. "Right now I am tied up in the legislature and to vote, taken until after the Supreme court acted in the case.

Chairman Lon Duckworth of the State committee said only Saturday, however, that a call for the meeting of his committee would not be issued until after the Supreme Court passed on the Muscogee County case.

Gov. Arnall, likewise, had said that no steps looking to a session of the legislature would be taken until after the Supreme court's decision in the case. Politicians will now get to it (the court's decision) play for the Negro vote.

The papers say that the court all because of the abolition of the poll tax, which was imposed by the wisdom of the great men of Georgia. Was 3-13-46

W. V. EDGEWATER,
Atlanta.

The Negro Primary Vote

Evidence that Dougherty County Negroes apparently were carefully coached before they marched to the polls more than 2,000 strong in last week's Democratic primary may be found in the returns.

In the governor's race, they threw 2,042 votes to Carmichael, none to O'Kelley, 14 to Rivers and only 2 to Talmadge. They gave Frank Gross 1,832 ballots in the lieutenant-governor's race, while his five opponents received a total of 118. Congressional candidate Neely Peacock received 1,906 Negro votes, Eugene Cox 42.

And so it was all down the ticket. Even in the state official races, one man was earmarked for an almost solid Negro vote. For example: Ben Fortson, in his race for Secretary of State, won 1,855 Negro votes in Dougherty County while his opponent, Camilla's Napier Burson, garnered a handful of 58.

It is understandable that Negroes would vote against Mr. Talmadge, who made a white primary his platform plank No. 1, and Mr. Cox, through whose efforts the Fair Employment Practices Commission bill has been kept bottled up in the House Rules Committee. But neither Mr. Fortson or Mr. Burson had made any mention of a white primary, or had referred to the FEPC bill or any other controversial racial subject in his campaign. They were just two men seeking office, and if either had a platform the average voter didn't know it. That leaves just one answer. Not only was the Negro instructed in the mechanics of casting his ballot; he also was told for whom to vote. Otherwise, the losing candidates would have received more votes.

This is a rather lamentable state of affairs. "Block voting" is basically undemocratic.

The Negro who allows himself to be told how to vote is forsaking the very right which United States Supreme Court decisions have insisted he must be allowed to exercise.

Talmadge Promises Negroes Won't Vote

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Wed. 10-9-46

MACON, Ga., Oct. 9—(AP)—Gov.-Nominate Eugene Talmadge promised the Georgia Democratic convention today that Negroes would not again be permitted to vote in a state Democratic primary.

Talmadge, still in a Jacksonville hospital for treatment of a stomach ailment, sent his speech to be read by his son, Herman.

Talmadge insisted, "The Negro has not demonstrated his capability of casting intelligent ballots." He asserted this was proved in the recent Democratic primary, when "despite the fact that there were four candidates for the office of governor, one candidate received 99 per cent of the Negro vote."

"Such block voting by an uneducated group does not further the cause of good government and is not in accordance with the wishes of Georgia Democrats."

Talmadge said all candidates for governor campaigned on essentially the same platform, except for one plank—white supremacy. "I am very happy," he said, "that the majority of the white Democrats of Georgia agreed with the platform that I advocated and gave me more than 100,000 majority vote of the white Democrats of this state."

(Talmadge polled 305,777 popular votes, compared with 314,421 for his principal opponent, James V. Carmichael. His supporters claim that approxiamtely 100,000 opposition votes were cast by Negroes.)

Negroes in Fulton Discuss Candidates

By The Associated Press

Fulton County Negroes are holding mass meetings to discuss candidates in the July 10 Democratic primary when they will vote for the first time in a state primary.

Approximately 25,000 Negroes are registered to vote.

The Atlanta World said an approved list of candidates from governor down to members of the Legislature was read Monday night at the meeting in the Central Methodist Church. Editor C. A. Scott, of the World, declined to make public the list as established by the Citizens Democratic Club whom he heads as president.

Georgians Go To Polls Next Week As Mass Suffrage Comes South

The Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala.

BY HENRY LESESNE

ATLANTA, Ga., July 10—(AP)—The prospect of mass suffrage, including a large Negro vote, for the first time in the Deep South, has whipped up unprecedented interest in Georgia's gubernatorial primary next week.

Registration has just closed and about 1,000,000 Georgians have written their names in the books to vote July 17 in the Democratic primary, the actual election in the Solid South.

This is well more than double the customary registration. Only about 120,000 Negroes are registered, but they are voting in a Georgia "white" primary for the first time.

While such a large potential Negro vote has never materialized in the Deep South until now, an equally important factor is the vote of several hundred thousand teen-aged, who have registered in mass numbers.

Wed. 7-10-46

Georgia was the first, and so far the only, state to reduce the voting age from 21 to 18.

* * *

THE CAMPAIGN finds two veteran Georgia politicians, ex-Govs. Gene Talmadge and E. D. Rivers, seeking a comeback. The Arnall candidate is 35-year-old James V. Carmichael, wartime bomber plant manager and ex-legislator.

Arnall couldn't run for renomination. A new constitution adopted in his administration prohibits a governor from succeeding himself.

Arnall led a dramatic and surprising legislative battle last year which ended in the repeal of Georgia's poll tax. The Supreme Court of Georgia, in effect, held, in effect, some months later held, in effect, that Negroes could vote in the primary.

The Ku Klux Klan was revived in Georgia about the time the campaign began. Arnall asserts its aim is mainly political. The state has a suit pending to revoke the Klan's charter.

Talmadge has made an open bid for Klan support. Rivers, himself accused of Klan leanings in his administration, recently said Arnall once boasted of being a Klansman—a statement Arnall emphatically denied.

Wed. 7-10-46

The Georgia primary is expected to bring out a vote extraordinarily large for a Southern state.

NEGRO VOTE

There are several very interesting angles to the present political question in Georgia, not the least important of which is the trends that will be established by at least two and possibly three groups that are new to voting or not controlled or coordinated voting.

The first and least understood is the negro vote, which is coming into action for the first time in any quantity. There are said to be some hundred thousand voters among the negroes of the state, although the reports have been exaggereated in some sections. They are expected by some politicians to vote as directed by the CIO or some other organization of that type. The most able and worthy of them will take no such voting dictums but will try and express their own convictions and show faith in their best friends on earth, the responsible people of the South. Just how many will vote and how many will not wish to exercise the franchise even after being railroaded or persuaded to get on the list is not known.

The next most important element will be the labor vote and this is said to be outlined to support a candidate for governor. It may be Rivers. It certainly will not be Talmadge and it now looks as if it will not be Carmichael. Labor will vote independently in Georgia

Negro Vote ... Near Bond Issue Talk

An enthusiastic gathering of 1,500 Negro voters at the Booker T. Washington Stadium heard leaders of the drive for the Greater Atlanta $40,400,000 bond issue explain the issue's importance to all Atlanta's population Monday night.

Numerous speakers, including Mayor Hartsfield and public-spirited citizens, explained how the issue not only would make Atlanta a more prosperous, comfortable city, but is direly needed for the sake of the population's health and general welfare, "and not to push Atlanta ahead of the times, but to bring it up from 20 years behind."

NEGRO WINS VOTE BY QUOTING LINCOLN

Times New York N.Y.
Sat. 7-13-46

Elderly Georgian, Who Would Give His Right Hand for His Government, Also Qualifies

ATLANTA, July 12—Efforts to strike Negroes from the vote registration lists for Wednesday's Democratic primary continued in Georgia today although halted in four southern counties by a temporary restraining order issued in Federal Court at Brunswick.

Reports indicated that "from 20 to 50 per cent" of registered Negroes were being disqualified as voters in some counties.

Recital of words of Abraham Lincoln and the asertion of a 76-year-old Negro that he would give his right hand to his Government, if necessary, attracted interest at today's proceedings here in Fulton County.

Asked under what form of government he lived, Joseph D. Burrus, in his mid-thirties, replied "a Democratic form."

"What is a Democratic form of government?" 7-13-46

"Government of the people, by the people and for the people," was the answer.

Although the attorney seeking disqualification asserted that America had a Republican rather than a Democratic form of Government, the deputy registrar ruled that the young Negro's knowledge of Lincoln qualified him.

John Baskin, who walked with a cane and spoke with difficulty, said he did not know under what form of Government the nation operated but he declared that he owned property and had always paid his taxes. Asked what his obligations to his Government were he held up his right hand and stated: 7-13-46

"To give that hand to them, if they need it."

The deputy registrar ruled that he could vote.

A woman was disqualified, however, because she could not define a Republican form of Government other than to say that her obligations to such a Government were to vote, obey its laws and send her sons to the Army.

Negroes Place 120,000 Names On Ga. Books

ATLANTA, Ga., July 9.—(AP)—The prospect of mass suffrage—including a large Negro vote, for the first time in the deep South—has whipped up unprecedented interest in Georgia's gubernatorial primary next week.

Registration has just closed and about 1,000,000 Georgians have written their names in the books to vote July 17 in the Democratic primary, the actual election in the solid South.

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While such a large potential Negro vote has never materialized in the deep South until now, an equally important factor is the vote of several hundred thousand teen-aged, who have registered in mass numbers.

Georgia was the first state to reduce the voting age from 21 to 18.

The campaign finds two veteran Georgia politicians, ex-Governors Gene Talmadge and E. D. Rivers, seeking a comeback. The Arnall candidate is 35-year-old James V. Carmichael, wartime bomber plant manager and ex-legislator.

Arnall couldn't run for renomination. A new constitution adopted in his administration prohibits a governor from succeeding himself.

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The Georgia primary is expected to bring out a vote extraordinarily large for a Southern state. Under Georgia's county unit system, however, the big city vote counts for little.

Claxton, Ga., Enterprise
June 20, 1946

White Registrants Lead Negro Voters by Nine and Half to 1

White voters outnumber Negro registrants by a ratio of seven to one, a survey of registration lists throughout the State by the Associated Press has revealed. Excluding the five "big city" counties, the ratio is nine and half to one.

With the approaching July 17th state-wide Democratic primary being the first in which Negroes will have the right to vote, the survey showed 780,722 white persons registered, 116,345 Negroes for a total of 897,067.

Further registrations are possible in all counties except Fulton, the books in that county having closed June 5, a month before the deadline in other counties.

An analysis of the survey shows that the heaviest concentration of Negro registrants is in the traditional "big city" counties of Fulton (Atlanta), Bibb (Macon), Chatham (Savannah), Muscogee (Columbus), and Richmond (Augusta).

In these counties, the preponderance of white registrants to Negroes is approximately three and a half to one, with 188,717 white registrants, 55,187 Negroes for a total of 243,904.

The exclusion of these five counties from the list leaves the following figures for the other 154 counties of the State:

White	592,005
Negro	61,158
Total	653,163

This means that outside the "big city" counties, the white vote holds an edge of about nine and a half to one over the Negro vote. Slightly more than half the Negro vote is distributed between these 154 counties.

The five "big city" counties control 30 of the unit votes of the State's 410 in the primary election, leaving 380 for the other counties.

In only one county of the State does the Negro registration approach the number of white registrants. This is Liberty county, which reported 1,470 white registrants and 1,330 Negroes.

In six counties—Webster, Dawson, Fayette, Forsyth, Towns and Union—the survey showed no Negro registrants.

NEGRO VOTE BAN RUMORS ARE PROBED BY COWART

MACON, June 15. — United States District Attorney John Cowart said Saturday investigations were being made to determine whether Negroes seeking to register for voting in the Democratic White Primary have been disqualified illegally in some Georgia counties.

Explaining that he could make no specific statement at this time regarding such allegations, Cowart added:

"We are vitally interested in seeing that the rights of Negroes are protected."

Charges of disfranchisement of Negroes have arisen at intervals since the United States Supreme Court recently upheld their right to vote in Georgia primaries. County officials have denied the charges.

The United States Department of Justice has declared that any cases of Negroes being prevented from registering will be vigorously prosecuted.

Registered Voter Total In State Numbers 1,077,949

It has been announced by the office of the Secretary of State that the number of registered voters in Georgia now totals 1,077,949. Although registration closed before July 17, the official total was not disclosed until a few days ago.

Voters in the democratic primary totaled 691,881. Separate totals of white and negro votes were not figured.

NEGRO COLLEGE PREXY VOTES FOR FIRST TIME

Daily Worker New York
New York June 7-2-46

COLLEGE PRESIDENT and newspaper columnist, with "advantages of training in college, seminary and university," Dr. Benjamin E. Mayes voted for the first time last June 4. Disfranchised all his life, the president of Morehouse College and writer for the Pittsburgh Courier, "felt like a new creature . . . it was an experience almost like getting good religion.'" Dr. Mayes, Negro, voted in the Democratic primary in Georgia.

Negroes Names Are Left on Voters' Lists

Additional Challenges Prepared from Chauncey, But Notices Have Not Been Issued

In a two-to-one vote taken by the Dodge County Board of Registrars Wednesday, approximately 175 Negroes, registered for voting in the primary of July 17, have been left on the voters' list, following challenges citing their disqualification issued by Pondtown, Sandgrove and Milan white citizens last week.

Roscoe Nash, elected to the chairmanship of the board after his appointment last week, said Wednesday that both he and Matthew Bellflower voted to leave the Negroes' names on the list, and that Bart Harrell, third member voted otherwise.

Nash and Bellflower were appointed to the board of registrar by Judge Eschol Graham last week to fill the vacancies created by the resignations of Mrs. Pearl Pierce and Alf Burnham. The resignations were handed in after the challenges against the Negroes were issued last week.

More Challenges

Clearly a political move on the part of the Talmadge faction in Dodge county, and admittedly so more challenges were issued from Chauncey precinct this week. However, Col. Hal Smith, county attorney and counsel for the challengers, is holding the additional 76 challenges pending further developments in the matter.

Chairman Nash said that Col. Smith had said that if the board's action had taken such a turn, he saw no use is submitting the new challenges.

Col. Smith was contacted by The Times-Journal Wednesday afternoon for a statement, but he said he did not wish to make a statement for publication.

Nash stated that the board has adjourned until Monday.

In spite of the fact that notices to appear Monday of this week were issued to the 175 or more Negroes in Pondtown, Sandgrove and Milan precincts, not more than a handful appeared at the courthouse, it is said, and only two or three appeared before the board. No action was taken on these two or three. Testimony as to their disqualification was presented by challengers from these districts, but still the board would take no action in removing the names. Instead, they adjourned until next Monday.

Responsible for challenges issued last week are T. W. Harrell, John J. Conner, J. O. Stuckey, George C. Stuckey, Dalton Burnham, J. J. Hilliard and H. L. Fuller, all of Rhine or Pondtown; Zack G. Reaves of Sandgrove and Henry Farmer of Milan.

The names of the Chauncey precinct challengers could not be learned in time for publication.

Members of the board of registrars revealed that there have been no challenges against the qualifications of any white person in the county.

Five points are brought out in the challenges. They deal with citizenship, residence, character, unable to understand duties of citizenship under republican form of government,, can't read or write or interpret paragraphs of constitution when read to them.

As was stated in this newspaper last week, the board of registrars hold the upper hand in the matter: they can or cannot question a person's qualifications, or they can throw the whole thing out of the window and let all the Negroes vote as they are now registered.

Atlanta, Ga., Journal
August 1, 1946

Talmadge Asks Chatham Group; Withdraws Bid

Herman Talmadge, son of Georgia's Democratic nominee for governor, told the Savannah Press Thursday that recently nominated Chatham County legislators had been asked to attend the State Democratic Convention as Talmadge delegates, but that the invitation later had been withdrawn.

The invitation was withdrawn, the younger Talmadge said, when it was learned the Chatham legislators "didn't want to come."

Earlier he told the Associated Press members of the Chatham House delegation "haven't been asked to serve."

He had announced Wednesday that telegrams had been sent to Democratic Committee chairmen in counties which Talmadge carried in the primary asking them to name nominees to the Legislature as delegates to the convention. He would not elaborate on his statement regarding the Chatham delegation. Chatham County went to Mr. Talmadge in the primary.

The Savannah Evening Press reported the three Chatham House nominees had been invited to serve as delegates to the convention, but had declined.

The Press said John J. Bouhan, chairman of the County Democratic Executive Committee, was compiling a list of the county delegates from a list submitted by friends of Mr. Talmadge. Included in the list were the names of R. E. Evans Jr., Malberry Smith Jr. and Herbert S. Skinner, candidates of the Citizens' Progressive League, who upset the Chatham political machine in the primary.

Their names were included in compliance with a telegram from Talmadge saying "I would likewise appreciate having all newly Assembly as delegates to the convention."

The convention which will nominate Mr. Talmadge meets in Macon October 9. Talmadge leaders plan to consider overhauling the state's primary set up at the convention to permit only white voters. The Press said Negro voters supported the Mr. Bouhan was in Atlanta Thursday, but could not be located for a statement.

Progressive League candidates in the primary.

45e 1946

Georgia

Negro Vote Ends Cracker Party Rule In Georgia

Chicago Defender

Chicago, Illinois

Unity At Polls Defeats 'White Supremacy' Slate

Sat 4-27-46

By FRED ATWATER
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

ATLANTA, Ga. — The eyes of the nation watched Georgia last week as race hate — America's Frankenstein of disunity—was repudiated at the polls.

In Richmond County (Augusta) the strongly entrenched Cracker Party, despite an intensified campaign of Negro-baiting sponsored by it, was soundly trounced in the County primary last Tuesday. Independent candidates, representing the progressive policies of Gov. Ellis Arnall, were swept into office by an intelligent white electorate supported by almost 2,000 newly enfranchised Negro voters.

The 20-year domination of Richmond County by the Cracker Party ended in a rout as the Arnall forces defeated them by a nearly 2-1 margin.

Winners in the primary—tantamount to election—were: William S. Morris, publisher of the Augusta Chronicle, John B. Towill and Henry Eve, for the Legislature. The Independents also took over the County Commission with David Franklin, James Walker and Scott Nixon ousting the three Cracker Party incumbents, Frank Miles, Frank Hooper and Charles Pitts.

Sat 4-27-46

Morris Now Kingpin

Topping the list of Cracker politicians going down to ignoble defeat was Speaker of the House Roy Harris, a rabid white supremist who has drawn his pay checks as a politician for 24 years for monies paid by white and black Georgia taxpayers. Pierce King and W. W. Holley, were the other two Cracker legislators who whooped up the race question and lost to Independents.

Morris will succeed Harris as the county's most influential office-holder.

Richmond County Battle Ground

The Richmond County battle was regarded as the first phase of the struggle between Governor Arnall's law and order forces and the irreconcilables or hate-spreading faction of Georgia Democrats for control of the destiny of the state. The latter are led by Harris of the Cracker Party and former Gov. Eugene Talmadge.

Harris, bitter in defeat, further attempted to engender racial hatred when he charged his ousting to the Negro vote.

The official tabulation revealed that Morris received 1,994 Negro votes and Harris 437. Morris had a majority of more than 3,000 exclusively white votes over the Cracker Party candidate.

Cracker Party vote officials are said to have prevented more than 200 colored persons from voting in Augusta's Fourth ward by not providing a sufficient number of voting booths for the segregated Negroes and by employing dilatory tactics in accepting them at the polls.

Sat 4-27-46

Twenty-one thousand eight hundred twenty-five whites and 4,617 Negroes are registered as voters in Richmond County. Normal registration was said to have been previously numbered around from 12,000 to 15,000.

Talmadge Seeks Harris' Support

After admitting defeat, Harris renewed his effort to have the Legislature meet in extra-ordinary session for the purpose of "saving" the white primary.

Talmadge, a white supremacy and white primary candidate for Governor, called on Harris to support him in the gubernatorial race.

Red-gallused Gene said that the Negro vote defeated Harris. The hate-spreading aspirant for Governor asserted that Harris' cause was the white man's cause, and that "you are either white or black on this issue. I chose the white side."

Continuing, Talmadge said: "You'll go to their (Negroes) homes, knock on their doors with hat in hand, shake hands with all of them, and kiss the babies if you want to be elected."

If elected Governor, he promises to wipe from the statute books laws which he contends have provided the way for the courts to uphold the Negro's right to participate in Georgia Democratic primaries.

At Savannah, white and Negro voters have banded themselves into a new movement known as the Chatham-Savannah Club, and claims a membership of approximately 4,000 qualified voters.

M. L. Arnau, white, Savannah druggist who heads the club, said that 2,300 white and 1,700 Negro voters are members. He declared that efforts are being made to increase the membership to a point where the group may be able to fulfill its program. The support of organized labor and 10,000 potential Negro voters is also claimed by the president.

One of the avowed purposes of the movement is to oust those who are classed as ring politicians of Chatham County's formidable machine-controlled political set-up.

Sat 4-27-46

The advisory committee members are: C. E. Elder, H. W. Waters, E. V. Williams, Henry Wilson, Marion Pitts and H. C. Dieda. Wilson and Pitts are colored.

Arnau said the club's creed is: "He isn't fit to be free who doesn't get fighting mad when he sees authority imposing on the helpless."

955 Registered In Three-Hour Roundup Friday

Atlanta Ga.

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta Ga.

Pollard Funeral Home Packs 'Em In To the Last

Sat 5-4-46

They did it again Friday! For the third consecutive day this week all-time registration peaks for Fulton County were reached when 955 Negroes were added to the registration rolls. Registration Friday was conducted at the Pollard Funeral Home, 439 Fraser Street, special station set up by the Fulton County Registrar to relieve some of the pressure of registration at the Court House.

Meanwhile, registration of Negroes at the County Court House Friday continued without interruption. Again at 8 o'clock Friday morning upwards of 250 Negroes were present to greet the Registrars when the books open at 8:30. Registration will be continued at the Court House today, after which the books for the entire county will be closed. Some spokesmen for the All-Citizens Committee Friday evening expressed the hope that the books will remain open throughout the day today, in view of the fact that the law requiring the closing stipulated May 5, and since that day falls on Sunday. No definte conclusion on that joint had been reached here late Friday night. And Negroes who have not yet registered should not risk the danger of not getting registered depending upon the books remaining open all day instead of half the day.

Sat 5-4-46

POLLARD MACHINE

Long before registration got underway Friday, the smooth-clicking Pollard machine was in evidence. There was Rev. Wm. Jackson, the pastor of Bethlehem Baptist Church and Chairman for precinct B, who had handbills printed, calling attention to the special registration for Friday; opened his church doors to give rest and relief to nearly 1,000 citizens who milled in and out as they were assigned numbers which sent them across the Street to Pollard for Registration. Unlike Wednesday and Thursday at the special stations, not one person left the church because of impatience or inability to register. Let no one underestimate the service being rendered to the people of Summerhill and Pittsburgh by Rev. Wm. Jackson, the pastor of Bethlehem Baptist church and Rev. B. J. Johnson, pastor, Greater Mt. Calvary Baptist church.

WORKERS LAUDED

Nothing was more evident than the groundwork done by Mr. Pollard, Charels Greenlea, Warren Cochrane, James Hunter and David Watson. As a result, the stage was all set when the two o'clock hour came around. There tables from the Bethlehem Baptist church and Allen Temple AME church, Pollard had chairs enough to prevent anyone from standing more than ten minutes at a time. There were ink wells and pens. There was paper and every conceivable necessity for speeding up the registration tempo.

Sat 5-4-46

Charles Greenlea, USO Director, and Assistant Ward Leader, yanked out of the long lines several persons during the registration hours who were unable to read and write.

Here are the workers who gave noteworthy assistance to the Registrars, Rev. A. C. Peacock and F. Young Howell; Mrs. Camay Walker Mrs. Agnes Walker Washington, Miss Edna Hutchinson, secretary of USO and Mrs. Lena Sayles, Counsel of the Georgia Veterans League; Mr. John Wright Jr. and Albert Martin, World War II veterans; Miss Annie Wright student of Clark College, and the following students of Morris Brown College working under the leadership of Dr. R. O. Johnson; Alfonso Jesse, Leonard Summers, Charles McAffee, Herbert Craig, Robert Threet, John Thomas, James Green, Morris Morgan, Clayborn Edwards, James Phillips, Roy Cowell and Marvin Brown. And there are many others, including Rev. Peacock and Mr. Howell, the two registrars, who gave all they had in the way of patience, speed and understanding intelligence to cooperate in the registration campaign. Even the heavens smiled upon the vote drive. For if the downpour had come one hour earlier, say about 4:30, the results indeed would have been so different. And instead of ending with 955 it is altogether possible that there would have been around 600, since the people could not leave home in the rain and hail.

Sat 4-4-46

Negroes Register 4 to 1 White In Augusta

Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun 4-30-46

Constitution State News Service.

AUGUSTA, April 29—For the first time in the history of the city of Augusta, a predominant white ward now has more Negroes registered in it than white. This, the Third Ward, shows 1,420 Negroes registered as against only 1,262 white persons.

At the close of registration for last week, Negroes registered at a ratio of approximately four to one white persons in both city and county registration places. Unofficial tabulations compiled by Chronicle reporters showed 5,461 Negroes eligible to vote in the city primary without Saturday's total included. Official county figures announced by Tax Collector J. Bland Goodwin showed 1,573 Negroes registered in the Third Ward for county and state elections as against 1,363 whites.

The official total registration in the county up to date is now 22,241 whites and 6,049 Negroes. Unofficial totals in the city shows a total registration of 23,000, which includes the 5,416 Negroes.

In the Second and Fourth Wards, Negro registration has almost reached the level of white persons and may pass it at the City Hall with continued steady lines expected Tuesday, which will be the dead-line for registration as preparations must be made by city officials for the city primary sometime in July. Seven councilmen are to be elected.

CRACKERS MAY WITHDRAW

Sun 4-30-46

An independent advisory committee directed a letter to the city Democratic Executive Committee urging the committee to set the date for the city primary in the latter part of June. Members of the independent committee were reported holding regular meetings and progressing with the work of selecting candidates from each ward for the Independent ticket.

It is problematical whether the candidates already named by the Cracker party will run or not. There is some talk, not official, the the Cracker party nominees might withdraw and let the Independents have the field.

Spur Citizens To Reach Mark Of 25,000 Voters

Atlanta Ga.

Daily World

Sun. 4-28-46

Special Stations To Register Group May 1, 2 And 3

of white registrants. At a few of these stations Negroes were permitted to register also, although many were reported to turn away Negro registrants.

Sun. 4-28-46

At long last, however, officials have agreed to set up registration stations for Negro areas next Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, May 1, 2 and 3, between the hours of 2 to 5 o'clock each day. These will be

REGISTRATION STATIONS

A Citizens Committee, as well as a number of heads of Negro organizations, have made repeated approaches to and requests for registration stations in specified Negro population centers throughout the city. For unexplained reason, this request was denied, despite the fact that they may that several such stations have been provided for the convenience of the All-Citizens Committee reported a constant stream of Negroes who jammed the campaign to secure 25,000 registrants into every available Negroes on the rolls in Fulton County Court House last week in an effort to enter their names on the registration rolls. The committee reported that an estimated crowd of 300 or more were turned away here at closing time Saturday because registration officials be persuaded to do so this week.

Registration were unable to get around to them. Swinging into the final week of the campaign to secure 25,000 registrants into every available Negroes on the rolls in Fulton County, the Committee is making an effort to enter their names on the registration rolls. The committee reported that an estimated effort by furnishing every service some unexplained reason, crowd of 300 or more were turned possible to those who have not yet quest was denied, despite the fact away here at closing time Saturday because registration officials be persuaded to do so this week. been provided for the convenience

located at the following places and time:

Wednesday, May 1, from 2 to 5 p.m., Butler St. YMCA, First Floor Lobby and Gym

Thursday, May 2, from 2 to 5 p.m., University Recreation Hall

Friday, May 3, from 2 to 5 p.m., Pollard Funeral Home, 439 Fraser St., SE.

The All-Citizens Committee, despite this discrimination in service, is urging all Negroes who have not already registered to take advantage of these additional registration stations and get registered this week. The campaign for 25,000 registered voters is distressingly short of its goal. The last minute report on registration figures, place the number of Negroes at 18,700. This means that with all the available and additional stations registering Negroes, the campaign must be stepped up to a pace of over 800 per day in order to reach the goal.

RENEW EFFORTS

Ward leaders, precinct, census tract and block workers are urged to renew their efforts to get the people in their areas registered. During the past week, a sprinkling of Negroes registered at several of the stations established at Five Points. Sun. 4-28-46

Group workers are beginning the week with pep-meetings to spur on the registration drive. This afternoon at 4 p.m. the South Atlanta Civic League, headed by W. L. Rowe, is sponsoring a mass meeting at Bethlehem Center under the direction of Mrs. Ruth Hill. Excellent reports and results were achieved last week by Mrs. Eliza Winston and Mrs. Wilson.

At East Point, earlier this afternoon, there will be staged another big mass meeting at 3:30, spearheaded by the ministers, teachers and workers of College Park. W. L. Quillian is in charge of this program. This meeting will be held at the Siloame Baptist Church.

MASS MEET AT USO

At 8 o'clock on Thursday evening, May 2, there will be another mass meeting at the USO, with W. L. Calhoun, director. Ward 4 precincts A, B, C, and F are asked to attend in a group. The pledges of the Alpha Rho chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity will make a house-to-house canvass under the direction of David Watson.

This evening at 8 o'clock a candlelight service will be held at the City Auditorium under the direction of Bishop Crockett for the benefit of the All-Citizens Committee on registration. Despite the fact that the new stations for Negroes have been announce, it is to be hoped that Negroes who have not already registered, will not wait for these stations to open. Keep on crowding into the Court House and get registered, leaders advise. We have only 6 more days in which to secure nearly 6,000 registrants, the Committee therefore pleads for everyone to go and take others along to get registered.

Rep. Mankin Loses To Unit Vote System

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Members Alarmed Over Large Vote List In Fulton

Sun 5-3-46

In an effort to counteract the heavy Negro registration in Fulton County, the Democratic Executive Committee of the Fifth Congressional District has voted to abandon nomination of a Congressman by plurality and return to the county Unit System.

The committee voted eight to six Friday, defeating efforts of Congresswoman Helen Douglas Mankin and her attorney to maintain the plurality choice system.

The Negro issue appeared paramount in the minds of the committee members voting to change the system of selection. It had been rumored for some time that the committee would go back to the Unit plan to counteract the Negro vote in Fulton County. The committeeman expressed open concern over the large Negro registration

FULTON OUTWEIGHED

Under the Unit System in this district, Fulton and DeKalb Counties have six votes each and Rockdale County two votes. This means that DeKalb and Rockdale can outvote Fulton, a county with a much heavier population, in the Convention which makes the nomination. Sun 5-3-46

Mrs. Mankin lost her fight aganist the unit system in a test of strength. Murphy Chandler, of DeKalb offered the successful motion to revert to the unit voting. Mrs. Mankin submitted her appointment of State Senator Millican, as successor on the Committee of William Van Houten, deceased. Mrs. Mankin said she did so under the rules of the State Democratic Executive Committee. Former Representative William Schley Howard said the State Committee had no authority over the Fifth District Committee. Mrs. Z. V. Peterson, Secretary of the Committee, said that in her 20 years' service with it no vacancy had been filled except by the nominee following the Congressional Convention. Sun 5-3-46

SIDE WITH CHAIRMAN

Judge Shepard Bryan, Chairman then ruled that since Mrs. Mankin had been chosen in a special election and not in a Democratic Primary, she had no right to name Committee members. Ryburn Clay objected to the ruling and the Committee voted eight to six to uphold the Chairman's ruling.

The Fifth District Committee then decided to hold the Congressional Primary on July 17 the same day as the State Primary and to close entries at noon May 25.

Mrs. Mankin was elected to fill the vancancy of Robert Ramspeck, retired in a special election on February 12. The race proved a nip and tuck affair until Precinct B of Ward 3, located at Ashby Street School, reported, giving her a comfortable plurality over the nearest opponent in a field of seventeen candidates.

Bibb Negroes Ask White Help To Stop Buying Primary Votes

Atlanta Constitution

Constitution State News Service.

MACON, May 6—A new Negro political organization in Macon, the Bibb County Progressive Democratic Club, has adopted resolutions asking "the good white people of the county" to use their influence to help stop buying and selling votes in approaching primaries.

The resolutions say members of the club believe in clean politics and recognize our part of the responsibility in keeping our city, county and state elections on a high level. Sun 5-5-46

The resolutions also state that "money raised and spent by the Bibb County Progressive Democratic Club was raised and spent solely for the purpose of assisting the public in getting registered fo rthe general good and not for the campaigning of any particular candidate." Sun. 5-5-46

Officers of the organization are L. Marshall, President; Frank Hutchings, Sr., Secretary, and Dr. D. T. Walton, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

Approximately 9,000 or 10,000 of the more than 30,000 persons registered to vote in Bibb County are Negroes.

Reactionaries Hit Democrats' Move

Chicago Defender

By JOHN LE FLORE

(Defender Staff Correspondent)

ATLANTA, Ga.—Spurred by Gov. Ellis Arnall, the Georgia State Democratic Executive Committee officially ended the life of the traditional white primary elections in the state last week. Sat. 5-11-46

As a result of the democratic action, thousands of Negro voters will cast ballots in the state Democratic primary on July 17. In the city of Atlanta alone, more than 24,000 colored citizens are qualified to vote.

Climaxing a bitterly fought struggle against "white supremicists" in the state to franchise Negro voters, the Georgia governor's victory became assured last Thursday when he addressed the Democratic Executive Committee. In his speech, Governor Arnall declared that he would never be a party to defiance of constitutional law or court rulings.

Defies "White Supremicists"

"As long as I am governor," said Arnall, "everybody can vote who the law says can vote. There will be no extra session of the legislature to repeal the laws protecting state primaries from fraud and corruption so that the big city machines can control Georgia. So far, only three members of the House and one senator have petitioned me for an extra session."

Continuing, Governor Arnall defied the "white supremacy at any costs" crowd, which includes ex-governor Eugene Talmadge and recently defeated House Speaker Roy V. Harris, when he stated, "The white primary is gone! Whether you like it, or I like it or not, the law says that all citizens who can qualify can vote. The quacks and demagogues just can't stand the light of facts."

The Georgia governor urged the committee to be honest about the Negro's voting privileges granted by the federal courts. He said that any man not willing to uphold the law is not worthy of democratic citizenship. Sat. 5-11-46

Governor Arnall also stated that this year, Georgia has no poll tax and that there are more young voters registered than ever before. He pointed out that there are more women registered in the state than men.

He promised that the election this year will be the first in the history of the state "where our young people can really speak out and have a voice in the government of Georgia."

The liberal executive asserted, "Prejudice is dead and will be completely overthrown in the coming election. Regardless of what some candidates propose to do, that is a fact we must face."

On the other side of the political fence, Talmadge, who is a gubernatorial candidate on a "white supremacy" platform, spurred his usual race-baiting tirade against Negro voting. Sat. 5-11-46

Talmadge Attacks

Talmadge attacked Arnall's stand by charging that the governor has "lined up with the Negroes. He has gone back on the traditions of the state and the Southland."

Dragging an old familiar herring, Talmadge continued, "Arnall well knows that Henry Wallace is at the head of a movement of the Political Action Committee to take control of the voting strength of the South through the Negroes and to pass the Fair Employment Practices Bill."

Whistling in the dark, Talmadge declared, "There's ample law already on the statute books in Georgia to disqualify seven-eights of the Negroes now registered in the state." He added that, "This law will be carried out and the Negroes will not be allowed to assist Governor Arnall in selling out the state of Georgia to alien Communist agents from abroad." Sat 5-11-4

Probe of Georgia Ban on Negro Voting Reported

Macon News

Macon, Ga., June 16.—(AP): The Macon Telegraph and News says it has learned that a sweeping federal investigation of alleged discriminatory disqualification of negro voters has been launched in Middle Georgia.

Although U. S. District Attorney John Cowart of the Middle District court of Georgia declined comment, The Telegraph said its informant declared the investigation already is in progress.

The Telegraph story added: "The probe, launched at the request of regis- trars throughout this section of the state, even though the literacy tests provided for in Middle Georgia voting laws have been made for counties registrars have purged the last several weeks that in a all but a minor fraction of the negroes to take the tests before being put on the lists." U. S. supreme court has ruled under Georgia voting laws.

The Fulton Primary

Daily Herald

Colored Atlantans voted Tuesday for their first time in a Democratic Primary. Reports from the election managers show that their voting was orderly and no different from that of other groups in the population. They voted for or against candidates according to their individual convictions and in the light of information furnished them by Negro leaders and organizations interested in the personal qualifications and fitness of the various candidates. And an analysis of returns shows that their votes were, for the most part, rather evenly divided between the candidates, according to their previous records or the lack of it.

6-26-46 Times.

Of course, we think we should emphasize the fact that there were no great issues at stake. The issue of good government, they believed, would be served, no matter which of the candidates won. Basically, that line of reasoning was fairly sound and logical. No charge of being affiliated with the Ku Klux Klan was hurled at any of the candidates to frighten away Negro support. No charge of race-baiting or demagoguery was made, either of which would have been sufficient reasons why Negroes would have voted very differently. Atlanta, Ga.

We take this opportunity, therefore, to congratulate the winners and to commend the Negro organizations in giving intelligent and effective leadership to the new voters, indicating the unity of purpose so sorely needed in any group of the size and importance of that of the Negro.

Finally, we cannot refrain from an expression of regret that so few of the 24,000 or more registered Negroes took advantage of the opportunity of voting. To say that we have 24,000 Negroes registered in Atlanta and then to sit by and do nothing to help bring about badly needed reforms in government is no better than being without a voting right. We feel certain that this situation will be essentially different when July 17 rolls around when candidates for the gubernatorial race will be nominated.

Citizenship Schools

Daily World Atlanta Ga.

The series of educational forums and citizenship schools announced here this week by the Citizenship Committee of the NAACP and the Atlanta Civic and Political League, should be the source of much helpful information to those of us who make up the 24,000 registered voters in Atlanta and Fulton County. Under the plans, though operating in separate spheres, registered Negro voters will be permitted to avail themselves of useful and vitally inmportant information on the mechanics of the new voting machine, the important issues in the several elections slated to be held, the candidates seeking election and on what platfoms. In addition these forums will act as a clearing house of Negro opinion regarding the fitness and personal qualifications of those who seek office.

Sunday 6-23-46

These mass-meetings, which moved off to a fine beginning here Friday night at the Greater Mt. Calvary Baptist Church, will continue up to July 16th, culminating in a final gathering at several of the larger church auditoriums in Atlanta, Rockdale Park, College Park, Decatur and East Point.

Daily World

None of us can afford to miss the advice and information which may be secured at these meetings, absolutely free to anyone who wills to attend. Already, several of us have misplaced our blue cards which tell us what precinct and ward we are to cast our ballots. There are stationed at these meetings experts who will be prepared to answer these questions and to save us the trouble and delay in getting to cast our ballot on election day. There too, we shall learn to go about operating these new machines which may prove to be a handicap to us in getting out a large vote. Let everyone of us make it our business to toss aside every weight and hindering cause which may prevent us from getting out a strong and representative vote.

Ungrounded Fears

Daily World Atlanta Ga.

The comparative registration figures published recently, and showing the number of Negro to white voters in Georgia is sufficient evidence that there is considerably more talk about Negro domination than can ever be justified by the facts. For every qualified Negro voter in the state, there are ten whites. In six counties there are no Negroes registered at all. And in more than 25 counties there is considerably less than 100 Negroes registered.

Hence, to all intents and purposes, there is not the slightest possibility of Negro domination, even if we were inclined to think so foolishly. In other words, the registration figures indicate one unmistakable fact: the Negro vote up to this point is not even a factor in the state, although it is the subject of much comment, and we believe, manufactured fear. Tuesday 6-25-46

There is thus no occasion for the fears and alarm being sounded all over the state about the Negro and the dire consequences to whites unless they rise up now and challenge the courts, the law and public sentiment to keep the Negro under the heel of some white man in order to make him an underpaid hireling. Frankly, we do not believe that the better thinking white people who have been thrown into contact with Negroes will ever be fooled into believing this sort of baseless propaganda. 6-25-46

SUIT DISMISSED

Tribune - Savannah, Ga.

The suit brought by The Hub against the tax collector to make him stop practices in his office which thwarted the registration of Negroes, was dismissed because the practice complained of in the suit had ceased to exist. It is unfortunate that it was impossible to get a directive from the court which would restrict the tax collector from permitting obstructive measures against Negro or other registrants in his office. Even though the filing of the suit accomplished in a measure the purpose of the suit, we fear other devices will be used to accomplish the purpose of those who are interested in keeping Negro registration down. The same or similar devices could be used to keep the registration of any group down—Jews, Catholics, or "the outs." The newest device, already in use, is that of asking many impertinent questions. The following is illustrative of what takes place now at the court house:

Q.—What do you want?

A. I want to register.

Q.—Who told you to come here, your preacher? 5-28-46

A.—No. Savannah Ga.

Q. Why do you want to register?

A.—I want to register so I can have the same rights as you.

Q.—Well, you don't have to get too smart.

A.—I'm not trying to be smart. I am trying to answer your questions.

This sort of thing is one of the reasons why it takes so much longer to register Negroes than white people. There ought to be enough sentiment for decency and simple justice in this county to do what the filing of a suit failed to do. That sentiment ought to be on the side of law observance, both in spirit and letter. Instances of the sort mentioned above, should be called to the attention of the tax collector. It is altogether possible he does not know about such things. The fact that during the time between the filing of the suit and its trial things were very much better at the court house, shows that with a little effort, everybody can be treated with ordinary courtesy without hurt to anybody. We do hope it will not be necessary to go to court again.

Deny Negro Literates Refused Right To Register

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta Ga. Constitution State News Service.

COLUMBUS, May 27—Denying charges by a Negro Citizens Committee that some literate Negroes had not been permitted to register, Muscogee County Tax Commissioner Sterling Dudley said Monday that the only literacy test required by his office was the reading and understanding of the "voter's oath." 5-28-46—Tues.

The better class of Negroes, the "very few" white illiterates who more intelligent Negro leaders had attempted to register.

have commended this office for declining to permit illiterates to register," Dudley said. The Commissioner said he thought this was "because most of these "responsible Negro leaders adding that them are ashamed to try to register when they know they will have had said it would hurt the Negro's to take the literacy test." Atlanta cause, and make him a tool, if he were permitted to vote when he The ratio of white to Negro registrants in current totals is six to was unable to read or to understand the issues he was voting on." one in favor of the whites. GA.

The same test is employed for white and Negro registrants, Dudley asserted. He said he recalled

Minister Arrested On Vagrancy Score

Rev. Hollis Ellington, 59, of 1617 Lansing Street, in South Atlanta was arrested by Fulton County deputy sheriffs, Wednesday, in the Lobby of the Courthouse, and was later released under $200 bond.

Rev. Ellington stated that he was going to the Ordinary's Office on business, when two deputy sheriffs grabbed him. He quoted one of the sheriffs as saying that he was going to lock him up for hanging around the Courthouse, telling Negroes to register and vote. This same deputy added that Negroes did not have any business voting.

WARRANT SAYS "VAGRANCY"

According to Rev. Ellington, the officers took him upstairs to take out a warrant, but they were told that he could not be arrested for telling people to register. The clerk said that they could book him for vagrancy, however, and they did.

The warrant, sworn out by Deputy Sheriff O. C. Puckett says that Rev. Ellington "did wander and stroll about in idleness; was able to work and did not work; had no property to support him, and further said accused had no visible and known means for a fair reputable and honest livelihood."

CHARGES EVIDENTLY FALSE

These charges are evidently false, at least in part. The Atlanta Daily World learned Thursday that Rev. Ellington is not only an ordained minister, but owns his home and has a small farm.

He is the pastor of Floy Creek Baptist Church and devotes some of his time to farming. Then, occasionally, he visits the Ordinary's Office and performs marriage ceremonies for colored couples applying for licenses.

Birmingham, Ala., News
June 16, 1946

Negroes' Voting Rights In Georgia Investigated

MACON, Ga., June 15—(AP)—U. S. District Atty. John Cowart said today that investigations were being made to determine whether Negroes seeking to register as voters have been disqualified illegally in some Georgia counties.

Explaining that he could make no specific statement at this time regarding such allegations, Cowart added:

"We are vitally interested in seeing that the rights of Negroes are protected."

Charges of disfranchisement of Negroes have arisen at intervals since the United States Supreme Court recently upheld their right to vote in Georgia primaries. County officials have denied the charges.

The U. S. Department of Justice has declared that any cases of Negroes being prevented from registering will be vigorously prosecuted.

GEORGIA SEES TEST ON NEGROES' VOTING

The Times
New York, N. Y.

Ballot Figures of July's Primary Resulting in a Victory for Talmadge Puzzle Analysts

Sat. 9-7-46

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAVANNAH, Ga., Sept. 6—The theory that Negroes, if permitted to participate in Democratic primaries in Georgia, will cast their ballots as a block and thus exercise a balance of power in some communities is expected to be tested at the municipal primaries here next December. Local political analysts are still poring over the local results of the primary in July, which resulted in the nomination of Eugene Talmadge for Governor.

Chatham County, which is mostly Savannah, was the only large, or six-unit-vote county, Mr. Talmadge carried. In Chatham County the Negroes voted solidly for his opponent, James V. Carmichael. This is not surprising since Mr. Talmadge elected to wage his electoral campaign on the almost exclusive issue of "white supremacy" with sweeping promises to keep Negroes out of Pullman cars and in the back of interstate buses, if they elected to travel through Georgia.

Lest there be any wonder how it is known so positively for whom the Negroes of Chatham County voted, it should be reported that they cast their ballots in fifty separate voting boxes. The tally of those boxes is a matter of public record.

"Unanimous Vote" Cited

Although their practically unanimous vote (one observer estimated that not more than fifty ballots in all the Negro precinct voting places were marked for Mr. Talmadge) was not enough to carry the county for Mr. Carmichael, that the same block vote did elect three members of the State Legislature pledged to oppose repeal of Georgia's primary laws, as Mr. Talmadge advocates.

Repeal of State primary laws is the South Carolina plan, evolved in 1944, to keep Negroes from voting in Democratic primaries.

Thus far no Federal court has challenged the concept that the Democratic party, acting as a private organization and spending its own funds, can establish the qualifications of its membership and the methods of selecting its nominees without running afoul of the United States Constitution and its amendments.

Those Savannah citizens who fear the possible Negro balance of power in Democratic primaries point to July's results as evidence. In the Governor's race, they say, the white vote was so overwhelmingly in favor of Mr. Talmadge that the Negroes were in a clear minority. In the legislative race, however, the white vote divided along traditional lines of the ins versus the outs, and the Negroes, with their single issue of repeal of the primary laws, turned the scales.

Views of the Clergymen

On the other hand, some of those in Savannah who have been most closely associated with interracial activities and organizations (and their number includes some of the leading clergy) do not concur in the estimate of the professional politicians and observers.

They believe that the Negro vote in local matters will tend to divide along the same lines as the white vote, provided that no straight racial issue, such as that raised by Mr. Talmadge, is presented.

They point out that organized intolerance has found no foothold in Savannah, even though it has made some headway in other parts of Geogia, Savannah has always considered itself as a semi-autonomous republic, in relation to the rest of the State, and this frame of mind has extended to racial relations, according to these workers in the field. They claim there has been a minimum of tension here, even during the war.

The practical politicians, however, were professionally impressed with the excellence of the organization of the Negro vote in the July primary, which was the first time Negroes had been permitted to participate in Democratic party selections of candidates. The organization is known as the hub and has been highly effective thus far.

Leading spirits are prosperous Negro business men, including a grocer and several undertakers. They turned out the vote, by using the normal organization extending down to block captains, to a point where probably every eligible Negro in Chatham County was registered in time for the last primary, except for a few thousand who were challenged.

They turned them out to vote, as well. There is still some bitterness over allegations that as many as 9,000 Negroes were standing in line to vote when the polls closed at 6 P. M.

Election officials say that most of the Negroes, voting for the first time and confronted with a ballot longer than a column in a newspaper, took longer to mark their ballots than experienced white voters. Some Negroes claim that arbitrary delays were enforced so that all the Negroes would not get a chance to vote.

On Attracting Votes

Whatever they think about the merits of that discussion, the politicians saw that the Negro vote can be attracted to the polls, at the moment, in greater proportions than the white vote.

The demonstration was all the more striking because of the 60,000 registered voters in Chatham County, under the new rules which include abolition of the poll tax and lowering of the voting age to 18, 20,000 are Negroes.

The under-cover unrest of local municipal office-seekers has reached a point where one faction is reported to be considering letting the city primary in December go by default.

If these politicians should decide on such a course, their decision would be based on the hope that the incoming Talmadge administration, which will take office in January, will be successful in repealing the primary laws and restoring the "white primary" for Georgia.

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Consider Negro Policemen

Another practical school of thought is said to be evolving a scheme to train a few Negroes for the police, then a few more for the Fire Department, and finally to admit Negroes to the Department of Public Works.

The underlying philosophy would entail allaying possible Negro block voting by getting the Negroes interested, by participation, in the city Government.

The possible importance of these local maneuverings must be assayed against the watch cries of Mr. Talmadge and Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi. They agree that any deviation from the "white primary" might result in a balance of power by a block Negro vote, with rival white candidates competing for its support. That is the spectre they have successfully dangled before the voters of their States this summer.

Letter To The Editor

Atlanta Daily World

GIVES "NEXT STEP" IN POLITICAL BATTLE

Atlanta Dn.

To The World Editor:

Negroes of Atlanta have taken the first two steps towards their political emancipation. They are well on the way to first-class citizenship because they have registered and voted in the Democratic Primary.

Fri. 7-19-46

These steps have not been won easily. For twenty years the movement to get large numbers of our people registered has been slowly moving to the recent climax when nearly 25,000 names were on the books of the Registrar's office. The pioneers and hardest workers in the drive for registration were the Atlanta Branch of the NAACP and the Civic and Political League. The NAACP, under the directorship of Professors Logan and Bacote conducted Citizenship Schools in the early days when we needed to be educated in the necessity of registering as a preliminary to voting. The main battle in this drive for a large registration was the All Citizens Committee on Registration which less than one year ago accepted the challenge and accomplished the task of registering 25,000 Negroes so that they could be ready to vote in the Democratic Primary of July 17. The bulwark of the movement to make us politically conscious has been the Citizens Democratic Club of Fulton County which was organized less than three years ago and whose officers and members have been most active in all efforts to increase the registration of our people.

The second step, that of voting in the Democratic Primary was also the combined efforts of all public-spirited citizens of Atlanta. When the national office of the NAACP won the decision from the U. S. Supreme Court in the Texas Primary cases, Negroes in Georgia as elsewhere realized that the time for action was at hand. The Citizens Democratic Club was organized for the primary purpose of organizing Negro Democrats and preparing them to participate in the Democratic Primary of Georgia. The Club backed one of its members in the suit entered against T. E. Suttles, Registrar and Tax Collector in order to require him to submit the names of registered Negroes to the poll managers so that they could vote. Before the second suit, also entered by members of the Club and sponsored by the organization, was filed, a similar group of Negroes won a decision in the famous Macon case which re-established the right of all registered Democrats to vote in the Democratic Primary.

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But these two steps are preliminary to the real fight. The next is the organizaiton of a large group of Negroes in a permanent Democratic Club, whose power will be felt in state and local Democratic circles The Citizens Democratic Club of Fulton County must join with other similar clubs in Georgia to perfect an organization on a state-wide basis so that interest in government will be increased and the Democratic Party will work for all democrats. We are all Georgians and must be active members of the party which controls the government in our state and in our counties and cities. A two-party system is desirable in a democracy but when such a system is absent we must become an integral part of the party which controls our government. Various court decisions have declared that the Democratic Primary in Georgia is tantamount to the state government. The Primary is controlled by the State Democratic Committee.

Negroes must have representation on this committee if we are to be sure that our voice will be heard when decisions are made and plans are formulated. We are concerned with better health, school and police conditions in each city, town and county of Georgia. In order to get these counties we must work with local Democrats.

There is great danger that the enthusiasm which we now have will be stunted in our growth now because we are not rapidly pass away in the face of hard work. We will orderly, quiet and effective organization of our people into Democratic Clubs and become active in the club's program. That is with public-spirited officers and members our next step and we must take enthusiastic members and women, the Negro, young in whose one objective is the greatest battle. We must not become strong Democratic Clubs. Every Negro who has not done so must immediately join his local Democratic Club and become active in the club's program. That is our next step and we must take it if we would be politically free.

WALLACE VAN JACKSON
Atlanta

Fri. 7-19-46

"gird our lions" for the coming battle. We must not become stunted in our growth now because we are not rapidly pass away in the face of hard work. We will orderly, quiet and effective organization of our people into Democratic Clubs and become active in the club's program. That is our next step and we must take it if we would be politically free. We must become an integral part of the party which controls our government. Various court decisions have declared that the Democratic Primary in Georgia is tantamount to the state government. The Pri-

Negroes Enfranchised Only To Vote Republican Ticket?

Rev. William Gilmore is one of our long-time valued subscribers—a good citizen in the Brooklet community respected by whites and blacks alike.

He is 80 years old—and as black as negroes ever grow.

In our office Saturday he let it be known that the race problem as recently developing in politics has been giving him concern. He asked this reporter for some point on which he might reason with the people of his color as to the wise course for them to follow in a peaceful habitation with the white people upon whom they are largely dependent for the carrying forward of the worthwhile matters of government.

This reporter assured Gilmore that he was at his wit's end for a solution himself as to how best to live to maintain peace and harmony and the best that life offers.

Then Gilmore submitted a proposition which seemed to have some element of reason—and about which he was absolutely certain. He discussed the 14th amendment to the constitution which gave freedom to the negroes and made them citizens. He was familiar with the fact that Abraham Lincoln was credited with this transaction, and further with the fact that Abraham Lincoln was a Republican.

Then Gilmore asked this question: Abraham Lincoln represented the Republican party; he spoke for that party when he enfranchised the negroes, and he authorized them to become Republicans. Even since then for eighty years negroes have been Republicans by virtue of that authority—they were invited and welcome into the Republican party.

The Democrats, said Gilmore, have not invited the negroes—therefore they have no right to force themselves in where they are unwanted. The Democrats of Georgia have organized a white Democratic primary for their own purposes and procedures; it doesn't invite negroes nor Republicans, therefore, said Gilmore, I tell my people they have no right to force themselves by law into places which they have not been given by the 14th amendment. Lincoln permitted them to be negro Republicans, but he didn't have the power to make them white Democrats, did he?

We didn't answer Gilmore, because we recognize our lack of skill at law. We wonder if that eighty-year-old negro preacher has raised a worthwhile point?

We are transmitting this to the powers that quibble for whatever it is worth. Let them thank Gilmore for it if they will. Gilmore thinks the right to vote and live in discord with one's neighbor is a thing of small value as compared with the right and opportunity to live peaceably with the neighbors upon whom one must depend for safety and co-operation.

All Colored in Town District Vote Courthouse

Mason, Ga.
Progressive Argus

All Negroes quaified to vote in the July 17 primary, and residing in Jackson militia district, will cast ballots at the courthouse in Jackson, it has been decided by members of the Butts County Democratic Executive Committee.

Jackson district has two precincts, Pepperton and Jackson, and separate booths will be maintained for white and colored voters at the Jackson precinct. 7-4-46

No Negroes will be permitted to vote at Pepperton, it has been decided, but will be sent to Jackson courthouse where plenty of clerical help will be available.

This is the first time that Negroes have been permitted to vote in a primary in many years and the committee is anxious to do everything possible to avoid friction an see that the election is carried out in a smooth and legal manner.

Most of the Negroes in the county are registered in Jackson district, with a considerable sprinkling at Indian Springs and some of the other districts.

If the decision of the committee is followed and voters wil show the proper restraint and caution there is no reason why the primary cannot be conducted in a satisfactory manner.

County-by-County Tabulation Shows 1,072,543 Registered

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 7-17-46

Constitution State News Service.

More than 1,072,543 (the unofficial total) Georgians are qualified to exercise their right of ballot at the polls today, the largest registration in the history of the State. Of this number, 136,615 are Negroes.

In 1940, only 540,401 persons were registered. And of this number, 355,068 voted.

The Constitution prints below the county-by-county tabulation of registration for today's primary election, together with the number of Negroes who are listed as registered in each county. The registration is unofficial due to the fact only approximately 100 counties have reported their registration totals to the Secretary of State's office.

COUNTY—	Total	Negro
Appling	5,495	545
Atkinson	3,675	127
Bacon	4,015	9
Baker	1,550	300
Baldwin	6,954	1,799
Banks	3,150	50
Barrow	5,092	375
Bartow	9,327	700
Ben Hill	3,300	550
Berrien	5,000	100
Bibb	32,500	10,000
Bleckley	3,921	64
Brantley	3,854	65
Brooks	5,361	316
Bryan	2,400	300
Bulloch	9,302	1,054
Burke	3,602	389
Butts	2,950	250
Calhound	1,756	204
Camden	2,276	473
Candler	3,710	710
Carroll	10,350	350
Catoosa	4,800	25
Charlton	2,141	50
Chatham	58,378	20,000
Chattahoochee	314	11
Chattooga	7,500	350
Cherokee	7,973	108
Clarke	11,032	2,088
Clay	1,250	250
Clayton	4,075	75
Clinch	1,686	74
Cobb	18,620	1,100
Coffee	9,144	600
Colquitt	7,234	763
Columbia	2,007	414
Cook	3,400	400
Coweta	8,959	517
Crawford	1,563	313
Crisp	5,694	400
Dade	2,618	300
Dawson	1,300	0
Decatur	9,350	1,350
DeKalb	40,477	1,393
Dodge	8,200	1,200
Dooly	4,339	400
Dougherty	10,680	3,000
Douglas	3,900	300
Early	5,085	83
Echols	768	4
Effingham	2,939	417
Elbert	8,598	862
Emanuel	7,164	1,321
Evans	2,000	350
Fannin	6,162	14
Fayette	3,421	0
Floyd	15,200	1,200
Forsyth	4,989	0
Franklin	6,300	300
Fulton	122,119	22,765
Gilmer	3,862	8
Glascock	1,519	52
Glynn	10,391	2,903
Gordon	5,757	200
Grady	6,357	650
Greene	3,800	800
Gwinnett	11,738	732
Habersham	5,500	100
Hall	12,000	700
Hancock	2,931	459
Haralson	7,188	100
Harris	2,747	71
Hart	4,528	342
Heard	2,204	104
Henry	5,077	785
Houston	3,114	600
Irwin	3,300	250
Jackson	6,168	318
Jasper	2,386	393
Jeff Davis	3,350	50
Jefferson	4,865	153
Jenkins	2,011	171
Johnson	5,149	300
Jones	2,435	500
Lamar	2,977	393
Lanier	1,400	200
Laurens	10,345	2,125
Lee	1,000	100
Liberty	2,925	1,330
Lincoln	1,876	21
Long	2,384	5,091
Lowndes	10,638	1,004
Lumpkin	3,000	43
Macon	2,835	70
Madison	4,471	133
Marion	1,716	275
McDuffie	3,250	41
McIntosh	2,247	1,052
Meriwether	7,000	400
Miller	2,377	103
Mitchell	1,054	74
Monroe	3,518	768
Montgomery	3,614	364
Morgan	3,637	800
Murray	3,245	45
Muscogee	25,998	4,602
Newton	8,000	1,000
Oconee	2,000	200
Oglethorpe	3,018	138
Paulding	5,078	233
Peach	3,171	668
Pickens	3,550	64
Pierce	4,000	350
Pike	2,412	77
Polk	9,112	400
Pulaski	2,548	236
Putnam	2,500	250
Quitman	925	40
Rabun	3,900	9
Randolph	3,290	400
Richmond	31,138	7,744
Rockdale	2,859	220
Schley	1,340	200
Screven	4,331	872
Seminole	2,130	280
Spalding	10,373	1,242
Stephens	3,000	200
Stewart	1,692	27
Sumter	4,384	96
Talbot	1,598	176
Talliaferro	1,700	375
Tattnall	4,720	323
Taylor	3,043	171
Telfair	5,000	1,000
Terrell	2,869	59
Thomas	9,013	1,500
Tift	6,526	891
Toombs	6,785	100
Towns	1,800	0
Treutlen	1,200	125
Troup	13,015	1,948
Turner	3,640	138
Twiggs	2,150	500
Union	3,327	0
Upson	7,481	328
Walker	14,367	318
Walton	6,505	497
Ware	11,660	2,160
Warren	2,053	128
Washington	6,900	1,702
Wayne	5,143	455
Webster	950	0
Wheeler	2,233	133
White	2,600	80
Whitfield	10,500	350
Wilcox	6,275	600
Wilkes	4,248	710
Wilkinson	3,800	300
Worth	4,538	538
Grand Total	1,072,543	136,615

What Sacred Rights?

SOME WEEKS AGO there appeared in this newspaper a sort of semi-news story describing the visit of an aged negro man to this office and outlining something of the philosophy which he shared with us as to the right of negroes to vote in the white Democratic primaries.

William Gilmore, a negro minister past 80 years of age, had suggested, among other things, that friendly relations among neighbors—white and black—are more to be valued by the people of his color that the mere right to cast a ballot for men for office whom they knew little or nothing. What Gilmore said about this right as applied to negroes, may, as you will admit, likewise be applied for men and women of all color—that ruptured friendships among neighbors are an injury to society which far outweighs the profit which comes from the exercise of franchise in matters wherein there is little or no opportunity to make wise choice.

Well, quite a good many of our readers commented to us pleasantly upon the merit of Gilmore's philosophy, and apparently they talked to him along the same line, for this aged negro philosopher strolled into our office again a few days ago and spoke rather happily of the fact that in all the eighty years of his life he had never hand any trouble with any neighbor, white or black. And then Gilmore commented, "The law gives me, when I drive a car, the right to occupy one-half the road. I find it pleasant and agreeable to exercise that right most of the time; but sometimes I meet a fellow—white or black—who seems unwilling to recognize my right. Then I give him the whole road. The law has given it to me, but it does not require me to exercise that right. If I insisted I render some of my rights." That was the philosophy which eighty-year-old William Gilmore laid before us when he was in our office a day or two ago. Is that a philosophy worthy of any white man or negro Isn't it a great satisfaction to know that one is not required to exercise those personal rights the exercise of which would do him more harm than good!

Baxley, Ga., News-Banner
July 11, 1946

Separate Voting Booths To Be Provided For Negro Voters In Baxley Precinct

In an announcement today, Judge Alvin V. Sellers, chairman of the Appling County Democratic Executive Committee, stated that a separate entrance to the court house and a separate room for voting would be provided for Negro voters of the Baxley district. A majority of the registered Negro voters are registered in the Baxley district.

Judge Sellers also announced that ballots have been prepared to care for all voters and that with an unprecedented registration all polls will open at 7 a. m. and close at 6 p. m. in order that everyone has an opportunity to vote. Voters are urged by him to cast their ballots early to avoid the last minute rush.

The voting status of some 500 Negroes was still undecided today as a headstrong Talmadge - dominated Board of Registrars searched for any pretext to remove them from the Voters' List. In the face of an appeal to U. S. Attorney General Tom Clark in Washington by white citizens interested in law and order, the board has summoned practically, if not all Negroes to appear. First hearings were set for 200 Negroes this morning, two hours before Eugene Talmadge and his followers were to arrive in Baxley for his speaking engagement. To prevent a possible clash between the two groups, Mayor Hovis Floyd requested the board to postpone today's hearings until Friday. The board, which announced to a committee of citizens supporting Mr. Floyd's request that the board would adjourn at 10:30 for Mr. Talmadge's speech was unable to satisfactorily explain how 200 Negroes could be heard in an hour an a half.

It was learned today that the summoned Negroes have obtained the services of one of Savannah's leading attorneys to represent them against the blanket charges brought by L. E. Varnadore, Dewey J. Brown and C. H. Land. It is expected that the hearings before the local board will be nothing more than a farce and that the board by reason of a Talmadge majority will do the bidding of Talmadge henchmen who have come into Appling county to take charge. It is also believd by a majority of Appling county citizens, who favor a few Negroes exercising their constitutional right to vote in preference to their county affairs being turned over to Talmadge-hired henchmen from neighboring counties, that state and federal officials will not countenance wholesale disregard of state and federal laws.

Although the News-Banner again requested statements of the local Board of Registrars and offered to publish their signed statements in full and B. O. Googe promised a signed statement this week, none has been forthcoming.

Georgia Code, section 34-401. The next section of the Code, 34-402 says that no name shall be removed from the voter's list except on sufficient 'legal proof.' Sun 7-7-46

Apparently encouraged by the determined frustration and threats to the U. S. Supreme Court decision by the Talmadge forces in Georgia, Race-baiting Theodore Bilbo, who won renomination to the U. S. Senate this week, recommended a special session of the Mississippi Legislature to prohibit Negroes from voting. 'Negroes voting" in the Tuesday's primary warrants an extraordinary session of the Mississippi Legislature be called to change the State Election Laws. Sun. 7-7-46

Carefully-Coached Negroes Jam Albany Polls

There is something new under the sun—Negroes voting in a white gubernatorial primary in Albany, Ga. It happened Wednesday in the Albany municipal auditorium, where two voting places were set up.

A few of the Negroes who voted Wednesday had previously voted in general elections, but most of them had never voted in their lives

However, with around 3,000 registered in the county, they had arrived at the auditorium by the scores by seven o'clock Wednesday. Two lines reached for down the lawn toward the corner. For the most part, the women and girls were "all dressed up" as though going to church, and the men, too, were mostly in neat attire.

The voting tables, presided over by the election officials were set up in the side hall of the auditorium, in alphabetical sections The Negroes went by the tables as their turn came. There was a little hesitancy and uncertainty on the part of most of them—the same hesitancy that anyone feels when starting in something they have never done before.

We watched for some time, and it seemed that each Negro voter tried hard to follow instructions. Some seemed nervous, but at each door, a Negro man stood and directed them to the tables to receive their ballots.

All Ages

They were there in all ages. There was the aged Negro mammy in her white hair, dressed in her "Sunday best." There was lean Annie, and Fat Cassie, along with the painted-faced, curly-haired college girl. There was middle-aged Fan, telling a funny joke to one in line ahead of her. Some of the girls looked just eighteen, but while we were there, the most of them were touching the 25-45 age groups.

There were the old men and the young men, but here, too, it seemed that most of them were of the younger middle-age group. though we did see some gray-haired men—the kind you call "Uncle Joe."

Most voters, when asked their name by election officials gave it readily. But there was the young black girl—she looked not more than 18—who stammered as though she had a great lump in her throat, and said "Sallie—I mean Mary."

"Mary who?" asked the clerk.

Then stammeringly gave her name, got her ballot and went on.

We noted that there were few booths arranged, considering the number of voters. By noon, 1150 had voted, and the inside of the hall contained six or eight voting booths, and a few booths had been set up inside of the minor Auditorium.

And here's something for study—there was a small table on the floor of the minor auditorium. Three voters—women when we saw them—would sit down at the table together. They marked their balots, but we couldn't call them secret ballots in every case. We saw them consulting with one another at the table before they marked.

Marked Ballots?

Another thing we saw—some of the Negroes reached into their pockets or purses and took out one of those sheets of paper upon which were listed those candidates as endorsed by a Negro "Democratic Club" said to have been organized here. They would look at the the sheet and then mark ballots . We were not near enough, of course, to see if the ballots were marked in accordance with the printed sheets, besides we believe that how a person votes is his own business, and didn't try to see for whom anyone voted. But we did see well enough to recognize the printed sheet, as we had previously seen one like it.

At the end of one place, where only three voting booths were set up, there was a table half-way up the stairs, and this was used by some. Others went on up to the bend of the stairs, completely out of sight of the voting managers. There they gathered around the stair rail to mark their ballots. We did no tsee any voters consulting with one another at this place.

We asked one of the white men who was showing the voters where to place the ballots after they were marked why they were voting out of sight up the stairs, and at the tables together, and he said, "because the officials did not plan enough voting booths, and they have to vote somewhere."

Smooth and Quiet

We talked with the policeman who stood near the door, and he said, "everything has been smooth and quiet."

Outside on the lawn, the Negroes gathered in little groups throughout the day. They talked and laughed. We heard them mentioning the names of various candidates, but some of them were talking about things entirely foreign to the election. Most of the women who voted went on about their business after a little while.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution Atlanta Ga.

Thoughts On The Morning After

Fri 7-5-46

It was a good day . . . yesterday.

Americans celebrated 170 years of independence, won in a six-year struggle as hard and bitter as any ever fought.

A new nation emerged on the scene.

The Philippine Islands, after centuries of cruel Spanish rule and after less than half a century of improving existence as a United States possession, yesterday became the Philippines Republic.

This emergence of a new nation on the present scene of international uncertainty, distrust and confusion is an encouraging stimulus to freedom-loving people everywhere.

It was a good day.

Independence Now it is July 5. Let us do a little independent thinking about our own, immediate problems.

Let us calmly examine into the facts.

Do not for a moment lose sight of the real issue.

Shall this State be made one of tensions and turmoil, driving away new business and investment which will bring industrial plants and jobs to our people? Bringing, too, a greater market for farm products? Shall our schools and institutions again be thrown into constant political interference and our institutions upset?

Shall Georgia go ahead in decency and good will?

Or not?

Let us think independently.

"Mixing" Mr. Eugene Talmadge does not really believe it himself, but for the sake of votes, he charges that unless he is elected Negroes will go to our schools, will fill offices, and so on.

Well, let us look. But, let us also keep in mind that he said four years ago that if Ellis Arnall were elected Negroes would, before his term was up, be attending white schools. At least we know that has not happened.

Now, let's look.

Virginia is a Southern State.

It is the State of Robert E. Lee, the peerless gentleman, and leader.

I assume none will say it is not one of the most Southern of States.

Negroes have always voted in the Virginia white primary.

Yet in all these years no one, white or colored, has so much as suggested that there be any mixing of the races in schools or elsewhere.

For more than 25 years Negroes have voted in North Carolina's Democratic white primary.

You can get in your car and drive from Georgia into North Carolina. It is our next-door neighbor.

You may go see there has been no change in their school or bi-racial system. It is just like Georgia's.

Negroes always have voted in neighboring Tennessee's primary.

They have voted for about two years in Texas and in Alabama.

No responsible white or colored person anywhere or in any of these States has suggested a mixing of the races in schools.

How about the Texas case? Fri. 7-5-46

A returned Negro war veteran who wanted to study law had to take the legal step necessary. Texas has no law school for Negroes. The Southern States have laws declaring the races shall be separate but shall have equal school facilities. Since we have not always done so, this is a problem Southern States must work out and it is a problem our educators now are engaged in working out. The Negro race needs more Negro doctors and dentists and other professional men. Texas will now arrange, as does Georgia and other Southern States, to send this boy to a law school. All Southern States have been doing this for years. Mr. Talmadge made exact arrangements in the past. It is not honest for him to use this Texas incident as something different.

As long as the Democratic party is the only party in Georgia it is not possible to keep the sort of primary we had. It was always vulnerable. For the past 50 years nomination in its primaries have meant election. The general elections that followed our primaries were mere formalities. So long as the primary controls and determines the elected officials; so long as the general election is meaningless, no primary plan, even the one proposed by Mr. Talmadge, will be legal. His continued announcement that South Carolina has solved it is simply not true. The Democratic party in that State already has publicly been advised by its legal advisers their plan of wiping out all the laws has not solved their problem. The courts ruled against the primary not at all because it was a white primary, but because its nominees never had opposition in the general elections. We all know that to be true.

Even the most timorous can hardly have reason to be afraid with about 10 white votes for every Negro vote. We do not need to launch on a foolhardy course of defying Federal courts and the Constitution of the United States.

Let us preserve our Democratic majority, our common sense, our decency and our own self-respect as well as the respect of others.

Your Highest Duty

Atlanta Daily World

TODAY, July 17th, citizens, white and colored alike are called upon to go to the polling places and cast their ballots for the candidates whom they believe to be the best to carry forward the high and orderly functions of government for another term. The latest official tabulations place the total number of registered voters at 1,017,026. Of this number there are 134,351 Negroes qualified to vote.

Both of these figures represent an impressive stirring of the spirit and enthusiasm in good and progressive government. Atlanta Ga.

But there is a world of difference between having our names on the qualified list and in casting an active ballot. The first step is to get registered. The second and by far the most important, is to vote. We believe that there will be no shirking of this, our highest duty and most sacred responsibility. Wed. 7-17-46

The highest court in the land, supported by our local federal district courts and by local public sentiment, has declared Negroes have a right to vote under the provisions of the 13th, 14th and 17th amendments to the U. S. Constitution, and that as such, no person or group of persons can deny them of this right. Hence, Negroes throughout Georgia will vote, without fear or intimidations. In many firms and businesses throughout the state, employers have been urged to grant to their workers a day, or a half day, or at least, "time necessary," in which to go to the polls and cast their ballots. But, whether employers grant any time off for that important function or not, nothing should stand in the way of registered voters doing their duty in tomorrow's election. For Negroes, the election is the most important in their entire history. They cannot and must not pass up this sacred obligation.

No one who has read this paper since the announcement of the candidates for governor should have any doubt as to where we stand in this contest.

We have stated in these columns before and we repeat now that considering the questions and issues involved in this campaign and the past records of the two former governors—Talmadge and Rivers—it is our sincere and strong conviction that the election of Hon. James V. Carmichael will be to the best interest of our state. The Negro, a minority group, of necessity must always stand on the side of decency and law and order.

In the Congressional race, on the basis of her record in the legislature and the time she has been in Congress, we believe Mrs. Helen Douglass Mankin is entitled to a full term

Above all, GO VOTE TODAY, and Vote your honest conviction. Wed. 7-17-46

WRONG AGAIN

The Savannah Tribune Savannah Ga.

Those who prophesied that Negroes in Chatham County could not get together and follow leadership, must have thought the sight that greeted them Wednesday morning was a nightmare. Those who bolted the understandings of the Citizens' Democratic Club must have had a rude awakening as they viewed the long lines of voters who scorned their persuasions and turned in a vote which was a repudiation to their disloyalty. As we stated prior to the election, there was only one issue at stake for Negroes. The side they agreed to support was in the interest of their political future, and we do not see how any of them could have reasoned otherwise. The inadequate provision made for their voting, the inefficiency manifest in carrying out these inadequate provisions were an earnest of what could be expected if the administration ticket had won. The irony of the situation was that the "bolters" were giving energetic support to the effort to defeat the very purpose and intention and desire of the hundreds of voters who stood in lines for hours, many of whom did not get a chance to cast their ballots. It is difficult to believe that the placing of voting locations at points far from residential centers was not deliberate. This was reminiscent of practice of reconstruction times when the polls were placed at most inconvenient locations so as to make voting by Negroes difficult. In those days it was not unusual to place the polls on the other side of a river and deny Negroes the use of means with which to cross. It is commonly reported that "stoppers" were placed at intervals in the lines to slow up voting by taking from ten to fifteen minutes to vote. There were eye-witnesses to this practice. At least three of the "bolters" were parties to this practice. While, as the returns indicate, the "bolters" had little influence with the voters we believe Negro voters will insist that the executive committee purge itself of these men. This is no time for unfaithful leadership. To retain them in places of leadership is to invite disunity and failure for the aims of the club. Thur. 7-25-46

Progress in Georgia

The News and Courier Charleston, S. C.

The action of the Talmadge convention in Georgia recommending to the legislature the repeal of laws relating to the primaries, which will doubtless be adopted by Georgia's legislature, means that thousands of negroes in Georgia will be unable to sell their votes to scalawags, as thousands of negroes of Harlem sell their votes to white bosses. Mon. 10-14-46

ONCE OVER LIGHTLY

By Earl Brown

New York Amsterdam News

Any Tammany district leader, particularly those in Harlem, should take a lesson from the Negro leaders in Georgia who were instrumental in getting more than 160,000 colored citizens to register and more than 100,000 of them to vote in the primary election there on July 17. The work of these leaders and the enthusiasm and determination of the colored people throughout the state to register and vote is one of the most beautiful stories of civic and racial interest I have ever seen or heard of.

Back in 1944, Primus King of Columbus, Ga., filed suit in the U. S. District Court in Macon, Ga., to allow Negroes to vote in the Democratic (lily-white) primary. The court ruled in his favor and then the state appealed the decision to the U. S. Circuit Court at New Orleans. The Circuit Court upheld the lower court, and when the State of Georgia carried the case to the U. S. Supreme Court, it refused to hear it, thereby exhausting every legal step by the state to prevent Negro Georgians from voting in the state Democratic primary.

When the Supreme Court made known last April 13, from that date until the first week in July more than 150,000 Negroes registered to vote in Georgia. There were about 15,000 already registered, mostly in Atlanta.

New York, N.Y.

Fight Was Organized

Two Negro organizations—the Atlanta Citizens Democratic Club and the Georgia Association of Democratic Clubs—led the organizational and vote drives. In Atlanta, for example, Democratic Club investigated and determined every house in which a Negro family lived and then sent workers around to appeal to them to register and vote. Mrs. Grace Towne Hamilton, secretary of the Atlanta Urban League, and Prof. Clarence A. Bacote of Atlanta University, were among the leaders of this register-and-vote drive. While the leaders were working in Atlanta, those who headed the Georgia Association of Democratic Clubs in their respective whistle stops, villages, towns and cities elsewhere in the state were laboring equally hard.

Furthermore, neither organization—the Atlanta Democratic Club and the Ga. Ass'n of Dem. Clubs—accepted a dime from any one to help them in their efforts. Each club in the Ga. Ass'n was taxed so much money for the register-vote drive and the leaders—teachers, doctors, lawyers, business men, etc.— contributed according to their ability. Thousands of dollars were donated by day laborers, farm hands, maids, cooks, etc. In fact, the leaders found that the masses of colored Georgians were ready to give until it hurt as well as to vote.

Because they anticipated hostility on the part of the whites if it became known that they had organized Democratic clubs to put on registration and voting drives among the colored people, the leaders kept their activities secret as far as possible. A week before the election 75 Negro Democratic leaders from all over the state assmbled in Atlanta, and spent 10 hours comparing notes as to what was happening back home in Jeff Davis County, DeKalb County—in every one of the 159 counties in the state. This was at the height of the purge of Negroes from the voting lists for all kinds of absurd reasons. The leaders told of hiring white lawyers (there are no colored ones in Ga. outside of Atlanta and a few other big cities) to defend Negro voters at purge hearings in the courts, and many other laudable deeds. Many white lawyers refused to take the cases.

Sat. 7-27-46

Bucks the KKK

In spite of threats by the Klan, Talmadge and others, the colored voters held their ground, fought to keep their names on the voting lists and finally went to the polls and voted to tune of more than 100,000. When it is remembered that no more than 300,000 people ever voted before in Ga. in any election and that 95 percent of the 100,000 Negroes who voted in this one voted for the first time, it is obvious that the colored people of Ga. accomplished a whale of a job.

All this was done not for selfish political gain by any one, but solely for racial progress in one of the most backward and Negro-hating states in the union. As a result of their work, Negroes in Ga. will vote in large numbers from now on. Indeed, as soon as white candidates learned that Negroes had registered in large numbers they came around asking for their votes. Even Judge James Davis, a notorious Kluxer who defeated Congresswoman Mankin in the primary, asked some colored leaders in Ga. if he could visit them to talk over getting their support.

We Ought To Wake Up

If the Negro politicians—Republicans and Democrats—in New York and other Northern cities would show one-tenth as much civic interest as the brave colored people in Ga. demonstrated in the last three months, maybe the people in Harlem and other colored districts of Northern cities could get somewhere. The colored folk of Ga. have proved that it can be done.

Sat. 7-27-46

Negroes Outnumbered 8 To 1, AP Check Of State Lists Reveals

Cartersville (Ga.) Tribune-News

July 11, 1946

(BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Atlanta, Ga.—(AP)—Registraiton has just closed and about 1,000,000 Georgians have written their names in the books to vote July 17 in the Democratic primary, the actual election in the Solid South.

This is well more than double the customary registration. Only about 120,000 Negroes are registered, outnumbered 8 to 1 by whites, but they are voting in a Georgia "White" Primary for the first time.

An equally important factor is the vote of several hundred thousand teen-aged, who have registered in mass numbers.

Georgia was the first, and so far the only state to reduce the voting age from 21 to 18. The change was accomplished by outgoing Gov. Ellis Arnall, the nation's youngest chief executive.

THE CANDIDATES STATE THEIR ISSUES

The campaign finds two veteran Georgia politicians, ex-governors Gene Talmadge and E. D. Rivesr, seeking a comeback. The Arnall candidate is 35-year-old James V. Carmichael, wartime bomber plant manager and ex-legislator.

Cartersville, Ga.

Arnall couldn't run for renomination. A Constitution adopted in his administration prohibits a governor from succeeding himself.

Arnall led a dramatic and surprising legislative battle last year which ended in the repeal of Georgia's poll tax. The Supreme Court some months later held, in effect, Negroes could vote in the primary.

The Governor refused to have any part in an abortive movement to get the Legislature in session to remove the Democratic primary from state control and leave it regulated only by itself, as in South Carolina.

KLAAN MADE ISSUE IN CAMPAIGN

Talmadge has promised to do this if elected. Rivers has painted himself as the "middleman" between two extremes on the race issue. Carmichael, however, has emphasized a belief in the southern tradition of segregation.

The Ku Klux Klan was revived in Georgia about the tmie the campaign began. Arnall asserts its aim is mainly. The state has a suit pending to revoke the Klan's charter.

Talmadge has made an open bid for Klan support. Rivers, himself accuused the Klan leanings in his administration, recentlyy said Arnall once boasted of being a Klansman—a statement Arnall emphatically denied.

The Georgia primary is expected to bring out a vote extraordinarily large for a southern state. Under Georgia's county unit system, However, the big city vote counts for little.

PERVERTED PROPAGANDA

The Savannah Tribune

During the recent Democratic primary campaign several efforts were made to confuse the colored voters in order that there would be no solidarity, especially in supporting the Citizens Progressive League. Despite these efforts the leaders were determined to give proper direction to prevent any advantage being taken and the inexperienced voters be led into strange camps by unscrupulous workers who were void of that principle leading to race betterment. Efforts will be made to continue this betrayal. We now have nearly twenty thousand registered voters. Efforts should be made to make it at least five thousand more. Attempt must be made to induce the ones who were unable to register, before the books were closed for the state primary, to do so now. Preparation must be made for the coming city primary and election. The effective organization of The Hub and other interests should continue. The Citizens Progressive League has shown its inclination to be friendly toward our group. No doubt this interest will be continued so far as the city campaign is concerned. Already the efforts are being made to diffuse the minds of the less staunch by telling them that the C. P. L. were ardent supporters of Talmadge during the primary. The Talmadge supporters were the ones who kept hundreds of our men and women standing in the sun all day and preventing thousands of registrants from casting a vote. This must be remembered when the time comes for the city election. Thur. 7-25-46

Atlantans Score Roy Harris' Stand On Primary Case

Daily World Atlanta, Ga Wed 4-3-46

Meeting at the Friendship Baptist Church last Tuesday evening, The Atlanta Civic and Political League heard a review of the outcome and significance of the Primus King Primary ruling granting Negroes their right to vote; a renewed plea for increased registration, in Atlanta and over the state, with leaders roundly scoring the undemocratic attitude of Georgia House Speaker Roy V. Harris, in his calmor for a special session of the Legislature so as to devise some means whereby Negro voting may be circumvented in the State. Speaker Harris, it will be recalled, has been the most outspoken opponent of the decision which extends to Negroes the right to participate in all elections.

John Wesley Dobbs, President reported a combined registration of nearly 11,000 Negroes thus far in the campaign. The League's committee on transportation reported negotiations with Power Company officials, the final results of which would be terminated Thursday morning when another meeting is scheduled.

Wed 4-3-46

The meeting was adjourned to meet again two weeks later as the guest of the Greater Mt. Calvary Baptist Church, Rev. B. J. Johnson pastor, Tuesday evening, April 16, in order to check results and to review future developments in the drive.

Voters' Education Forum Well Attended

Atlanta Daily World Sun. 6-30-46

Atlanta Ga.

The second in the series of voters' education forums, conducted under the auspices of The Atlanta Civic and Political League, was held here Friday evening at the West Hunter Baptist Church, with nearly 500 in attendance.

John Wesley Dobbs, President of the league, conducted the meeting and gave a comprehensive interpretation of the issues in the present campaign for governor; outlined the duties and responsibilities of Negroes taking an active part in the July 17th primary election, and then discussed the qualifications and fitness of the several candidates, including Governor, Commissioner of Labor, Attorney General and all others to be elected.

Sun. 6-30-46

Melvin Gaston, also active in the registration of Negroes, called upon the large gathering to learn everything possible about the voting machines so that when election time comes it will be relatively easy to cast a vote. W. A. Smartt, labor leader, described the woes and sufferings he has endured from threats of the Ku Klux Klan and told the audience about the comments our people are making over the support some of our so-called leaders are giving to candidates whose names are tied in with the Klan. Others who made brief talks included W. J. Shaw and Clark Noble. Sun. 6-30-46

LAUDS WORLD

Mr. Dobbs, who challenged his hearers to continue their interest in good government, took occasion to commend a story in The Atlanta Daily World last Thursday, in which it reported a meeting of E.D. Rivers Negro chieftians last Monday at the Hanley's Ashby Street Funeral Home. "That was a swell job," declared Mr. Dobbs, "because it gives Negroes a chance to know the difference between honest leaders who possess integrity and a love for only those things designed to benefit the masses, and those who are out seeking loaves and fishes. There is a difference, and I have nothing but contempt these so-called leaders—some of them even boasting about their education—going about selling their people down the river. Thank God, if education is what they have, we can at least say we have integrity, "and character."

Sun. 6-30-46

Citizens Continue Mass-Meeting Here

Daily World Atlanta Ga.

Wednesday 6-21-46

The Atlanta Civic and Political League announces a series of mass meetings, beginning this evening, June 21, at the Mt. Calvary Baptist Church, Rev. B. J. Johnson, pastor. The second meeting will be held at the West Hunter Baptist Church, Friday night, June 28, the third will be held at the Allen Temple AME Church, Tuesday night, July 2, and the fourth and final meeting will be held at Big Bethel AME Church, Friday night, July 12. The opening hour for each of the four meetings is 8:30 p. m. Atlanta Ga

CITIZENSHIP SCH

Meanwhile, the Citizenship Committee of the Atlanta NAACP, announces the continuation of citizenship schools to be held in each heavily populated Negro neighborhood until July 8th.

OTHER MASS MEETINGS

Other mass meetings intending to acquaint the voters with the issues, the men and the methods of the new machines, will include Central Methodist Church, July 3; Bethlehem Baptist Church, July 9; Warren Memorial Methodist church July 10; South Atlanta Methodist Church, July 11, Greater Mount Calvary Baptist Church, July 12, West Hunter Baptist Church, July 15, and the Wheat Street Baptist Church, July 16, the evening prior to July 17th Primary. Other meetings are scheduled also for the Friendship Baptist Church, College Park; Mt. Calvary Baptist Church, Rockdale Park. Dates and hours will be fixed in each of the above cases. Meetings will also be held in Decatur and East Point.

Negro Registrants Challenged In Greensboro

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta Ga
Thur. 7-11-46

On Saturday, July 6, every Negro registrant in Greene County was asked to appear before the board of registrants to determine his or her eligibility for voting in the July 17 election.

There seems to have been one mistake made or at least one that was overlooked by the board of registrars and this was that Negroes who are known to be eligible to vote were asked to appear Such persons as David Neal, prominent young business man and insurance agent; Rev. W. P. Carter, pastor of the Ebernezer Methodist Church and Principal of the Siloam High School; Samuel Williams, principal of the Jones Central school; Eli Jackson, principal of Union Point High School; H. E. Tate, principal of the largest high school in the county Greensboro, Georgia, and one who has tried to promote goodwill between the races; Mr. Jackson of Jackson's funeral home and Mr. Barnhart, all prominent citizens and people known as eligible to vote.

When the Negroes were asked to come to the review by the board of registrars, they set out to employ a lawyer. Beginning Saturday night after 11 p.m., some prominent Negroes were approached by leading white citizens of Greene County and were told that unless they could employ a lawyer that over two-thirds would be proved ineligible to vote. The Negroes knew what this meant, so without changing any words the Negroes began the task of collecting money to employ a lawyer. On Sunday at 5 p.m. $500 had been collected in order to pay a lawyer to see that they would get a fair review by the board of registrars.

One leader said, "All that the Negro in Greene County is asking is that he will be given a fair chance to vote as all other citizens, a chance to show that he too can be a man worthwhile to his community and to his country. Until yet we have not heard of any white friends having been challenged by the board of registrars and it is known that a good many cannot read or write. The Negro in this county does not believe that a man should be assumed superior because of his color or race, but only because he can prove himself to be superior. Thur. 7-11-46

"The Negro in Greene County does not believe that Georgia or any other state belongs to the white man, but that it belongs equally to all men from any land as long as they can abide by the laws of Georgia. These are the things that the Negro in Greene County believes in and these are the things that they will protect and preserve. We hope that this will be a challenge to Negroes in every county in Georgia and that they will take some type of a stand for these things that they are rightfully entitle to."

DISMISSAL WORTH SUIT IS SOUGHT

Twenty Negroes Charge Disfranchisement

ALBANY, Ga., Sept. 19 (AP).—The Worth County Board of Registrars asked the Federal District Court here to dismiss a suit by 20 negroes charging illegal disfranchisement of negroes in the recent Democratic primary.

The request was in an answer to the suit filed by the negroes here August 30. Also named in the suit, which charged that thousands of negroes were denied voting rights, are the registrars of Mitchell, Early and Baker counties.

The Worth registrars, R. B. Pollard of Sylvester, J. J. Heredith of Sylvester and George Tatum of Grady, said the charges are untrue. They said they complied fully with the law requiring that a person be given a hearing before disqualification from voting and that they "neither officially or individually discriminated between the races, nor struck en bloc, all or practically all of the voters of any race or class from the voters' list of said (Worth) county, and it is not true that no name was left off or removed from said list of voters by reason of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The registrars said all persons held to be disqualified from voting were notified in time and given an opportunity for "an adequate remedy provided by law" and failed to comply with the law by appearing for a hearing.

The negroes asked that the registrars be prevented from removing them from the list of voters.

CHALLENGE NEGRO VOTERS

Times—New York, N.Y.
Thurs. 7-4-46

250 Petitions Are Filed by Group in Georgia District

GAINESVILLE, Ga., July 3 (AP)—The qualifications of all Negroes registering to vote in the July 17 Democratic primary will be challenged in the Gainesville district, Frank B. Stow, lawyer, said today.

Two hundred and forty challenges already have been filed with the Hall County Board of Registrars. Mr. Stow said that about 825 Negroes were registered in the district. Thurs. 7-4-46

The lawyer said he represented a group of citizens who were challenging qualification of Negroes on points laid down in the new State Constitution. These cover age, residence, character, and ability to read and understand a paragraph of the United States or State Constitution. The challenges bore signatures of twenty citizens.

Asked why all Negroes were being challenged, Mr. Stow said only about one-eighth of those applying for registration could qualify as voters.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
July 7, 1946

Negro Voter Probe Begins

A sweeping federal investigation of alleged discriminatory disqualification of Negro voters has been launched in Middle Georgia, the Macon Telegraph and News learned yesterday.

Although District Attorney John Cowart of the U. S. Court for the Middle District of Georgia, declined to issue any statements regarding the probe, the Telegraph informant said the investigation already is in progress.

This informant also said federal law enforcement officials engaged in the probe probably would issue a formal statement regarding their activities the first part of next week.

BROAD SCOPE SEEN

The probe, launched at the time when most boards of registrars throughout this section are getting into full stride in their work of purging voting lists for the July 17 primary, is expected to extend into virtually every county served by the district court here.

Charges have been made for the last several weeks that in a number of Middle Georgia Counties Negroes are being prevented from registering, even though the U. S. Supreme Court has ruled they are legally entitled to cast ballots in the Democratic primary, which is tantamount to election in Georgia.

Charges also have been leveled and are being probed that in some counties registrars have purged all but a minor fraction of the Negro registrants from the lists by discriminatory application of the literacy tests provided for under Georgia voting laws.

ONLY NEGROES TESTED

Although state voting laws provide the literacy tests for both white and colored, it has been charged that in some counties in which large numbers of Negro registrants have been purged the registrars are requiring only Negroes to take the tests before being put on the lists.

In several counties, notably those having heavy Negro populations, it is an open secret among residents that few valid Negro ballots will be cast in the primary.

LARGER COUNTIES LENIENT

A recent survey of Georgia by the Associated Press indicated that registrars in the larger counties are operating with greater leniency in testing the qualifications of Negro voters than those in the smaller counties.

This survey pointed to Sumter County as an example of the percentage of Negro registrants being purged from the lists. In Sumter, only 92 of 650 Negro registrants have been approved for voting.

All phases of alleged discrimination against Negro registrants will be checked during the federal probe, the Telegraph informant said, and indications point to court action in a number of counties, because the U. S. Department of Justice has announced it will vigorously prosecute all such cases.

Valdosta, Ga., Daily Times
July 4, 1946

Ware County Registrars Quit Over Negro Purge

WAYCROSS, Ga., July 4—(AP)—Two members of the Ware county board of registrars have quit in protest against the purging of Negroes on the county's voting lists.

They are Mrs. T. E. Sams and Mrs. E. A. Clary. Judge Walter Thomas of the Waycross judicial circpit appointed O. M. Hires and Mrs. Sam Walker, Sr., to replace them.

In a statement Mrs. Sams said she resigned because she did not favor the purging of the Negro list unless the white voters' list also was purged. In addition she said a list of the Negro registration had been circulated outside the board's office without the unanimous consent of its members.

Purge Hearings Stop Abruptly

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta Ga

Subpoenas Drawn; Were Not Served

The purge of Negro registrants in Fulton County stopped abruptly Tuesday. Several cases had been set for 3:30 p. m., but not a single challenged voter was on hand for the hearings.

Deputy Registrar Ellis McClelland informed Attorneys A. T. Walden and Charles G. Bruce that for some reason the Sheriff's Office failed to serve the subpoenas on the challenged voters.

"There will be no hearings today and as far as I know now, there will be no subsequent hearings," Deput Registrar McClelland stated. Court adjourned without comment from Attorney Bruce of the challenger Horace H. Scoggins.

32 DISQUALIFIED Wed. 7-17-46

A total of 107 registrants appeared before the deputy registrar since the hearings got underway on Monday, July 8, and of this number 32 were disqualified, while 75 were ruled 'qualified" by Mr McClelland. A large majority of those disqualified admitted convictions on charges of felonies.

The attorneys for the challenger refrained from disclosing the total number of challenges issued. It is a matter of record, however, that several registrants failed to answer the challenges and as things now stand, these persons are still on the voter's list and are eligible to vote. Wed 7-17-46

Had the hearings scheduled for Tuesday been held, it was extremely doubtful that additional names would be dropped. The fact is, the official voter's list was prepared Monday for today's primary election.

Plea to Block Negro Voters To be Heard

Challenges contesting the right of several hundred Negroes to vote in Fulton County primaries have been registered with Tax Collector T. E. Suttles, who is also registrar.

The first of a series of hearings will begin Monday at 9:30 a. m. in Judge John S. McClelland's courtroom.

Ellis McClelland, a brother of the judge, has been appointed a deputy registrar and will act as judge in the inquiry. He said Saturday that he wasn't sure that all the challenges were against Negro voters, but that he understood they were.

He said the challenges were preferred by Horace H. Scoggins Sr., as a citizen of Fulton County.

Other hearings will be held at the same time Tuesday and Wednesday, he said.

He said most of the challenges attack on all of the six main qualifications of citizenship. All contend that the registrants are "not persons of good character who understands the duties of citizenship under a republican form of government."

Voters Must Reply Tuesday To Challenges

Fulton Countians registered to vote in the July 17 primary whose qualifications have been challenged, Monday were given until Tuesday at 9:30 a. m. to answer the challenges or be disqualified.

The first of 56 challenges entered by Horace H. Scoggins Sr. was prima facie evidence that they were being discriminated against and that an attempt was being made to deprive them of their civil rights.

He contended that the absentees were not guilty of contempt of court or "malicious disrespect" in failing to appear, and that before their names could be struck off the challenged voters must appear at the hearing and ruled that the challenged voters were Negroes was based on evidence that tax collector, T. E. Suttles, struck the names of the Negroe absentees from the lists.

Charges Discrimination

A. T. Walden, Negro attorney who said he was retained to defend the challenges by the Citizens' Democratic Club of Fulton County, contended that the mere fact that all the defendants named were Negroes was being conducted on some 3,000 individuals or be stricken from the qualified voters' lists.

Hearings Begin

Hearings began Monday before the deputy registrar of the Fulton County tax collector's office by default.

Charles G. Bruce, representing Mr. Scoggins, urged Mr. McClelland, appointed deputy registrar Ellis McClelland, failed to appear as to the legality of disfranchising the question arose as to the challenged voters.

the lists "that the burden of proving them disqualified rests upon the state." Until then, he asserted, the fact that they are on the voting lists on the basis of their sworn statements is prima facie evidence of their qualifications.

Mr. Bruce, in asking that they be disqualified by default, pointed out that in most of the cases he would be able to prove their disqualification "only by and through" examination of the defendants, especially in establishing such citizenship prerequisites as the ability to read and write and the ability of understanding and defining "a representative and Reublican form of government."

He declared that if a ruling is made prohibiting judgment by default, it will be impossible for him to establish disqualifications of the voters, and asserted that all of them would "maliciously flout the court (of inquiry) and block the intent of the laws with respect to registration of disqualified persons."

Battles Continue Over Vote Purge Despite U. S.

Battles over the efforts to strike Negro voters from the registration lists in 41 Georgia counties continued Saturday despite the announcement that the United States Department of Justice is investigating complaints filed by Atlanta Negro leaders.

The Atlanta Negroes, who had protested to United States Attorney General Tom Clark, were advised to turn their information over to United States District Attorney M. Neil Andrews, in Atlanta. The wire also advised that the purges in 40 other counties are being investigated.

In United States District Court at Brunswick Saturday Federal Judge Frank M. Scarlett made permanent a temporary restraining order against a wholesale purge of Negro voters in Atkinson County. He continued until Monday a hearing on temporary restraining orders issued against registrars in Coffee and Pierce Counties. The judge ordered the personal appearance in court of the man who filed the charges against Coffee County Negroes.

Judicial Lynching

Aaron Kravitch, Savannah lawyer, characterized the mass disfranchisement of 550 Negroes in Appling County as "a judicial lynching," and Judge Scarlett ordered the registrars of Appling County to appear before him Monday to explain their action.

At Macon Saturday Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis continued a hearing on a temporary restraining order to prevent the Ben Hill County registrars from purging Negro voters. Judge Davis said it was his information that the registrars had adjourned until September and therefore there would be no more purging before the election.

In Moultrie Superior Court Judge O. H. Dukes removed C. E. McLendon, Colquitt County Democratic Committee chairman, from the county board of registrars "to expedite hearings on Negro vote challenges." Mr. McLendon was charged with saying that he would not vote to disqualify anybody, whether they were qualified or not. The court appointed Herman Green, a farmer, to the board of registrars, and ordered the hearings to proceed.

Later Judge Dukes issued another reinstating Chairman McLendon and ordered a hearing to be held in Valdosta on Tuesday, the day before the primary.

Approximately 800 of the 1,000 Negroes registered in Colquitt County have been challenged, but only six of 21 whose cases have been heard were disqualified.

In Jeffersonville Sheriff W. E. Hamrick charged that D. Y. Califf, chairman of the Twiggs County registrars, had refused to give him access to the registration lists, and secured an order from Superior Court Judge R. Earl Camp, of Dublin, for access to the lists.

Chairman Califf said he had not furnished the sheriff with a list of Negroes registered because he did not think it was right to purge an entire group of persons from the registration lists, while Sheriff Hamrick said he just wanted to see how many people were registered in the county.

Tax Commissioner J. H. Vaughn announced that the registration books were in his office and could be seen by any person interested in them. The Appling County registrars gave as their reasons for striking Negro registrants that they had not taken the oath as required by law.

Negro Leader Urges Good Conduct at Polls

Declaring that voting is a high privilege as well as a sacred duty, A. T. Walden, Atlanta Negro attorney and president of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, Saturday urged the state's Negro voters to be exemplary in their conduct when they cast ballots in the July 17 primary.

"It is to the everlasting credit of both our white and black citizenry that studied efforts to arouse hatreds and animosities between the two races have fallen on fallow soil," he said. "Negroes, therefore are specially cautioned to go peaceably, quietly, and soberly to the polls, cast their ballots in an orderly and becoming manner, and then go promptly about their business, letting nobody provoke them into controversy."

His message, which was directed to all the state's registered colored voters, stressed that Negroes must not become embroiled in disputes, and he pointed out that the law affords ample redress for the violation of the citizens' civil rights.

"Our people are reminded that voting is a high privilege as well as a sacred duty of the good citizen," he said, "and in the exercise of the same no consideration should influence him, save his honest belief as to what is best for the welfare of his state."

The attorney also asked that white citizens show sympathetic co-operation and patience with colored voters in the latter's efforts to become worthwhile citizens," so that they will be able to make an increasingly larger contribution to the welfare of heir beloved Georgia."

Only Ten Voters Disqualified Here

Efforts of Horace H. Scoggins Sr., of Stonewall, to challenge 3,000 Negro voters before the July 17 primary in Fulton County seemed doomed to failure Wednesday. After the court of inquiry had recessed until Thursday morning after two days in which only 10 Negroes were ruled disqualified.

At the beginning of the proceedings Monday, Mr. Scoggins and his attorney, Charles Bruce, voiced hopes of disposing of more than 150 cases a day.

When the inquiry, conducted by Deputy Registrar Ellis McClelland, recessed early Tuesday afternoon, less than 50 registrants had been examined.

Valdosta, Ga., Daily Times
July 8, 1946

Seventeen Negroes Of 46 Disqualified

GAINESVILLE, Ga., July 8 —(AP)—Seventeen of the first 46 Negroes whose right to vote has been challenged have been disqualified by the board of registrars.

Frank B. Stow, Gainesville attorney representing a group challenging 825 Negroes, filed 240 challenges last week. Registrars ordered 100 Negroes to appear for a hearing Saturday but only the 46 were present.

The 46 Negroes were among 100 ordered to appear before registrars last Saturday. The others did not answer the board summon.

U. S. Attorneys Probing Purge, Negro Says Here

The United States Department of Justice is investigating complaints that Negroes have been purged from the registration lists in 31 Georgia counties, including Fulton, it was announced Saturday by Negro leaders in Atlanta.

C. A. Scott, editor of the Atlanta Daily World, a Negro newspaper, made public the following telegram he had received from Theron L. Caudle, assistant attorney general of the United States:

"Re wire concerning discrimination against Negroes in the registration process in Georgia. Please immediately furnish United States Attorney M. Neil Andrews with all avalable information on subject. Complaints mentioned in your wire regarding other Georgia counties now having attention."

Scott, president of the Negro Democratic Club in Atlanta, and C. L. Harper, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, asked United States Attorney General Tom Clark to investigate alleged purging of Negroes from the voting lists in Fulton and 30 other counties.

Meanwhile former Governor Eugene Talmadge, candidate for governor, continued to warn Negroes that they had better not try to vote in the Democratic primary next Wednesday, and added a warning to the United States district attorney in this state. In a speech at Cochran he said:

'Maybe it would not be inappropriate to warn some of these fellows to be careful, since one of these days, in the not distant future, there is going to be one of the greatest house-cleanings of bureaucrats the country ever saw, now that Henry Wallace and his gang are on the run. What is it but intimidation when United States attorneys constantly issue warnings of what they are going to do. Two million white Georgians are willing to die to defend their state from carpetbaggers and renegades.'

Valdosta, Ga., Daily Times
July 8, 1946

Negro Registrants Are Challenged in Colquitt County

MOULTRIE, Ga., July 8—(AP)—Registration of 304 Negroes was challenged today by some 12 individuals who signed protests filed with the Colquitt County Board of Registrars.

The mimeographed challenges made no specific allegations but listed qualifications for voters in the July 17 Democratic primary.

Names of Negroes Are 'Purged' from Enrolment Books

Spartanburg, July 28.—(AP): The names of negroes on Spartanburg county Democratic primary enrolment books have been stricken by order of the county executive committee.

An unofficial committee report sai dnames of 14 negroes were on the books. State Democratic party rules limit membership to whites.

Anderson, July 28.—(AP) Chairman A. E. Holman of the Anderson county Democratic committee said today the names of a "small" number of negroes who had enrolled for the August 13 primary had been "purged" from the books in compliance with a state party rule limiting party membership to white persons.

ATTEMPTS MADE IN GEORGIA TO BAR NEGRO VOTE

ATLANTA, June 17.—(U.P.)—Charges that Negroes—and sometimes whites—are being arbitrarily stricken from registration lists in some Georgia counties came from three sections of the state today as the gubernatorial race moved into the final month.

At Americus, in Sumter County, a group of Negroes planned to institute civil liberties proceedings against the county board of registrars on grounds they were illegally denied the right to vote.

In Atlanta, U. S. District Attorney Andrews said he was investigating complaints that registration lists are being arbitrarily purged. Andrews said that if there was evidence of federal law violations, his office could institute criminal proceedings.

Recent Federal Court rulings hold that Negroes cannot be denied the right to vote solely because of their color.

At Rome, City Solicitor Terrell was reported to be challenging the names of many of the 1200 Negroes registered in Floyd County. Terrell was quoted as saying he was seeking to determine if the Negroes "had criminal records."

Rome, Ga., News-Tribune
June 16, 1946

First 150 Negro Vote Challenges Filed by Terrell

Petitions challenging the right of 150 Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary July 17 were filed with the Floyd County Board of Registrars Saturday by Vaughn Terrell, Rome attorney and Solicitor of Floyd City Court.

Mr. Terrell announced that he plans to file 150 similiar petitions each day until the total of approximately 1,200 Negro registrants have been challenged. At the same time, he disclosed plans to check criminal records for 50 years back and to ask that the registrant be stricken from the list of voters.

Mr. Terrell stated that he will ask the Board of Registrars to notify the individual Negro registrants named in the challenges to appear, and if the challenge and contest is sustained that the name of such registrant be stricken from the list of voters.

45e 1946

Georgia (Purge)

As Election Draws Near:

District Attorney Threatens Prosecution Of Anyone Prohibiting Voting of Negroes

MACON, Ga., July 9 (AP)—U. S. District Attorney John P. Cowart asserted today that "qualified Negro citizens of Georgia have a right to vote in the Democratic white primary" and he would prosecute any "conspiracies" to disfranchise them.

Cowart, who is the prosecuting attorney for Middle Georgia, said he had received "numerous complaints from various counties" in his district that "illegal and mass purges are being undertaken to prevent Negroes from voting in the July 17 primary."

"Numbers of these complaints have come from members and chairmen of boards of registrars," he added in a formal statement.

Georgia Negroes are voting for the first time this year in the primary. There are approximately 120,000 Negroes in the total of 1,000,000 Georgians who have qualified.

More than a half dozen counties now are holding hearings on challenges of Negroes to their right to vote with about 3,000 challenges forecast for Fulton county (Atlanta).

Cowart said he had advised officials consulting him to contact their local attorneys relative to purge hearings "in a legal manner and without discrimination."

"I cannot close my eyes to the numerous complaints being registered with my office of alleged conspiracies by mass challenges of the Negroes' right to vote and of alleged illegal actions on the part of certain boards of registrars," Cowart said.

"I will in the pursuit of my duties exercise the full power of my office to unearth and prosecute any violations of Section 51 of Title 18 of the U. S. code or any conspiracies to disfranchise qualified Negro voters by the above or any other means."

Six of 10 Negroes challenged at today's hearing in Atlanta were ruled qualified to vote but failure of 24 others to appear resulted in their being stricken from the list. They are subject to reinstatement if they appear at a later hearing.

At Moultrie, challenges were filed against 259 additional Negroes, bringing to 553 the number filed there. The new challenges were filed by W. E. Aycock, member of the Eugene Talmadge for Governor club. Talmadge has based much of his campaign on "white supremacy" and argued that Negroes should not be allowed to vote.

More than 600 challenges have been filed in Gwinnett county where a hearing is set for July 22—five days after the primary. Other counties where challenges have been filed in large numbers include Floyd, Appling, Hall and Ware.

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
July 10, 1946

Justice Division To Sidestep Georgia Negro Vote Purge

By LORRAINE NELSON,
Constitution Staff Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, July 13—Responsibility for prosecuting registrars and others who instigate illegal purging of Negro voters in Georgia will be left up to United States district attorneys. The department of Justice itself will not intervene directly in the State, it was learned authoritatively here Saturday.

While determined to pursue a "hands off" policy from the top, the Justice Department has thrown the full weight of its support behind all efforts of its district attorneys to prevent disenfranchisement of qualified Negroes, a reliable source revealed.

It has authorized participation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in all investigations of alleged illegal actions on the part of certain Boards of Registrars.

The FBI and representatives of the Civil Rights Division will appear at hearings before Boards of Registrars who challenge Negro registrants and whomever else they are directed by the district attorneys, a source disclosed.

The Justice Department's strategy in Georgia, it was said, is somewhat the result of the recent elections in Mississippi, when Sen. Theodore (The Man) Bilbo was renominated. Attorney General Tom Clark officially entered that contest when he announced that his department would afford protection for all who sought to exercise their right of ballot, after Sen. Bilbo threatened Negroes in his campaign speeches.

However, Clark will not likely repeat this in Georgia, where it is charged, those in league with ex-Gov. Eugene Talmadge are conspiring to scratch all Negroes from registered voters lists.

The Department of Justice will continue its fight to punish violation of civil rights, said a source, but in Georgia, as it learned in Mississippi, it must do so while keeping in mind the eccentricities of the South.

Effort Made to Get Negroes Off Voters List in Atkinson County

An effort by Talmadge supporters to purge the Atkinson County registration list ran into a snag here this week.

The entire list of 143 Negroes registered in this county was challenged by H. E. Lastinger at a meeting of the Board of Registrars Monday. Summons were issued and served at county expense, to the 143 Negroes, demanding their appearance before the Registrars Thursday morning, to answer charges as to why their names should not be removed from the voters list.

In the meantime, some of the leading Negroes got busy and through their attorney, R. A. Moore, of Douglas, filed an injunction temporarily restraining the Board of Registrars from disqualifying the Negroes. This injunction was served on the three members of the Board, K. L. Griffis, Otis Paulk and H. R. Tanner, early Thursday morning. A hearing has been set for Saturday morning before Judge F. M. Scarlett of the U.S. District Court, in Brunswick.

Names of the three Negroes appearing in the injunction were Homer Roberts, S. M. Gordon and James Gordon.

Efforts to remove the names of Negroes from the registration lists have appeared in many counties in Georgia, among them being Ben Hill, Coffee, Pierce and Colquitt.

At Brunswick, Attorney Moore charged a "conspiracy" to deprive Negroes of their onstitutional rights, and asked a court order restraining registrars from disqualifying Negroes. Moore said Negroes were being challenged in blocks, but that qualifications of no white persons were being questioned.

Reasons given for the challenges were for being under 18 years of age, non-residence in the county for six months, not being legal residents of Georgia, and not being competent to vote.

Mr. Lastinger, who challenged the Negroes in Atkinson County, says he will not give up now, but may cause the county not to hold an election on July 17. Just how he would do this he did not explain to the Tribune. He has employed several attorneys, among them being Leon Courson and Harry Jackson of Nashville and Aubrey Williams of Douglas.

The Board of Registrars have employed as their counsel O. C. Mingledorff, of Douglas.

Wholesale Purging of Negro Voters in Georgia Brings Federal Court and Other U. S. Actions

Atlanta, Ga. Jly 14, 1946

Atlanta, July 13.—(AP)—The Federal courts and the Justice Department moved today to consider the mass purging of Negroes from the voting lists in politically embroiled Georgia.

Hundreds of Negroes registered for the first time to vote in the July 17 Democratic primary—the actual election—have been qualified. The purging in some counties is still under way.

The latest unofficial figures show that 134,351 Negroes have registered to vote for the first time in Georgia. This compares with a white registration of 1,017,936. Whites outnumber Negroes 2 to 1 in Georgia.

Judge Orders Halt

Federal Judge Frank M. Scarlett ordered a halt to wholesale disenfranchisement of Negro leaders in Atlanta charge that Negroes have been purged from lists in 31 counties. The Negro spokesmen say in all about 20,000 Negroes have been challenged and no white persons.

C. A. Scott, editor of the Atlanta Daily World, Negro newspaper, said in a telegram he received from Theron L. Caudle, assistant attorney general of the United States, saying the complaints were being considered.

Meanwhile, Talmadge, Ex-Gov. Gene form calling for restoration of the "white primary" in Georgia, warned Negroes to stay away from the "white folks" primary.

Opposing Talmadge, thrice governor of Georgia, are Ex-Governor E. D. Rivers and James V. Carmichael, young wartime bomber plant manager, who has the backing of Governor Ellis Arnall.

In one of these counties, Appling, 600 Negroes were disqualified yesterday. Injunction proceedings affecting Ben Hill County were continued indefinitely because the board of registrars had adjourned until September. U. S. District Judge Hoyt Davis said this action automatically prevented further purgings.

In Colquitt County the chairman of the board of registrars protested against mass challenges of Negro registrants and

Negroes Given Literacy Tests in Some Counties

Macon Ga. Telegraph
June 9, 1946

ATLANTA, June 8—[AP]—Negroes registering to vote for the first time in a Georgia white primary are being given literacy tests in some counties, and the larger cities are qualifying a larger proportion of Negro voters than other districts.

Under Georgia's county unit system of voting, the smaller counties hold the balance of power in state elections.

In Fulton County [Atlanta] only 100 Negroes of the 24,000 registered have been purged from the voting list because of illiteracy.

92 QUALIFIES

In Sumter County [Americus], only 92 of the 650 Negroes who applied for registration, were considered qualified.

In Muscogee County [Columbus] Tax Commissioner Sterling W. Dudley said only about ten percent of the 2,940 Negroes who registered were purged because of illiteracy.

Practically none of the Negroes applying for registration in Floyd [Rome] were disqualified. T. E. Clemmons, Floyd tax collector said industrial areas such as Rome had fewer illiterate Negroes than country districts. That county qualified 1,200 Negroes among 17,200 voters.

DeKalb County [Decatur] reported it kept no record of the number of Negroes being disqualified for illiteracy or other reasons but that 1,300 Negroes were registered out of the total of 35,520.

NO FIGURES

Chatham County [Savannah] also had no figures on the number of Negroes disqualified. Registration there totals about 36,000, compared to only 16,000 two years ago. Separate card files are kept but the number of Negroes registered has not been totalled.

Many counties are giving broad interpretation to educational requirements set up in the state constitution and leaning toward leniency in qualification tests. The constitution gives the ballot to "persons who can correctly read in the English language any paragraph of the constitution of the United States or of this state and correctly write the same in the English Language when read to them."

The Muscogee commissioner said "we are being as lenient as possible with Negroes. We give them the benefit of the doubt. The registration law, of course, applies to both whites and Negroes."

In Dougherty County [Albany], 3,000 of the 13,000 applying for registration are Negroes. Dougherty lists have not yet been purged and the final registration will not be determined for several days.

Negroes Purged From Rolls, Two Ware Registrars Resign

With Negroes already purged from Georgia's registration rolls, two Ware County registrars have resigned, Marvin Griffin's campaigners as well as Eugene Talmadge's headquarters are working to strike Negroes from the voting lists, and a Gainesville editor has soundly denounced a Hall County purge.

In Waycross yesterday, Superior Court Judge Walter Thomas announced he had appointed O. M. Hires and Mrs. Sam Walker, Sr., to the Ware County Board of Registrars to succeed Mrs. T. E. Sams and B. F. Thornton, resigned.

Mrs. Sams said she quit because she understood a list of Negroes registered had been circulated outside the Board without unanimous consent of the Board, and because she was not in favor of purging the Negro list unless the white list also were purged. Thornton said he resigned because of business reasons.

CLERK RESIGNS

Mrs. E. A. Clary resigned as Clerk of the Board stating that if the Negro list was purged, she was in favor of the white list being purged simultaneously.

Hires estimated that between 500 and 600 Negroes have been challenged. He said no white registrants have been challenged.

At Perry yesterday, it was disclosed that the Houston County Board of Registrars is purging large numbers of Negroes daily, and it was estimated that a total of 600 of the 700 Negroes registered would be stricken from the rolls.

Dan L. Grant, of Perry and Atlanta (868 E. Rockspring Road), who is campaigning for the election of Marvin Griffin as Lieutenant-Governor, signed challenges on all the Negroes.

GRIFFIN'S CAMPAIGN

Griffin is campaigning on a "white primary" plank identical with that of Talmadge's, but the former executive secretary to ex-Gov. Rivers has denounced both Talmadge and Rivers, as well as Carmichael.

The Houston Home Journal said Talmadge headquarters furnished the Houston Board of Registrars with subpoenas for challenging the Negro vote. Chairman S. L. Norwood, of the Board, said he had not yet used the Talmadge subpoenas, and that he did not know where the subpoenas he is using came from.

DENOUNCED BY EDITOR

At Gainesville, Editor Austin Dean, of the Gainesville Eagle, condemned the challengers of several hundred Negro voters filed with the Hall County registrars.

Said Dean: "This challenge is a mean trick of the Talmadge forces which should react to the injury of the Wild Man of Sugar Creek's race. It is an obvious effort to disqualify these voters for no other reason than it is known they will not vote for a man who has low-rated and reviled them. There are whites in Hall County who can neither read nor write, and they probably outnumber the illiterate colored people more than two to one. Yet, these unfortunate people are not challenged. The Carmichael and Rivers forces are not indulging in a sorry subterfuge in an effort to strengthen their cause. Talmadge has challenged the entire voters' list by his trick, and the voters should accept the challenge in no uncertain terms."

Hearings Continue in Several Georgia Cities on Negro Vote

Valdosta, Ga. Daily Times
July 9, 1946

ATLANTA, July 9—(AP)—Hearings continued today in several Georgia cities on challenges filed against hundreds of Negroes, questioning their qualifications as voters in the July 17 Democratic primary.

Approximately 3,000 challenges were reported drawn against Fulton county voters. As the hearings got under way yesterday, Ellis McClelland, deputy registrar, ruled that persons failing to appear would be disqualified.

McClelland overruled a protest by A. T. Walden, attorney for the Citizens' Democratic Club, representing Negro voters, who contended that absence of the registrants did not make them guilty of contempt of court. Walden argued that the burden of proving disqualification rested on those filing the challenges.

The first of the Fulton county challenges were filed by Horace H. Scoggins, Sr. He questioned qualifications of 56 Negroes.

Scoggins, replying to a charge of discrimination against Negroes, said he would file 3,000 challenges by the date of the primary and that the number would include names of white registrants.

In the first cases heard in Rome six Negroes were challenged on the ground that vocal oaths had not been administered when they applied for registration. The Floyd County Board of Registrars ruled that the oath printed at the top of each page of the registration books was sufficient for qualified registration.

In Gainesville 17 of the first 46 challenged were disqualified. More than 800 Negroes have been challenged there but only 46 of the first 100 called for a hearing, appeared.

At Moultrie, mimeographed forms were used to challenge 304 Negroes. Twelve citizens signed the challenges. The forms did not specify grounds on which the challenges were based.

In Sumter county, where a large percentage of the Negro registrants have been stricken from voting lists, Eugene Horne, Americus attorney, resigned as clerk of the county board of registrars.

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Georgia (Purge)

GEORGIA RACIAL ISSUE SPREADS

Charlotte, N. C. Observer
July 12, 1946

Federal Court Asked to Halt "State-wide Conspiracy" Against Negro Voters.

BRUNSWICK, Ga., July 11.—(AP)—The Federal court was asked today to halt a "state-wide conspiracy" to disfranchise Negroes in Georgia's July 17 Democratic primary in which the racial issue, fanned by former Governor Eugene Talmadge, has become red-hot.

Talmadge, seeking his fourth term in the governor's chair under his old "white supremacy" banner, says that Negroes can be excluded from the white primary despite a United States Supreme Court decision allowing them the ballot.

To accomplish this end, he proposes repeal of the State primary law to permit a "white man's primary" subject only to rules of the Democratic party.

OPPONENTS DISAGREE

His opponents, James V. Carmichael, young war-time Bell aircraft executive; former Governor E. D. Rivers, and Hoke O'Kelley, a newcomer, says a White primary not backed by the law would encourage fraud. Carmichael has the backing of Governor Ellis Arnall.

Today's court action was filed by Attorney Rufus Moore of Douglas, Ga., representing voters of four South Georgia counties. He charged a "conspiracy" to deprive Negroes of their constitutional rights, and asked a court order restraining registrars from disqualifying Negroes. A hearing was scheduled for Saturday.

Moore said that Negroes were being challenged in blocks, but that the qualification of no White person had been questioned.

One man in each county has challenged the Negro voters, Moore's petition said. The attorney listed reasons given for the challenges as being under 18 years of age (Georgia permits 18 year olds to vote), non-residence in a county for six months and not being legal residents of Georgia.

NEGROES PROTEST

Coincident with the action here, two of Georgia's Negro leaders made public in Atlanta a letter to United States Attorney General Clark asking an "investigation of the disgraceful purges of Negro voters."

The letter was signed by C. A. Scott, editor of the Atlanta World, Negro daily, and C. L. Harper, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Atlanta unit, who estimated over 20,000 voters had been challenged.

Approximately 120,000 Negroes have registered since the supreme court decision permitting them to vote in the White primary. The State has a total registration of nearly one million. Georgia had a 1940 total population of 3,123,723, with 1,084,927 Negroes.

Bristol, Va., Herald-Courier

MANY NEGRO VOTERS PURGED IN GEORGIA

Negro Leaders Charge Conspiracy Saying No White Voters Are Challenged

By HENRY LESESNE

ATLANTA, July 13. (AP)—Hundreds of Negroes who have registered for the first time are being purged from the voting lists in Georgia a scant few days before the Democratic primary.

How many hundreds it is hard to say.

Georgia has more than 150 small rural counties. The situation varies from one county to another. An over-all picture while the purge is under way is difficult.

Negro leaders estimate that 20,000 Negroes have been challenged. Any citizen can challenge a registrant. The Negro leaders charge a conspiracy, saying no white persons are being challenged.

The hearings before boards of registrars—which act as courts in these matters—are going on in many counties. In some counties few Negroes have been disqualified; in others, the challenged registrants have been written off the books in blocs.

About 120,000 Negroes are registered by vote in Georgia for the first time. This is by far the biggest prospective Negro vote any southern state has been faced with this year. Yet it is only about a ninth of the total registration.

About a third of Georgia's population is Negro.

An attorney for voters in four South Georgia counties has filed a petition in federal court charging a statewide conspiracy to ban Negroes from voting in the July 17 primary, the equivalent of the election in Georgia.

He was granted a temporary order restraining the registrars further disqualifying Negroes. A hearing for a permanent injunction is docketed for today.

The challengers are generally identified as supporters of red-gallused Gene Talmadge, seeking a fourth term in the governor's mansion on a platform of "white supremacy" and 'restoration of the white primary."

Talmadge would circumvent a U. S. Supreme Court decision that Negroes can vote by removing the Democratic primary from state control. He has warned in his campaign speeches that "wise" Negroes will stay away from the polls.

The veteran Talmadge, defeated four years ago by Gov. Ellis Arnall, is opposed by two principal candidates, Arnall-backed James V. Carmichael, young wartime bomber plant manager, and ex-Gov. E. D. Rivers.

The overall picture of the purging is confused, but here are two extremes:

The Spalding county board of registrars yesterday dismissed challenges aaginst 200 registered Negroes. It said the charges were too general. It said the complainant admitted he didn't even know the Negroes he was challenging.

In Appling county as estimated 500 Negroes were disqualified by rulings of the board when the Negros and their attorney failed to show up for a hearing after the board gave the attorney only five hours to prepare the defense.

The 120,000 potential Negro votes in Georgia are concentrated mainly in the populous counties. Under Georgia's county unit system the vote of the big counties doesn't count for much. But in many counties 100 votes often swing that county's unit vote.

Gainesville Times

Qualifications Of Negro Voters Questioned In Hall

GAINESVILLE, GA., July 4—(AP)—The qualifications of all negroes registering to vote in the July 17 Democratic primary will be challenged in the Gainesville district Frank B. Stow, attorney, said today.

Two hundred and forty challenges already have been filed with the Hall county board of registrars. Stow said about 825 negroes are registered in the district.

The attorney said he represented a group of citizens who are challenging qualification of negroes on points laid down in the new State constitution. These cover age, residence, character, and ability to read and understand a paragraph of the U. S. or State contsitution. The challenges bore signatures of 20 citizens.

Asked why all negroes were being challenged, Stow said only about one-eighth of those applying for registration, could qualify as voters.

More than 11,000 white voters are registered in the county, double the normal number.

Judge Boyd Sloan of the northeastern circuit, named three additional registrars to hear cases of those challenged. Stow said the three registrars already serving have as much work as they can handle. A date has not yet been set for hearing on the challenges.

Registration closes July 5 and Stow said it probably would be the day before the primary before the list of qualified voters is completed.

ALL NEGRO VOTERS IN CAMDEN CHALLENGED

HEARING OF CASE BEING CONDUCTED IN WOODBINE COURT HOUSE TODAY

Whether or not approximately 700 negroes will be permitted to vote July 17 in adjoining Camden county will be decided at a hearing being conducted today by the board of registrars of that county at Woodbine.

The hearing was started at the Camden Court House at 11 o'clock this morning and had not been completed early this afternoon.

C. J. Cogdell, loal attorney, employed to represent the colored voters, left for Woodbine this morning. However, he was employed only yesterday, it was stated, and was not familiar with all facts in the county-wide challenging of negro voters.

It was reported that practically every negro on the registration list in Camden had been challenged and had been notified to be at the court house in Woodbine, the county seat, at 11 o'clock this morning to show cause why their names should not be stricken from the Camden list. It is understood various reason were given, principally, it was reported, that the negroes were not eligible. It was a blanket charge against all of them that they were not qualified voters.

Under the law, it was pointed out, any person has the right to challenge a registered voter, and order him to show cause why his name should not be removed from the registration list. The voter, it was stated, must be given written notice, and also he must be given at least one day's notice of the date of the hearing. Most of the Camden negroes, it was reported, were notified yesterday that their votes had been challenged.

The News was advised this afternoon that the court house at Woodbine was packed with voters and others interested, and it was also stated that the hearing today was only informal and that the formal hearing will start later. It will continue for two or three days. Today the cases are being heard individually.

The Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs has interceded on behalf of the negro voters, and it was that organization which employed Mr. Cogdell to represent the voters. The registrars are represented by H. P. Martin. Members of the Camden board of registrars are A. R. Whitford, chairman, Robert Lewis and M. A. Brown.

Blackshear Ga. Times
July 11, 1946

NEGRO VOTERS ARE CHALLENGED IN PIERCE CO.

Hearings In Progress At Courthouse

45

Negro registrants in Pierce County this week are being challenged as to their right to vote in the July 17 Democratic primary.

Sheriff L. L. Taylor is serving the challenges, which were signed by Henry Baxter, well known Talmadge supporter in Pierce County.

Hearings have been in progress at the courthouse each day this week with the negroes appearing to answer the challenge before the board of registrars.

Various reasons are given for the challenges, among them questions of character, citizenship, and being able to understand the Constitution of the United States.

The challenges are being served at county expense of $1 each.

Approximately 350 negroes have been reported registered in Pierce County.

Baxley Group Asks FBI Purge Probe

Atlanta Ga. Constitution

The United States Department of Justice has been asked to investigate a "conspiracy" to deny voting privileges to Negroes in Georgia in the Democratic primary July 17.

This was one of the fast-moving developments Saturday in purging of Negroes from the registration lists. July 7, 1946

Mayor Hovis Floyd, of Baxley, and 11 other citizens asked the Department of Justice to probe the "conspiracy" against Negro voters in that South Georgia city. They wired Atty. Gen. Tom Clark that a member of the Board of Registrars assisted other persons in obtaining names of Negroes from registration records at night when the Board's office was closed. On the following day, the telegram said, the Board member presented other members formal challenges of qualifications of some 500 Negro registrants.

The telegram was signed by G. J. D. Rich, retired member of the Board; Albert S. Jenkins, editor of the Baxley Banner; E. D. Whisonant, Baxley School Superintendent; Dr. H. C. McCrackin, W. L. Boone, T. J. Barnes, W. R. Strozier, C. L. Hamilton, C. A. Whitaker, E. E. Griffin and W. C. Legget.

In Washington, Asst. Atty. Gen. Theron Lamar Caudle said the matter had been referred to Dist. Atty. J. Saxton Daniel at Savannah. Daniel declined any comment.

Challenges of the qualifications of some 700 Negroes in adjoining Ware County were withdrawn Saturday, following a visit to Waycross by a Savannah attorney who was employed by a group of Negro organizati[illegible] to inquire into reports of dis[illegible]imination.

Other challenges contesting the right of several hundred Negroes to vote in Fulton County have been registered with Tax Collector T. E. Suttles, and hearings on these will begin Monday.

The Board of Registrars at Sandersville struck "a large number of Negroes" from the voters' list Friday and Saturday, but did not say how many were disfranchised.

At Blackshear, Henry Baxter, Talmadge supporter, was ready to sign challenges against Negro registrants of Pierce County. Sheriff L. L. Taylor said challenges were being prepared by the Board of Registrars for him to serve. Pierce County has 30 Negroes registered.

As the Department of Justice was asked to investigate at least one Georgia County, Henry Troutman, of Atlanta, prominent Georgia attorney, predicted that the Federal Government will prosecute County Registrars who arbitrarily take Negroes off the voters list.

Troutman said, in an interview that registrars who are striking off Negroes without also purging white voters are flirting with terms in the Federal penitentiary.

He also warned that persons who file challenges against Negroes purely for the purpose of frightening them away from the polls are courting Federal prosecution.

VOTERS FRIGHTENED

"If the story is right that it is a part of the plan of such challenges to frighten the Negro voters from appearing and defending their right to vote, those who participated in such a conspiracy would be guilty of violating Section 51 of the Criminal Code of the United States, which provides that if two or more persons conspire to injure or oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise of any rights secured by the Constitution or laws of the United States shall be fined not more than $5,000 and imprisoned not more than 10 years," the attorney pointed out. "Notice that this section says fined and imprisoned. It requires a prison sentence be given."

Troutman said that no sort of excuse or pretense can protect those guilty of intentional discrimination in preparing a voters' list. The United States Supreme Court has held, in interpreting the Federal Constitution, that any discrimination with respect to voters on account of color or race is a violation of the Civil Liberty Statutes and involves a criminal liability.

"If the county registrars in any county are undertaking to purge the list by questioning only Negroes, it is self-evident that their action is based on race and color no matter what excuses or pretenses they might offer," Troutman continued.

FEDERAL OFFENSE

He cited Section 52 of the Criminal Code of the United States which provides a fine of not more than $1,000 or imprisonment of not more than one year, or both, for any person who causes anyone to be deprived of the rights or privileges protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States because of his race or color.

Informed that some registrars are saying that a large number of challenges have been presented to them as to Negroes, but no challenges have been presented as to white people, Troutman said he did not think this would protect the registrars from Federal prosecution. He added that, of course, it would depend upon the way the registrars handle these protests.

"The Georgia law provides that where a voter's name appears on the list taken from the voters' book, this is evidence of his right to vote," the attorney stated. "This is set out in the Georgia Code, Section 34-401. The next section of the Code, 34-402, says that no name shall be removed from the voters' list except on 'sufficient legal proof.'

"The story as to some counties is that hundreds of challenges of Negro voters are being filed, that the notice is being given to the voters as required by law, but through intimidation or otherwise, many of the voters are afraid to answer these notices and that the registrars plan to take the names off the list because no legal appearance is made by the voter.

"The registrars have absolutely no right to do this, as the presumption is that the voter whose name appears in the voters' book is entitled to vote and any challenging him must present sufficient legal proof. If the registrars acted in the case of Negroes without sufficient legal proof, and I mean legal proof, the Federal Court would undoubtedly hold that the registrars were violating the criminal laws of the United States," Troutman believed.

Nearly All Registered Negroes Fail To Meet The Voting Requirements

Representative James M. Dykes stated today that of the large number of Negroes registered in Bleckley county all but approximately fifty failed to meet the requirements of law. Their failure to meet the requirements resulted from the investigations made by the Registrars following the issuance of challenges by Mr. Dykes and his attorney.

Mr. Dykes made this statement in connection with his stand for White Supremacy and the Democratic White Primary:

"Some people have the idea that I believe in mistreating Negroes. That is not true. I believe that they should be well treated and I have always done so, but I do not believe that the old traditions of the South should be thrown aside. I do not believe that they should have any part in our Primary and I do not believe in the so-called 'social equality' that voting in our Primary leads to."

Indications are that Bleckley will have the largest vote in its history next Wednesday. According to the latest information about 3,800 persons are registered, with the prediction that at least 70 per cent will vote. The outcome of the election cannot be predicted; however, there are rumors that many bets have been made, with support for both Talmadge and Carmichael not lacking.

All Negro Registrants To Be Challenged By Representative

Representative James Dykes issued a statement today in respect to legal action that will be started immediately to remove all negroes from the registration lists in Bleckley county.

Forms have been prepared and will be served according to Mr. Dykes, on each and every negro who is registered in this county, which will be followed up by proper legal procedure, as provided in the existing laws.

Similar action has been taken in many of the other counties in Georgia, according to Mr. Dykes, and "our contests have been sustained in a great majority of cases."

"I will," Mr. Dykes stated, "file a challenge in each and every instance, which challenge will be served by the sheriff and thereafter further legal action will be taken to safeguard our Democratic White Primary."

Mr. Dykes is a candidate for re election as Representative in the General Assembly from Bleckley county and one of the main planks in his platform is the preservation of White Supremacy, The Democratic White Primary and the retention of the County Unit System.

Additional Registrars Appointed; Negro Registrants Challenged

Irwinton Ga. News July 5, 1946

Irwinton, July 5. At the request of Dr. W. M. Puckett, chairman of the Board of Registrars of Wilkinson County, Superior Court Judge George S. Carpenter has appointed three additional members to the Board of Registrars to pass on the qualifications of the largest list of voters in the history of Wilkinson County.

Puckett requested the additional members on the grounds that the present Board could not handle the job in the short time available.

A. L. Branan of Toomsboro, H. B. Stuckey of Danville, and H. A. Fountain of Gordon are the three new appointees. Present members of the Board are Dr Puckett, H. A. Mills of Toomsboro and Otis Etheridge of Gordon.

The enlarged Board met for the first time Wednesday, and plan to hold hearing on the qualifications of challenged voters beginning Monday of next week.

Two taxpayers of Wilkinson County have filed legal challenges of the qualifications of the large member of registered negro voters in this county, and Sheriff George Hatcher will begin serving the notices on those challenged to appear before the Board of Registrars and prove their qualifications, or else be stricken from the list of voters

Purging of Negro Voters Draws U. S. Attention

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.
Sun. 7-14-46

Atlanta, July 13 (AP)—The Federal Courts and the Justice Department moved today to consider the mass purging of Negroes from the voting lists in politically embroiled Georgia.

Hundreds of Negroes registered for the first time to vote in the July 17 Democratic primary—the actual election—have been disqualified. The purging in some counties is still under way.

It would not be a tremendous upset if Jimmy Carmichael should defeat Eugene Talmadge in Georgia's gubernatorial primary Wednesday, George Burt, writing from Atlanta, says on Page 1 of The Passing Show.

134,351 Negroes Register.

The latest unofficial figures show that 134,351 Negroes have registered to vote for the first time in Georgia. This compares with a white registration of 1,017,-036. Whites outnumber Negroes 3 to 1 in Georgia.

S. A. Scott, editor of The Atlanta Daily World, Negro newspaper, made public a telegram he received from Theron L| Caudle, assistant attorney general of the United States, saying the complaints on disqualification of Negroes were being considered.

Federal Judge Frank M. Scarlett at Brunswick ordered a halt to wholesale disenfranchisement of Negroes in Atkinson County in south Georgia. Registrars of three other south Georgia Counties were ordered to appear for a hearing Monday.

600 Disqualified.

In one of these counties, Appling, 600 Negroes were disqualified yesterday. Injunction proceedings affecting Ben Hill County were continued indefinitely because the Board of Registrars had adjounren until September. U. S. District Judge Hoyt Davis said this action automatically prevented further purgings.

In Colquitt County the chairman of the Board of Registrars protested against mass challenges of Negro registrants and a group of citizens is seeking his removal. A hearing is set for Monday.

Negro leaders in Atlanta charge that eNgroes have been purged from the lists of Georgia's 159 counties. The Negro spokesmen say in all about 20,000 Negroes have been challenged.

Georgia Courts Rule On Negro Voting Rights

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.
July. 7-9-46

Atlanta, July 8 (AP)—The hearing of challenges against hundreds of Negroes whose right to vote in the July 17 primary is contested began in Georgia today and brought a variety of legal rulings.

In Rome, the Floyd County Board of Registrars ruled that no name would be stricken from the list of registered voters merely because no oath had been vocally administered at the time of registration.

Vaughan Terrell, solicitor of Floyd City Court, had challenged the right of six Negroes to vote because no oath had been administered vocally.

3,000 Negroes Challenged.

Meanwhile in Atlanta, hearings opened on the first of an estimated 3,000 Negroes whose names have been challenged, and Deputy Registrar Ellis McClelland ruled that persons failing to appear would be disqualified.

Of the 17 Negroes who appeared before Registrar McClelland, 15 were qualified and two were disqualified. Many summoned to the hearing failed to show up. McClelland said if they failed to show up again tomorrow he would disqualify them.

A. T. Walde, attorney for the Citizens' Democratic Club which is representing the defendants, had protested that absence of the defendants did not make them guilty of contempt of court.

With 118,387 Negroes registered in the state to vote in the primary for the first time, other Georgia counties also challenged their qualifications.

At Gainesville, 17 of the first 46 challenged were disqualified. Some 825 Negroes are being challenged there, but only 46 of the first 100 ordered to a hearing appeared to answer the protest.

Twelve persons at Moultrie filed challenges against 304 Negroes during the day, using mimeographed forms without specific allegations.

Negroes Seek To Keep Names On Voting List

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.
Tues. 9-10-46

ALBANY, Sept. 9—(AP)—A petition to enjoin the removal of Negroes from voters' lists in four Southwest counties has been filed here with the clerk of the U. S. Court, Middle District of Georgia.

Brought against the boards of registrars in Mitchell, Worth, Early and Baker Counties by a group of 20 Negroes, through their attorney, Aaron Kravitch, of Savannah, the petition alleges that the plaintiffs "and thousands of other Negroes have been illegally disfranchised in Georgia by a conspiracy to intimidate, harass and prevent thousands of Negroes from voting in the July 17, 1946, primary."

45e 1946 Georgia (Purge)

GEORGIA PURGE

Convinced Now There Are Mean Men Who Lie Awake Nights Planning Evil

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 7-27-46

I SAT in court last week. I saw with my own eyes and heard with my own ears what was going on in the Fulton County Court House where sinister and evil forces were at work to disqualify Negro voters. Let me take you into my confidence and tell you what I saw and heard and give you my interpretation of it. As I sat there, I was convinced once again that some men are evil and that they lie awake at night and deliberately plan ways and means of accomplishing their wicked objective.

Mr. Mays

The purge which sprang up last week all over Georgia was and is directed only at Negroes. This fact alone proves that it is discriminatory and cannot stand in a Federal court. If those who challenge the right of Negroes to vote on the basis of good character and literacy were honestly interested in good character or literacy, they would challenge white registrants as well as Negro registrants. Everybody knows that there are some white people who have criminal records and that some of them cannot read and interpret the Federal Constitution. The discriminatory character of the purge is so obvious that it must be embarrassing to every decent white person in Georgia. It sounds like Talmadge.

* * *

IT IS CLEAR that the court record was the basis of procedure in Fulton County; otherwise the prosecuting attorney would have done a better job. He made so many mistakes that it was disgusting. For example, a Negro girl, age 18, was brought into the court. Her vote was challenged because in 1931 she was charged with shoplifting. A girl 18 in 1946 was only three years old in 1931. She was dismissed and qualified because she was the wrong person. A graduate of one of the Atlanta colleges was brought in who had never been in anybody's court before. She had the same name as that of another person but was not that person. She was qualified and dismissed. Another Negro was challenged because of a criminal record. The accused Negro did not answer the description made in the charges. The picture of another man was produced in an effort to convict him. Still not convinced, the prosecuting attorney had the Negro finger printed only to find that the finger prints of the Negro being challenged were not the finger prints of the criminal who had previously been convicted. He was qualified and dismissed.

An effort was made to disqualify a woman on the charge of bigamy. The prosecuting attorney tried to prove conviction by producing the woman's picture. It was the picture of another woman. The deputy registrar trying the case ruled that the picture presented was of a woman much fairer than the girl under question. She was qualified and dismissed.

* * *

ALTHOUGH the prosecuting attorney has the right to question the voters on their knowledge of the duties of citizenship, the basis of the challenge in Fulton County has been on the basis of character. Failing to disqualify on character, the prosecuting attorney questioned the Negroes on the Federal Constitution and the duties of citizenship. So many Negroes knew the duties of citizenship that the prosecuting attorney tried to prove that Negroes were conducting a school outside while they were waiting to be called and that the Negroes learned the duties of citizenship after they arrived. The deputy registrar ruled that the attorney could not prove when the Negroes learned the duties of citizenship and further that if he could prove it the time element was irrelevant. A. T. Walden, able Negro attorney, is doing a magnificent job defending the Negroes challenged.

But, fortunately there is a sense of justice in this purge. The deputy registrar has been fair. Not more than one-fourth have been disqualified and fewer than a hundred have been examined. I believe any judge would have disqualified those whe were disqualified. But no white persons are being challenged. Negroes and white friends of justice have appealed to the Department of Justice. The Department of Justice has authorized the district attorneys to exercise the function of their offices to prevent the disfranchisement of Negroes. Federal injunctions have been put into operation and on July 13 in Brunswick, Ga., District Judge Frank M. Scarlett ordered a halt to the wholesale disfranchisement of Negroes in Atkinson County in South Georgia. Election officials of several other counties where purges have been charged have been ordered to appear before him. In Macon, Judge T. Hoyt Davis, the judge who handed down the first decision in favor of Negro voting, has ordered indefinite continuance of injunction proceedings against registrars of Ben Hill County. A few members of local committees have resigned their posts rather than be a party to the wholesale effort to purge Negroes.

* * *

OF COURSE the danger is that these proceedings may frighten the more timid Negroes away from the polls on July 17 which is no doubt what the enemies of democracy want. It is also sad to learn that one of the prosecuting attorneys was a Jew. Evidently he has forgotten the Nazi purge of Jews in Germany.

Ga. Negroes'

Tues 7-18-46

By Associated Press

ATLANTA, July 16.—The Federal Government stepped in to insure the civil rights of Negroes in tomorrow's Georgia Democratic primary boiling with the heat of a "white supremacy" cry, charges of out-of-State meddling and a CIO-PAC issue.

About the time the FBI announced it was probing the primary, in which hundreds of Negro registrants have been stricken from the voting lists, a U. S. judge ordered 600, "purged" in a block in Appling County, restored.

The judge, Frank M. Scarlett, at Brunswick, also enjoined Pierce County election officials against "illegal disqualification of any Negro from voting." Tues 7-16-46

Red-gallused Gene Talmadge, who has been governor of Georgia three times in the past, has issued a warning to "wise" Negroes to stay away from the polls. He is opposed for the governorship by ex-Gov. E. D. Rivers and James V. Carmichael, 37-year-old wartime bomber plant manager, who has the blessing of Gov. Ellis Arnall.

Talmadge had promised that if elected he will restore the "white primary" to Georgia by taking the primary out of state control and having it regulated by the Democratic party. He contends that in this way the U. S. Supreme Court decision can be circumvented.

His foes say that his "white supremacy" plank is a smokescreen.

Charge Negroes Intimidated.

MACON, Ga., Sept. 10.—(AP)—A charge that intimidation kept "thousands" of Negroes aaway from the polls in the July 17 Georgia Democratic primary will be heard in Albany October 9 by Macon's Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis. The charge was contained in a suit filed in behalf of 20 Negroes in the Georgia middle district Federal court to stop removal of Negroes from the voting lists of Mitchell, Worth, Early and Baker counties.

Act to Protect

P. M. New York, N. Y.

Atkinson Enjoined From Purging Negroes

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

BRUNSWICK, July 13—(AP)—U. S. Judge Frank Scarlett Saturday ordered the Atkinson County Board of Registrars to halt their wholesale disfranchisement of Negroes and postponed rulings on three other counties until Monday when election officials were ordered to appear before him.

The court made permanent its temporary injunction in Atkinson County after a brief hearing. It forbids wholesale purging of Negro names from voter registration lists—a practice underway in several counties where Negroes are voting for the first time July 17 in the democratic primary.

In the Coffee County case, the court ordered the man filing challenges against Negroes to appear before him Monday morning when the hearing is continued. "I want that man in court," the judge said. 7-13-46 Sat.

Atty. Rufus Moore, of Douglas, who has filed complaints charging a "conspiracy" to deprive Negroes of voting in the four South Georgia counties, had asked for continuance of the hearing since he was unable to subpoena some of his witnesses. Julian Bennett, attorney representing a member of the Board, moved to set aside the temporary injunction but this was denied until Monday when the hearing is re-opened. Sat. 7-13-46

Registrars of Appling County, where 600 Negroes were disfranchised yesterday, were ordered to court Monday after Aaron Kravitch, attorney of Savannah, said their action was a "judicial lynching." Kravitch appealed to the court for an order to show the Negroes were qualified. Such an order could be followed by a petition for court enforcement.

Registrars for Pierce County, appearing before the judge, said they had not had time to obtain an attorney and their hearing was also postponed until Monday.

32 Out Of 107 Disqualify In Fulton County

Daily Ward Atlanta, Ga. 7-18-46

Registrants Without Criminal Records Are Quizzed

Sunday 7-18-46

The Fulton County purge hearings continued Monday with 32 challenged Negro registrants appearing before Deputy Registrar Ellis McClelland. Of this number, 11 were disqualified and 21 ruled eligible to vote in tomorrow's primary election.

Without exception, those disqualified had been convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude. Attorney A. T. Walden conferred with the defendants before they took the stand, and in cases where they admitted convictions for serious crimes, advised them not to contest the challenges.

ATTORNEYS CLASH

The proceedings Monday followed the same routine, with Attorney Charles G. Bruce and his assistant Attorney Isaac M. Wengrow leading the registrants in a manner designed to make them incriminate themselves.

When one defendant admitted to Attorney Walden that he had been convicted of a felony, the deputy registrar was informed that he would not contest the chailenge.

Attorney Wingrow protested vigorously, insisting that the defendant be forced on the stand. but Attorney Walden objected, asking the challenger's counsel what was his motive. Attorney Wingrow became irked again when a registrant who had been convicted on a misdemeanor charge of assault and battery was qualified.

NO CRIMINAL RECORD

In several instances Monday the challenged voters had no criminal record, yet the attorneys for the challenger followed through with their test on government, the duties and obligations of citizenship. Then there were cases in which the registrants had been picked up for late hours, using profane language and fighting. When these defendants passed the citizenship test, Attorney Wingrow complained about what he termed stereotyped answers.

The hearings will be resumed at 3:30 this afternoon. Indications are that the hearings will not be concluded today, so all challenged voters should contact Attorney Walden regarding their status for tomorrow's election.

7-16-46

The first priority in Metropolitan Atlanta's traffic improvement program is construction of a wide belt highway around the entire downtown section of the city, it was decided Monday at a meeting of city, county, state and federal engineers at the State Highway Department Monday.

The engineers also named as a priority the construction of another viaduct west of the present Spring Street viaduct connecting on th north with Techwood Drive and on the southwest with Chapel Street

This Morning

Tues. 7-17-46

The Fulton County purge got underway, Monday morning, when Horace H. Scoggins contested the qualifications of the first group of registrants of the basis of character and lack of understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship in a republican form of government.

Approximately 35 Negro registrants are slated to appear before Deputy Registrar Elis McClelland, Room 220-B, Fulton County Courthouse at 9:30 this morning to answer challenges designed to deprive them of their rights as American citizens.

Since the hearings opened, the fact that only Negroes have been challenged has been substantiated, which makes it unmistakably clear that the move to disenfranchise these registrants in Fulton County is a part of a sinister plot that seems to be spreading over the State like an epidemic.

Atlanta 7-17-46

Of the 41 registrants who appeared Monday and Tuesday ,ten were

Fulton Purge To Continue

Atlanta Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

disqualified. In challenging the rights of these persons to vote, Scoggins used criminal records. In several instances, the registrants who had received subpoenas had no criminal records at all, but strangely enough, after admitting that he had the wrong person, Attorney Charles G. Bruce, representing Scoggins continued with his quiz on the duties and obligations of citizenship.

FBI Probing Attempts To Intimidate

Early
Ward
Atlanta Ga.

Appling Board Is Ordered To Restore 600 Names

Tuesday 7-16-46

The Federal Bureau of Investigation was reported Monday as probing attempts to intimidate Georgia Negroes with a view of preventing their participation Wednesday in the statewide Democratic primary. 7-16-46

The investigation is being conducted at the request of the U. S. Attorney General's office, according to FBI Agent John F. Troet. Action of the Department of Justice in stopping the "shameful" purge of Negro registrants from voters' lists in a large number of the 159 counties of the state was requested last week.

Meanwile, Monday at Brunswick Federal Judge Frank M. Scarlett ordered the registrars of Appling County in South Georgia to return to the list of qualified voters for the primary the names of 600 Negroes who had been stricken in a block.

600 NAMES REMOVED

The Appling Board of Registrars had removed the 600 from the list of eligible voters on July 13 after the majority of them failed to appear before the board, which summoned them to answer challenges of their right to vote. Several who appeared before the board were disqualified.

The registrars were given by Judge Scarlett until Tuesday to put the 600 Negroes' names back on the list and certify the list to the proper county authorities.

In the case of Coffee County, Judge Scarlett ordered the registrars to complete their list of eligible voters to the proper county authorities also by Tuesday Tuesday 7-16-46

In another case from Pierce County, Judge Scarlett issued an injunction preventing the "illegal disqualification of any Negroes from voting," between now and the primary Wednesday.

LENGTHY HEARING

Tuesday

Judge Scarlett's ruling in the Coffee County case was preceded by a lengthy hearing during which members of the Board of Registrars and persons who had filed challenges against 103 Negroes in the county were questioned. The Coffee board chairman, T. V. Williams, claimed he had only done his duty in accepting the challenges because the cards on which the Negro registrants took the voters' oath had not been filled out correctly. 7-16-46

The FBI was understood to be probing into the possibility of Negroes' civil rights in several sections of the state. Major William E. Spence, of the Georgia Highway Patrol, said his office did "not anticipate any disorders" when Negroes go to the polls for the first time to vote in a Georgia primary.

Over 134,000 Negroes were registered to vote. An issue of their voting had been made by Gubernatorial Candidate Eugene Talmadge, who advised them not to vote. However, the more than a million registrants in the state were prepared to go to the polls Wednesday to vote on a governor, 10 congressmen, state house officials, legislators and numerous other candidates for state posts.

A few threats to Negro voters were reported.

CRUDE SIGNS

At Locust Grove, a crudely lettered sign was thrown at the door of a pressing club. The sign wanted Negroes to "stay in this week" and was signed "K. K. K." The Mayor E. B. Daniel attributed the sign to a youngster's prank and said he knew of no Klan in the community.

In Fitzgerald, sign warnings were posted on the doors of seven Negro church warning against voting. The names of 700 out of 900 Negro registrants in Ben Hill County already had been stricken from the voters list.

According to information from several sections, many counties are setting up separate voting places for whites persons and Negroes. Adequate booths for Negro voters were promised by county Democratic officials in those cases where the separate idea was to prevail.

The four candidates for governor are slated to speak together in a special Radio Station WSB broadcast tonight from 8 to 9 o'clock.

Negroes Bring Civil Action To Get On Voters List

Baltimore

A civil suit in the United States district court for the Middle district, Albany division has been launched against the registrars of Mitchell, Baker, Early, and Worth counties by a group of colored citizens, through their attorney, Aaron Kravitch, of Savannah, Ga., to secure an injunction against the Registrars to prevent the removal of the names of colored registrants from the voters list.

Summons was served on the individual registrars as defendants. to appear in Federal court on October 9, before Judge Hoyt Davis, along with an order to produce registration books, voters lists, the complaints filed and other records of the meetings of the Board of Registrars.

The defendants in the case are: B. T. Burson, John Collins, and Clovis Turk of Mitchell county; J. F. Ethredge, J. O. Irvin and S. H. Sheffield, of Baker County; Gaston Cannon, J. M. Cowart, and O. F. Thompson, of Early County; R. B. Pollard, J. J. Merritt and George Tatum, of Worth County.

Petitioners charge for "themselves and thousands of other negroes who have been illegally disfranchised in Georgia; that prior to the primary election, a general conspiracy in violation of law had been conceived and formed for the illegal purposes as hereinafter set out, by diverse and sundry persons unknown to your petitioners but believed to be well known to the defendants, the scheme being to disfranchise, intimidate, harras and prevent thousands of negroes in Georgia from participating in said primary on July 17, 1946, and in pursuance of said conspiracy overt acts were committed in Baker, Worth, Mitchel, and Early counties directed from some central place in the State of Georgia, the effect of which was through said defendants in their legal capacity as registrars to remove illegally and without just cause or reason, thousands of names of negro registrants.

The petitioners ask reinstatement of all negroes to the voters list—Camilla Enterprise.

ABOUT 4,500 ON CITY REGISTRATION LIST

PURGING OF WHITE VOTERS HAS BEEN COMPLETED BOARD OF REGISTRARS

There are approximately 4,500 voters on the city registration list, eligible to participate in the primary to be held on October 22, but how many of them are still residents of Brunswick remains to be seen.

The board of city registrars has completed purging the list of white voters and it was announced today there are 2,950 qualified. Work of purging the colored list is now in progress, and it is estimated there are between 1, 500 and 1,600 registered, all of whom will be eligible to vote in the primary.

It was explained, however, that many voters principally white, have registered during the past several months who were defense workers, and who decided to qualify as voters. How many of these remain there is no way for the registrars to determine, therefore they will remain on the list even if they have returned to their former homes.

The city registration laws provide that no one shall be removed from the registration list until they have missed voting in two elections, therefore there will be no way of arriving at the number now qualified who are no longer residents of the city. An estimate was made today, however, that it is believed at least 1,000 of the total are not now in the city.

The registrars, Claude Dart, J. C. Stiles and B. Padrosa, with C. E. Wingate as clerk, will complete the entire list within a few days, it was stated, and a new certified list of voters will then be filed with the city clerk and it will be used in the approaching primary.

Meanwhie, the several candidates for places on the city commission are now engaged in a quiet but active campaign. Friends of the various candidated are holding conferences and sizing up the situation and the contest may become more active shortly, as the primary is to be held in about three weeks.

Plot To Ban Negroes From Polls Charged

The Birmingham News
Birmingham Ala

BRUNSWICK, Ga., July 12—(AP)—A petition charging a statewide conspiracy to ban Negroes from voting in Georgia's July 17 Democratic primary election was filed in U. S. District Court yesterday.

The suit was filed by Rufus Moore, of Douglas, Ga., representing voters in four South Georgia counties. He asked that registrars in the four counties be restrained from further disqualification of Negroes.

Fri. 7-12-46

The petition was the latest development in a heated Georgia campaign for the gubernatorial nomination with former Gov. Eugene Talmadge waving the banner of "white supremacy."

He is opposed by James V. Carmichael, backed by outgoing Gov. Arnall; former Gov. E. D. Rivers and Hoke O'Kelley, war veteran.

A recent U. S. Supreme Court decision gave Negroes the right to vote in the Georgia primary and about 120,000 have registered.

Judge Frank M. Scarlett temporarily enjoined registrars in three of the counties from further disqualification of Negroes pending a hearing on the suit Saturday.

Moore's petition said hundreds of Negro voters had been sent notices to appear before registration boards and show cause why they should not be disqualified.

Negroes File Action Against Registrars

George W. Lumpkin, J. T. Ayers, R. G. Braswell, E. Kirk and Robt. Wynn, all of Worth county, and fifteen other negro residents of Baker, Mitchell and Early counties, on August 30th brought action in the U. S. District court at Albany in which they claim there has been a statewide conspiracy upon the part of registrars of the four counties and a number of others in the state to disfranchise them and thousands of other negroes.

The petitioners claim that the registrars of these four and other counties of the state entered into a statewide conspiracy and in pursuance of that conspiracy, they did without cause or reason, remove the names of thousands of negroes from the registration lists without a hearing and without any reason other than that they were negroes.

The petitioners claim that in each of the four counties named two persons challenged th ote of all negroes and that said challengers did not know 95 per cent of the persons so challenged.

They ask the court to order the registrars to restore their names on the registration lists of said four counties.

The petition was filed by Aaron Kravitch, Savannah lawyer, representing the plaintiffs.

Judge Hoyt Davis has set Oct. 9th as the date for a hearing on the petition at Albany.

The registrars are required to file their answer to the action on or before September 23rd.

The Worth county registrars are Geo. W. Tatum, R. B. Pollard and J. J. Meredith.

Cochran, Ga., Watchman
July 11, 1946

Separate Polling Place for Negroes

A separate polling place for Negro voters will be set up for the coming Democratic Primary next Wednesday, July 17th by the committee of registrars.

This poll will probably be placed in the Negro section of Cochran, it was stated.

Of approximately 200 Negroes registered, only 64 have been found eligible following the challenge by James Dykes, representative to the General Assembly, on the grounds of "illiteracy and so forth." A large number failed to appear before the Registrars and were disqualified automatically.

Negroes Seek To Keep Names On Voting List

Albany, Ga., Sept. 10—A charge that intimidation and harassment kept "thousands" of negroes away from the polls in the July 17 Georgia Democratic primary was made Monday in Federal Court.

The charge was contained in a suit filed in behalf of 20 negroes in the Georgia middle distirict federal court to stop removal of negroes from the voting lists in Mitchell, Worth, Early and Baker counties

Attorney Aaron Kravitch of Savannah filed the suit, which alleges:

"The plaintiffs" and thousands of other negroes have been illegally disenfranchised in Georgia by a conspiracy to intimidate, harass and prevent x x x negroes from voting in the July 17, 1946 primary."

Putnam's Negro Vote Challenged

Constitution State News Service.

EATONTON, July 6—The right of each of Putnam County's 230 registered Negro voters has been challenged, W. S. Hooten, Chairman of the County Board of Registrars, announced Saturday. Hooten stated that representatives of the various County districts made the complaints and signed the individual challenges to the voters in their respective districts.

The date for the formal hearing has been set for July 11. The notices, which were given to Sheriff J. L. Paschall for service, notified the voters that their right has been challenged and for them to appear at the hearing to show cause why their names should not be stricken from the list.

The challengers said they have obtained the services of an out-of-town attorney to represent them at the hearing. Of Putnam's approximately 2,500 registered voters, there are 230 Negroes on the list. The Board of Registrars is composed of W. S. Hooten, R. R. Spivey, and J. H. Vining.

Vote Purge On Negroes Mount All Over State

"Stop-Negro Move" Blankets Whole State, Say Leaders

Daily Herald

In an effort to halt the discriminatory practice of purging Negroes from the voter's list in Coffee, Pierce and Atkinson Counties, a petition was filed in the Federal Court, at Brunswick, Thursday, by Attorney Rufus Moore.

This petition was filed to prevent these counties from further disqualifying Negroes, pending the permanent hearing Saturday, when Judge Hoyt Davis will hear the Ben Hill County case.

Fri. 7-12-46

This was the second move on the part of Negroes, seeking Federal intervention. Negro leaders at Atlanta, Wednesday, called on United States Attorney General Tom Clark to investigate the "disgraceful purges of Negro voters" in the state.

Atlanta, Ga.,

STATEWIDE CONSPIRACY

The petition filed at Brunswick characterized the challenges as a part of a "statewide conspiracy to deprive Negroes generally and particularly in these counties of their right of franchise as guaranteed them under the constitutional provision pointed out. It was also pointed out that the challenges were signed by one man in each county.

Reasons for the challenged varied, but practically all Negro voters were notified to appear before their respective Boards of Registrars and show cause why their names should not be dropped from the lists. The estimated number of qualified Negro voters in these counties is as follows: Ben Hill, 500; Coffee, 700; Pierce, 350; and Atkinson, 67.

Fri. 7-12-46

ADDITIONAL COUNTIES

It has also been reported that one individual has filed a blanket charge against the 322 Negro registrants in Barrow County. The challenges were mimeographed and signed by the challenger.

Atlanta, Ga.

The Atlanta Daily World learned late Thursday, that a move is underway in Meriweather County to disfranchise more than 287 qualified Negro voters.

Gainesville Challenges Negro Primary Voters

GAINESVILLE, Ga., July 3 (AP)—The qualifications of all Negroes registering to vote in the July 17 Democratic primary will be challenged in the Gainesville district, Frank B. Stow, attorney, said today.

Two hundred and forty challenges already have been filed with the Hall County Board of Registrars. Stow said about 825 Negroes are registered in the district.

The attorney said he represented a group of citizens who are challenging qualification of Negroes on points laid down in the new state constitution. These cover age, residence, character, and ability to read and understand a paragraph of the U. S. or state constitution. The challenges bore signatures of 20 citizens.

Mitchell To Fight Negro Injunction

From The Camilla Enterprise

In a civil suit in the United States District Court for the Middle District, Albany Division, brought by a group of negroes through their attorney in Savannah and launched against the Board of Registrars of Mitchell, Baker, and Worth counties to secure an injunction against the Registrars to prevent the removal of the names of colored registrants from the voters list, members of the Mitchell County Board of Registrars will be represented by two attorneys hired Tuesday at county expense by the Mitchell County Board of Commissioners.

B. T. Burson, Jr., chairman of the Board of Registrars of Mitchell county, appeared before the Commissioners at their regular monthly meeting here Tuesday and reported that the suit had been filed. Burson stated that he had been appointed to the Board of Registrars by Judge Carl E. Crow, had together with the two other members of the Board, Clovis Turk and John Collins, handled the multitudenous work of the Board prior to the July 17th election at county expense (cost of summoning and conducting individual hearings for each of the negroes on the list challenged by a group of local citizens) and had felt all the time they were serving, that they were performing a service to the people of the county just as any county officer.

Burson told the Board of Commissioners that he felt it was not his obligation or any other Board member to hire at his own personal expense a lawyer to represent him, and other Board members, in the Federal Court suit. "I believe this is a county matter and you can rest assured that I do not propose to spend my own money to defend this action in court. I have nothing to lose personally if I do not show up that day in court but if I don't show up, go up there and try to defend this action. it will affect every citizen in this county. The only thing that would happen if I fail to answer this suit would be that the negroes would win the suit by default and automatically the names of the fourteen hundred some odd negroes who were struck off the voting list in this county would go back on the list."

Burson reiterated several times his belief that the individual hearings given each negro in the Mitchell County voting list had been conducted in a fair and impartial manner and had been conducted strictly according to Georgia Law concerning the challenging of any person's name on a voting list and the subsequent required individual hearings by the Board of Registrars of each challenged registrant.

Robert Culpepper, Jr., of Camilla, and O. B. McElvey, of Pelham, were hired by the Commissioners to defend the Board of Registrars in the suit, following the Commissioners hearing of Burson's re-

COUNTIES SUBJECT TO LITERACY TESTS NEGRO REGISTRANTS

ATLANTA, Ga., June 8.—(AP)—Under Georgia's county unit system of voting, the smaller Negroes registering to vote for counties hold the balance of power in state elections.

In Fulton county (Atlanta) only the first time in a Georgia white primary are being given literacy tests in some counties, and the 100 Negroes of the 24,000 regis- larger cities are qualifying a larg-

tered have been purged from the voting list because of illiteracy.

In Sumter county (Americus), only 92 out of the 650 Negroes who applied for registration were considered qualified.

In Muscogee (Columbus) Tax Commissioner Sterling W. Dudley said only about ten per cent of the 2,940 Negroes who registered were purged because of illiteracy.

Practically none of the Negroes applying for registration in Floyd (Rome) were disqualified. T. E. Clemmons, Floyd tax collector, said industrial areas such as Rome had fewer illiterate Negroes than country districts. That county qualified 1,200 Negroes among 17,200 voters.

DeKalb county (Decatur) reported it kept no record of the number of Negroes being disqualified for illiteracy or other reasons but that 1,300 Negroes were registered out of the total of 35,520.

Chatham county (Savannah) also had no figures on the number of Negroes disqualified. Registration there totals about 36,000, compared to only 16,000 two years ago. Separate card files are kept but the number of Negroes registered has not been totalled.

Many counties are giving broad interpretation to educational requirements set up in the state constitution and leaning toward leniency in qualification tests.

The question of separate polling places for Negroes and whites is not dealt with in Georgia statutes. An unofficial opinion by the attorney general cited a code section limiting voting precincts to one in each militia district, except districts lying in whole or in part in incorporated municipalities.

Clark Assistant Says District Offices Can Act

Justice Dept. Will Back Up Any Prosecution

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
7-13-46

The Department of Justice in Washington, D. C., Friday acknowledged receipt of a complaint from Atlanta citizens charging a statewide conspiracy to bar colored registrants from voting in the July 17 primary and requesting Attorney General Tom Clark to order an investigation of the "disgraceful purges" of colored voters in 31 counties.

The acknowledgement of receipt of the complaint was received in a telegram to Editor C. A. Scott of the Atlanta Daily World, from Theron L. Caudle, assistant Attorney General. Mr. Scott and C. L. Harper, president of the Atlanta Branch NAACP telegraphed Washington for immediate action in the voter purge. Mr. Caudle advised the Georgians to furnish U. S. District Attorney M. Neil Andrews with all available information on the discriminatory purge. The telegram said that complaints from other Georgia counties were now having the attention of the Department of Justice.

PURGE UNDER STUDY

In Washington a spokesman for the department said the matter of voter purging is under study and that U. S. attorneys in Georgia are watching developments and have full authority to institute prosecutions for any violations of federal laws. The Justice Department, it was added, will back the Georgia federal attorneys fully in any prosecutions they may initiate.

The request for U. S. investigation of the Georgia purge was made with a view of bringing criminal prosecution of any conspiracy to deprive Georgia Negro citizens of their vote rights.

Negroes in every section of the state were advised Friday to contact their nearest Federal District Attorney and give him full information on any disqualification from voting in the continuing purges, which have been laid at the doorsteps of Talmadge henchmen.

Meanwhile the effort to strike all Negroes from the registration lists for the primary seemed to be bogging down throughout the state Friday, following a temporary restraining order issued in Federal Court at Brunswick, Thursday against the registrars of four south Georgia counties. 7-13-46

RESTRAINT ACTION TODAY

The restraining orders, affecting Atkinson, Coffee, Ben Hill and Pierce Counties, will be passed upon finally in Federal Courts at Brunswick and Macon today.

In Lamar County, Raymond R. Davis, chairman of the board of registrars, announced that Negro voters who do not answer a summons to appear before the board in that county will be left on the registration list unless competent evidence is introduced to disqualify them. Davis was advised that this action is legal and correct by U. S. District Attorney John T. Cowart, of Macon. Cowart said that disqualification of voters for failure to appear before the board would be a violation of federal law.

Under a ruling of Chairman Lon Duckworth of the Democratic State Executive Committee, the Polk County board of registrars ruled the challenging of 499 Negro voters in that county to be illegal. T. K. Davitt, Talmadge campaign leader, had challenged the Polk countains of color.

Meanwhile, in Eatonton, W. S. Hooten, chairman of the Putnam County board of registrars, reported about 20 percent of the county's registered Negroes had been disqualified. Challenges were issued on grounds of ncompetence, due to lack of education, intelligence or character.

Spalding County board of registrars called a meeting for Friday to consider challenges against 180 Negroes. In Schley County, at Ellaville, registrars were reported to have disqualified about 50 per cent of the 200 registered Negro citizens.

Purges continued in a weak form in some other Georgia counties.

21 Out Of 54 Disqualified In Purge Cases

Daily World
Atlanta Georgia

Hearings To Be Resumed Monday For Other Negroes

Saturday 7-13-46

BY JOEL W. SMITH

The hearings at the Fulton County Courthouse, Friday, followed the same pattern that characterized hearings, Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, with Attorney Charles G. Bruce, representing the challenger asking a long list of irrelevant questions in an effort to trap the Negro registrants and deprive them of the rights guaranteed American citizens by the United States Constitution. Of the twenty registrants who appeared to answer the challenges, seven were disqualified by Deputy Registrar Ellis McClelland.

Since the hearings got underway Monday, 75 Negroes have presented themselves for the disgraceful proceedings. Through Friday, the total ruled disqualified stood at 21, while 54 were ruled qualified to vote in the forthcoming primary. votein the forthcoming primary election on Wednesday, July 17. The majority of those disqualified admitted convictions of crimes involving moral turpitude, punishable by the laws of this State with imprisonment in the penitentiary.

CHALLENGER MUM

Throughout the hearings, Attorney A. T. Walden, representing the registrants attempted to get the challenger, Horace H. Scoggins on the stand, hoping that he would be able to uncover the underhand motives for the challenge. During Friday's hearings he was successful in getting him on the stand and that was all. Some of the questions fired at Scoggins by Attorney Walden were as follows: How do you account for the use of a rubber stamp? Do you know this defendant? How many challenges have you filed? Why were all challenges filed against Negroes. 7-13-46

As soon as each question was asked, Attorney Bruce jumped to his feet as if he were on a bouncing-board, yelling "objections," and the objections were sustained by the deputy registrar. Then came the $64 question: "Isn't it true that these challenges are a part of a scheme? At this point Attorney Walden was stopped by both the prosecutor and the deputy registrar, who claimed that the question was irrelevant. Attorney Walden insisted that since the challenges had been filed on a wholesale basis, he had a right to question the motive, but he was again overruled. 7-13-46

SOUND ARGUMENTS

Since Monday, Attorney Bruce has made every possible effort to have absentee registrants disqualified by default. He re-stated this motion Friday. In arguing this point Attorney Walden took the floor and presented an argument based on sound principles of law. He stated that the court did not have the power to arbitrarily disqualify them. He made it clear that the burden of proof was on the challenger, asserting that before they could be disqualified, there must be sufficient legal proof to convince the deputy registrar. Deputy Registrar McClelland concurred with Attorney Walden on this point. Saturday

Practically all of the registrants appearing before the deputy registrar, Friday, had failed to show up Monday, Tuesday or Thursday, so they were served with new copies of the challenge and a subpoena was attached. When asked why the failed to answer the first summons, a few said they were out of the city, while others explained they were ill. An aged gentleman who had been challenged walked with the aid of a walking cane.

Attorney Walden also questioned the legality of attaching the subpoenas to the challenges. He stated that with their vital fundamental rights at stake, the registrants could not be forced to take the stand and testify against themselves. The deputy registrar stated that the purpose of the challenge was to ascertain the validity of the challenges and this would be difficult in the absence of the person challenged. Later, Deputy Registrar McClelland explained significantly, that there was very little law on the subject, because in the past there had been so few persons challenged.

Negro Voting Challenged in Floyd County

ROME, July 7 — A hearing o the second attempt to challen the Negro's right to vote in Floy County is scheduled here Mond at 10 a. m.

Vaughn Terrell, Solicitor City Court and Rome attorne revealed that he has issued challenges in Floyd County whic will be brought before the Count Board of Registrars. The regi trars are Frank Woodruff, T. I House and Miss Julia Selvidge.

Terrell claims that the Negroe are not legally qualified "in tha no oath was administered by an person authorized to administe said oath."

In reporting a record registra tion for Floyd County, it was dis closed that more than 17,000 hav registered, 1,700 of which are Ne groes.

Meriwether Denies Registration To Six Negroes at Hearing

MANCHESTER, Ga., June 21—Six Negro registrants were dis qualified and 19 others were foun qualified to vote in a hearing con ducted here Wednesday by th Meriwether county board of reg istrars.

The hearing was conducted following a challenge filed by A. H. Nesmith, a citizen of Meriwether county. Under Georgia law, hearings on qualifications are conducted only when the registrant is challenged in a sworn statement, Fred Durand of Woodbury, chairman of the board, said Friday.

Mr. Durand said the board will conduct another hearing at Greenville at 9 a. m. Monday. He said more than 100 registrants will be examined. Other hearings are slated, he said, but dates have not been set.

Approximately 6,000 whites and 400 Negroes are registered for the July 17 Democratic primary thus far, Mr. Durand said.

The hearing Wednesday consisted of oral and written examinations. Mr. Durand said some Negroes were disqualifield on the grounds of illiteracy, while others failed the "good citizenship" test.

Negroes Ask Reinstatement On Voters' List

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Fri. 10-4-46

Constitution State News Service.

ALBANY, Oct. 3—D. C. Campbell, Jr., Clerk of the U. S. District Court here, announced Thursday a suit by a group of 20 Negroes against the registrars of four Georgia counties would be heard in April. 45c

The suit, in which the Negroes asked that registrars of Worth, Mitchell, Early and Baker Counties be prevented from removing their names from the voters' list, originally had been set for hearing Oct. 9.

The original petition had been filed in the Albany Division of Federal Court the week of Sept. 1. The Negroes filed the suit through Aaron Kravitch, a Savannah attorney.

"These 20 Negroes," the petition stated, "have been illegally disfranchised in Georgia by a conspiracy to intimidate, harass and prevent thousand of Negroes from voting in the July 17 primary." The petition ased that the Negroes be reinstated to the voters' list.

J. F. Ethredge, J. O. Irwin and S. H. Sheffield, Worth registrars are: R. B. Collard, J. J. Merritt and George Taylor, and registrars from Mitchell County are: Clovis Burson, John Collins and Early County are: Gaston Cannon, J. M. Baker County registrars are: Savannah.—Committees of negroes are being set up to assist the B. T. Chatham county registrars in purging the voting list.

Baxley Citizens Ask U. S. Probe Negro Vote Purge

BAXLEY, Ga., July 6.—(AP)—Mayor Hovis Floyd of this south Georgia city and 11 other citizens Saturday asked the Department of Justice in Washington to investigate what they called a "conspiracy" to deny voting privileges to Negroes in the July 17 democratic primary.

A telegram to Attorney General Tom Clark charged that a member of the Board of Registrars assisted other persons in obtaining names of Negroes from registration records at night when the board's office was closed.

On the following day, the telegram said, the board member presented other members formal challenges of qualifications of some 500 Negro registrants.

Signers of the telegram included C. J. D. Rich, a resigned member of the County Board of Registrars: Albert S. Jenkins, editor of the Baxley News Banner; E. D. Whisonant, superintendent of Baxley Schools; Dr. H. C. McCrackin; W. L. Boone; T. J. Barnes, W. R. Strozier; C. L. Hamilton; C. A. Whitaker, E. E. Griffin and W. C. Legget.

In Washington, Theron Lamar Caudle, assistant attorney general, said the matter had been placed in the hands of U. S. District Attorney J. Saxton Daniel, of Savannah. Daniel declined any comment.

Challenges of the qualification of some 700 Negroes in adjoining Ware County were withdrawn Saturday, following a visit to Waycross by a Savannah attorney who was employed by a group of Negro organizations to inquire into reports of discrimination.

George Miller, chairman of the Ware County Democratic Executive Committee, resigned Saturday in protest of "the challenging of Negroes registered in Ware County without challenging whites registered." He has been succeeded by L. J. Cooper.

The executive committee by unanimous vote has gone on record as supporting in full Mr. Miller's protest on the challenging of Negro voters.

Miss Florence Beaton, Speir Collins and H. A. King are newly elected members of the county executive committee. Miss Beaton and Collins are leaders of the Young Voters' unit of Ware County.

The text of the telegram asking an investigation here follows:

"We the undersigned citizens of Appling County Georgia have reliable evidence that a member of the board of registrars of this county is conspiring with others here in an effort to deny all Negroes the right of voting in the state Democratic primary, election to be held on July 17; that he assisted such other persons in getting from county registration records at night when the board was not in session and when no other member of the board was present a list of all Negro voters in the county; that on the following morning he presented to his fellow members formal challenges as to qualifications of some 500 Negro registrants; that these challenges were signed by several persons, who, it would appear, have little if any knowledge as to qualifications of the persons challenged.

"It appears, nevertheless, that it is the purpose of the majority of this board of registrars to lend their cooperation to this scheme of wholesale disqualification of Negroes by methods never employed as to white voters. We urge an investigation by your department and if made promptly, are quite sure that ample evidence is available of flagrant and wilful violations of federal voting laws. We pledge you our cooperation in such investigation."

Pierce County Registrars Plan to Serve Challenges

BLACKSHEAR, Ga., July 6.—(AP)—The Pierce County Board of Registrars is preparing challenges to be served by Sheriff L. L. Taylor to Negro registrants in this county. Judge Harvey D. Griffin, chairman of the local Democratic executive committee said the challenges would be signed by Henry Baxter, well-known Talmadge supporter in Pierce County. Whether all of the estimated 30 Negro registrants in Pierce County will be challenged is not yet known Sheriff Taylor said. The challenges are to be served at county expense of $1 each.

Wholesale Challenging Meets Registered Negroes In Georgia

The Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala.

BY HENRY LESESNE

ATLANTA, July 13—(AP)—Hundreds of Negroes who have registered for the first time are being purged from the voting lists in Georgia a scant few days before the Democratic primary.

Georgia has more than 150 small rural counties. The situation varies from one county to another.

Negro leaders estimate 20,000 Negroes have been challenged. Any citizen can challenge a registrant. The Negro leaders charge a conspiracy, saying no white persons are being challenged. Sat. 7-13-46

The hearings before boards of registrars, are going on in many counties. In some counties, few Negroes have been disqualified; in others, the challenged registrants have been written off the books in blocs.

About 120,080 Negroes are registered to vote in Georgia for the first time, by far the biggest prospective Negro vote any Southern state has been faced with this year. Yet it is only about a ninth of the total registration.

* * *

ABOUT A THIRD OF GEORGIA'S population is Negro.

An attorney for voters in four South Georgia counties has filed a petition in federal court charging a statewide conspiracy to ban Negroes from voting in the July 17 primary, the equivalent of the election in Georgia. Sat. 7-13-46

He was granted a temporary order restraining the registrars from further disqualifying Negroes. A hearing for a permanent injunction is docketed for Saturday.

The challengers are generally identified as supporters of red-gallused Gene Talmadge, seeking a fourth term in the governor's mansion on a platform of "white supremacy" and "restoration of the white primary."

Talmadge would circumvent a U. S. Supreme Court decision that Negroes can vote by removing the Democratic primary from state control. Sat. 7-13-46

Talmadge, defeated four years ago by Gov. Ellis Arnall, is opposed by two principal candidates. Arnall-backed James V. Carmichael, young wartime bomber plant manager, and ex-Gov. E. D. Rivers.

The overall picture of the purging is confused, but here are two extremes:

* * *

THE SPALDING COUNTY BOARD OF REGISTRARS Friday dismissed challenges against 200 registered Negroes.

In Appling County an estimated 500 Negroes were disqualified by rulings of the board when the Negroes and their attorney failed to show up for a hearing after the board gave the attorney only five hours to prepare the defense.

The Polk County Board at Cedartown Friday dismissed challenges against 499 Negroes.

The Lamar County Board at Barnesville told challenged Negroes they didn't have to answer questions unless they wanted; that the burden of making specific charges and proving them rested on the complainant. Sat. 7-13-46

In Moultrie the examination of challenged Negroes was halted by the resignation of a board member.

At Griffin, C. R. Fossett signed all the challenges against the Negroes. Chairman J. P. Manley said Fossett challenged them on "blanket grounds including all six charges," including age, residence, character and education.

THIS ONE WILL VOTE

ATLANTA, July 13—(AP)—A 76-year-old Negro who testified he would cut off his hand for his government if necessary won the right to vote at next Wednesday's Democratic primary election in Georgia. Sat. 7-13-46

John Baskin, walking with a cane and speaking with difficulty, was one of many Negroes whose registration is being challenged at hearings before the Fulton County (Atlanta) registrar.

Answering questions, he said he did not know under what form of government the nation operates but that he owned property and had always paid his taxes. Asked what his obligations were to his government, the aged Negro held up his hand and declared proudly:

"To give that hand to them if they need it."

'Am Willing To Take Case To Supreme Court' Says Manley

The Spalding County Board of Registrars ruled Thursday to disregard and dismiss the challenge of nearly 200 registered Negro voters here.

The Negroes' right to vote had been challenged by C. R. Fossett, a white man who is said to be a supporter of former Governor Eugene Talmadge whose main plank in his platform for reelection is white supremacy.

Although Fossett is said to be a Talmadge supporter and has attended several meetings of the Spalding County Talmadge Club, Ernest Carlisle, president of the club, said that the club is taking no part in challenging voters here.

"Fossett is acting as an individual only and the club has no part in the challenging," Carlisle said.

J. P. Manley, chairman of the board of registrars, said today that the challenges had been dismissed because Fossett failed to specify what charges he wished to challenge the voters on.

Manley said that Fossett challenged them on "blanket grounds including all six charges possible."

He said that, "Fossett admitted to me that he had not examined any of the Negroes he was challenging and said that he went over the registration lists and selected those who wrote a bad hand."

The six grounds on which a voter's right can be challenged include proof that:

1. The person is not a citizen 18 years old or older;

2. The person has not lived in Georgia at least one year;

3. The person has not lived in the county where he is registered for six months or more;

4. The person is not of good character;

5. The person cannot read and write the English language;

6. The person cannot properly interpret a paragraph of the American Constitution.

The charges brought by Fossett included all six of the reasons for challenge and did not specify any single charge he wished to press.

Chairman Manley, a former superintendent of Spalding County schools, said that "I am willing to take this thing to the supreme court if it's necessary."

State law, he said, clearly states that persons challenging another person's right to vote must specify any on what charges the challenge is made.

"Mr. Fossett did not specify anything," he said.

Other members of the Board of Registrars are W. M. Parker of Vaughn and Mrs. George P. Weathers of Griffin.

Wrong Criminal Records Fall In Hands Of Purgers

BY RUTH L. CORNELIUS

The Fulton County purge of Negro registrants moved into its third day Thursday when 14 Negroes presented themselves to answer the challenges before Deputy Registrar Ellis McClelland. When court adjourned 14 cases had been heard and four registrants had been disqualified.

Again Thursday the prosecuting lawyer, Charles G. Bruce, had criminal records that did not apply to the persons in court ;nevertheless, he continued with the examination on the form of government and the duties and obligations of citizenship under the republican form of government in all cases except one. He continued his policy of trying to make the witnesses ineriminate themselves, however, he was not very successful.

FINGERPRINTS TAKEN

One registrant, who was not the person whose record was in the hands of the prosecutor was subjected to uncovering a part of the body to prove that there was no scar; he was told to leave the stand and wait outside until the prosecution could produce a photograph of the man identified in the records. When the photograph came down, the registrant had to sit posed so that officials of the court could examine his features and those of the picture closely, in an effort to determine if the registrant were the subject of the picture in hand. It was decided that he was not the subject of the photograph.

Then the court asked what other means could be used to identify him, the answer was fingerprints. The registrant produced his fingerprint as it appeared on his honorable discharge from the United States Army. This print was not conclusively accepted; as a result, his fingerprint was taken anew in the court room The new print was accepted as conclusive evidence that the registrant was not the man described. However, he had to take the examination on the form of government and the duties and obligations of citizenship. He was finally qualified.

WRONG PERSON AGAIN

An employe of 32 years in the postal service and a registered voter for 20 years appeared in answer to his challenge and ably proved that he had no criminal record as he had never been arrested. He was not questioned further.

A young 19-year-old woman who was challenged would have been three years old at the time of a crime on a record held by the prosecutor. She had no criminal record as she has never been arrested. The examination on the form of government and the duties of citizenship under the republican form was given her. She qualified.

Drama reached its height Thursday shortly after 12 o'clock when a 73-year-old woman was called to the stand and asked questions relative to a criminal record in the hands of the prosecutor. She was ill and had just left her doctor but she had come to the courthouse because she wanted people to know that she was "a woman of good character" who tries to live right. Testimony revealed that this person had volunteered her services to social agencies in her community. She qualified.

MOTION TO DISQUALIFY

Attorney for the prosecution made a motion to the court that the names of persons who had failed to appear after having been checked from Monday to Tuesday, then to Thursday, be stricken from the registration list.

Deputy Registrar McClelland replied:

"I want to give these people every opportunity to come and prove themselves. It is true that some stayed away after receiving challenges, therefore, I shall attach subpecnas to those challenges going out for Monday's apearance. This matter requires the presence of the one challenged. I have the right to issue subpoenas and require presences.

'In this hearing I am acting as a referee and I am doing the best I can toward conducting an impartial query."

The hearing will be resumed this morning at 9:30 in Room 220-B at Fulton County courthouse.

4,672 Voters On List Eligible To Vote In Primary

City registrars yesterday afternoon completed the work of purging the registration list for the primary to be held October 22, and announced that there were 4,672 voters on the list. This is slightly above the estimate made yesterday before the board completed work on the negro list.

Of the total, 2,950 are white and 1,722 colored.

This is the largest number of voters to be on the city registration list in recent years, in fact for several years the total has averaged between 1,300 and 1,800. This small registration during past years was due to the fact that a numbers of years ago a bill was passed establishing a permanent registration list in the city, and which provided that all names be stricken and voters were required to re-register, and for years hundreds of them did not do so. However, during the city and county-wide registration campaign early this year, many who were eligible did register in the city, which is responsble for the big increase.

Negroes Bring Civil Action To Get On Voters List

PETITION FEDERAL COURT TO HAVE ALL NEGROES PURGED BY BOARD OF REGISTRARS REINSTATED TO REGISTRATION BOOKS.

A civil suit in the United States district court for the Middle district, Albany division, has been launched against the registrars of Mitchell, Baker, Early, Worth counties by a group of colored citizens, through their attorney, Aaron Kravitch, of Savannah, Ga., to secure an injunction against the Registrars to prevent the removal of the names of colored registrants from the voters list.

Summons was served on the individual registrars, as defendants, to appear in Federal court on October 9, before Judge Hoyt Davis, along with an order to produce registration books, voters lists, the complaints filed and other records of the meetings of the Board of Registrars.

The defendants in the case are: B. T. Burson, John Collins, and Clovis Turk, of Mitchell county; J. F. Ethredge, J. O. Irvin and S. H. Sheffield, of Baker County; Gaston Cannon, J. M. Cowart, and O. F. Thompson, of Early county; R. B. Pollard, J. J. Merritt, and George Tatum, of Worth county.

The group of colored people bringing the petition through their attorney are as follows: Josh Williams, Milton Miller, Rev. Rann Burns, Lewis Williams and Walter Singletary, of Baker county; George W. Lumpkin, J. T. Ayers, R. G. Brazwell, E. Kirk, and Robert Wynn, of Worth county; Rubin Lyria, Jack McCullough, J. H. Hubert, James Merriweather and Alfred Allen, of Mitchell County; Elisha Johnson, P. A. Daniels, Dolly Lee Malins, Willie S. Hubbard, and Alfred Hubbard, of Early county.

Petitioners charge for "themselves and thousands of other negroes who have been illegally disfranchised in Georgia, that prior to the primary election—a general disfranchise, intimidate, harrass and place in the State of Georgia, the conspiracy in violation of law had prevent thousands of negroes in effect of which was ment of all negroes to the voters been conceived and formed for the Georgia from participating in said defendants in their legal capacity through said illegal purposes as hereinafter set primary on July 17, 1946, and in as registrars, to remove illegally list. out, by diverse and sundry persons pursuance of said conspiracy overt and without just cause or reason, unknown to your petitioners but acts were committed in Baker, thousands of negro registrants . . . ." believed to be well known to the defendants, the scheme being to ties directed from some central Worth, Mitchell and Early coun- The petitioners ask reinstate-

Says Conspiracy at Work

Georgia Mayor Asks Negro Voting Rights

BAXLEY, Ga., July 6.—(AP)—Mayor Hovis Floyd of this South Georgia city and eleven other citizens today asked the Department of Justice in Washington to investigate what they called a "conspiracy" to deny voting privileges to Negroes in the July 17 Democratic primary.

A telegram to Attorney General Tom Clark charged that a member of the board of registrars assisted other persons in obtaining names of Negroes from registration records at night when the board's office was closed.

On the following day, the telegram said, the board member presented other members formal challenges of qualifications of some 500 Negro registrants.

SIGNERS OF TELEGRAM

Signers of the telegram included G. J. D. Rich, a resigned member of the county board of registrars; Albert S. Jenkins, editor of the Baxley News Banner; E. D. Whisonant, superintendent of Baxley school; Dr. H. C. McCrackin; W. L. Boone; T. J. Barnes, W. R. Strozier, G. L. Hamilton, C. A. Whitaker, E. E. Griffin and W. C. Leggett.

In Washington, Theoron Lamar Caudle, assistant attorney general, said the matter had been placed in the hands of U. S. District Attorney J. Saxton Daniel of Savannah. Daniel declined any comment.

*Challenges of the qualification of some 700 Negroes in adjoining Ware county were withdrawn today, following a visit to Waycross by a Savannah attorney who was employed by a group of Negro organizations to inquire into reports of discrimination.

Other challenges contesting the right of several hundred Negroes to vote in Fulton county (Atlanta) have been registered with T. E. Suttles tax collector, and hearings on these will begin Monday.

The Registrars Quit

Daily World Atlanta Ga

There is something great about the men and women in Georgia who are rising up against the "stop the Negro" vote by quitting their jobs as members of the Board of Registrars rather than become parties to the statewide conspiracy to purge Negroes from the qualified voters' lists solely on account of race and color. Some of these men and women have served their communities for 15 and 20 years, some have served longer terms. And it is but natural that they would relinquish their post with a feeling of regret. Nevertheless, their sense of moral decency and fairplay would not permit them to violate the ruling of the highest court in the land by running willy-nilly over the rights of Negroes to cast their ballot in a Democratic Primary.

Sunday 7-14-46

That the federal government will handle these conspiraors in due time, is not to be doubted. But we rise to pay our highest respects and kind personal appreciation to these men and women, our friends in Georgia, who at the proper time in the future, will be remembered and properly rewarded for their service, their spirit of fairness and notable concern for our interests at a time when it counts most. It takes courage to do what these Registrars have so nobly done.

The Voting Purge A Farce

Atlanta Daily World

The notorious and vicious voting purge of Negroes that was advocated in Former Governor Talmadge's paper several months ago and which has been in effect against Negroes over the state finally reach Atlanta Monday when some twenty-five of fifty-six Negroes whose names had been challenged appeared at Fulton County Courthouse.

Before the hearings got underway it was obvious to an observer that the spirit of Talmadgeism permeated the atmosphere as far as the challengers were concerned.

Atlanta Ga.

Attorney Ellis S. McClelland who is conducting the hearings as a Deputy Registrar, overruled a question put to Registrar Suttles, inquiring as to the number of persons who had been challenged and whether or not any white voters were challenged. No white voters were challenged as we could observe.

Attorney A. T. Walden, representing the Citizens Democratic Club and the challenged voters, requested that the challenger, one Horace H. Scroggins, Sr., a white man who is allegedly supporting Talmadge, take the stand. The trial Attorney, however, overruled this request.

These are other interesting facts brought out at the hearing: Jue. 7-9-46

1. That all the challenges of the Negro voters were signed by a stamp bearing the name of Horace H. Scroggins. Certainly he does not know the approximately 600 Negroes he has challenged? Then who are the others who are conspiring with him to disfranchise these citizens?

2. That only about half those challenged showed up and that the Trial Attorney admitted he had no power to demand that the citizens report for the hearing.

3. That he had no legal right to purge from the voters list any challenged citizen with out legal proof of justification. In other words, the only way a person's name could be legally dropped from the voters' list is with the presentation of proof that he has been convicted of a serious crime as provided by the State Constitution. Conviction of minor crimes such as drunkenness, disorderly conduct or speeding, and etc. are not sufficient cause to deny one the right to vote

4. However, later in the hearing the Trial Attorney decided he would disqualify any citizen challenged who did not report for a hearing.

Georgia Code says that no person's name can be removed from the voters' list except with legal proof of dis qualifications.

That the State Constitution specifically states the appearance of a person's name on the voters' list is prima facie evidence that he or she is a qualified voter.

We consider these vote challenges of Negroes part of theTalmadge program intended to intimidate embarrass and harass the Negro voters. It is trying on the most patient person, especially one who stood in line a half-day or longer to get registered and then be required to hang around the Courthouse another day or so to have someone ask him a lot of irrelevent questions about his or her past personal life. Jue 7-9-46

Therefore, in the light of the above facts and the obvious spirit that is behind these attempts to purge Negro voters, we hope in the name of justice and good interracial feeling this purge business will stop And furthermore, it is a needless waste of the tax payers' money.

257 Negro Registrants Heard On Challenges Before 3-Man Board During First 4 Days

ATTORNEY STATES HE WILL ALSO CHALLENGE SOME WHITE VOTERS BEFORE ELECTION

A total of 257 Negro registrants have been heard in their own behalf by the three-man board of registrars appointed for the purpose, since hearings were begun at the Hall county courthouse Saturday on over 600 challenges filed against registrants in the Gainesville box.

No announcement has been made by the board as to the number disqualified, but a majority of those examined have been qualified, according to Joe K. Telford, board member. He stated that no official opinion had been rendered disqualifying anyone.

One hundred have been summoned each day, and will continue to be until all the challenges are heard, it is announced.

On Saturday, 47 of the 100 summoned appeared; Monday, 71; Tuesday, 64; Wednesday, 75. Those who have not appeared on the day summoned will be given an opportunity to do so Saturday, it is stated.

Frank B. Stow, Gainesville attorney, who states he represents a group who are challenging the Negro voters registered in the Gainesville box, announced Wednesday that he also plans to challenge some white voters, but would not challenge all Negro voters registered in the county.

Judge Telford announced today that in the event white voters are challenged, their cases will be interspersed with those of the colored. He also stated that more of the registrants were being qualified during latter days of the hearings than at first.

W. V. Lance, another Gainesville attorney, who states he represents a group of citizens interested in fair play, appeared in behalf of the challengees. Hearings on Saturday were begun at 3 p. m., but each day since then have started at 2 p. m., which schedule will be maintained, it is stated.

Monday afternon the attorney for the challengees brought up the question of "good faith" in challenging one group of voters and not another, but no action was taken by the board on the plea.

Middle Georgia Probe Begins

Atlanta Daily World Atlanta Ga.

MACON, Ga. — (SNS) — John P. Cowart United States District Attorney of the Middle Georgia District declared Tuesday that he would investigate alleged illegal purging of Negro voters in many counties of the district. He warned that he would institute criminal prosecution against registrars or others against whom he finds evidence of violation of the law.

Cowart said that his office could not ignore the numerous complaints of the wholesale purging of Negroes. He issued the followng state ment. Jue. 7-11-46

"This office is receiving numerous complaints from various counties in the Middle District of Georgia that illegal and mass purges are being undertaken to prevent Negroes from voting in the July 17 primary. Numbers of these complaints have come from members and chairmen of boards or registrars. I have advised these boards to consult their attorneys and local attorneys relative to conducting the hearings on the purging of their voters' lists in a legal manner and without discrimination.

"DUTY TO UPHOLD"

"As a public official it is not plot" and part of a conspiracy through which Communists seek to "achieve final power."

ON OTHER SIDE

He issued a warning to attorneys serving labor, progressive and minority groups that "they are on the other side" and urged the Bar Association that "those too brilliant brothers of ours" should be taken "to the legal woodshed for a definite and well-deserved admonition."

Clark's attack on person's protesting violations of civil rights, CRC says is paralleled by the recent verdict of a Federal Grand Jury in vestigating charges that police in

CRC also criticized Clark's excusing the Department's lack of action based on "false grounds that the Department is powerless to terming Clark's address "an incitement to violence against labor and progressive people of our country" the Congress urged that President Truman remove Clark from the Attorney Generalship and appoint a man who will "act zealously to defend the civil rights of the American people."

The Talmadge Purge Of Negro Voters

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky. Mon. 7-15-46

A DESPERATE attempt by Georgia's former Governor EUGENE TALMADGE to win his way back to the mansion in Atlanta is behind the news stories of Negroes being purged from Georgia registration lists.

This is the first time in Georgia history when Negroes are specifically entitled by United States Supreme Court decision to vote in the State's Democratic primary. Because Georgia is a one-party State, a citizen who cannot vote in the Democratic primary has, in effect, no vote at all. One Negro, PRIMUS KING, contended that denial of his right to vote in the Democratic primary actually denied him totally the right to vote. He employed lawyers, OSCAR SMITH and HARRY STROZIER, and went to court. There he was upheld on the basis of Supreme Court decisions on similar cases in Louisiana and Texas.

As a result, some 118,000 Negroes are registered to vote next week in the Democratic "white" primary. TALMADGE, campaigning on the race issue with an avowed pledge to keep Negroes out of the party primary—Supreme Court notwithstanding—is so afraid of the Negro vote that he has urged all registration officials with whom he is friendly to use any means to remove Negroes from the registration lists. He has gone further, and in his Independence Day campaign speech at Gainesville, he urged the "red-blooded white men" to keep Negroes away from the polls on election day. His incitement to violence was hardly less pointed than that of Mississippi's BILBO.

Some registration officials, doing TALMADGE'S bidding, have stripped practically all the Negroes from their lists. Some have used pretexts that the Negroes were ineligible because they couldn't write, couldn't "interpret" the constitution, or weren't "good citizens." In one county a Negro registration of 900 has been reduced to 90.

Negroes in four South Georgia counties have filed suit in U. S. District Court seeking protection against "a state-wide conspiracy to deprive Negroes . . . of their right of franchise." Negroes in another county have retained a lawyer for similar action. He felt that action prior to the primary would play into TALMADGE'S hands by providing fuel for further incendiary racial prejudice. He therefore advised delay until after the primary, believing that immediate action in the courts would be too slow to restore the disfranchised voters anyway.

One of the cleverest and wickedest means of "purging" has been to summon several hundred Negro registrants to the County court house on a certain day to "show why they should not be stricken." Many of them are laborers and either cannot take a day off to go to the County seat, or can do so only at great inconvenience. The registration officials interview perhaps a half dozen of the several hundred, and instruct the rest to come back the next day. After a few days of that the registrants give up and the officials strike their names because no reason was shown why they should not be stricken.

These tactics, plus TALMADGE'S open espousal of the iniquitous revived Ku Klux Klan, are a dead giveaway of TALMADGE'S opinion of civil rights. If he is elected, as he may be, there can be but one conclusion: That Georgia still is unreconstructed after almost 80 years, and that democracy is to Georgians something to talk about but not to live.

Citizens of Baxley, Georgia, Ask Probe Negro Vote Challenge

The Tribune and Courier
Charleston, S. C.
Sun. 7-7-46

Baxley, Ga., July 6.—(AP): Mayor Hovis Floyd of this south Georgia city and 11 other citizens today asked the department of justice in Washington to investigate what they called a conspiracy to deny voting privileges to negroes in the July 17 Democratic primary.

A telegram to Attorney General Tom Clark charged that a member of the board of trustees assisted other persons in obtaining names of negroes from registration records at night when the board's office was closed.

On the following day, the telegram said, the board member presented other members formal challenges of qualifications of some 500 negro registrants.

Signers of the telegram included G. J. D. Rich, a resigned member of the county board of registrars; Albert S. Jenkins, editor of the Baxley News Banner; E. D. Whisonant, superintendent of Baxley schools; Dr. H. C. McCrackin W. L. Boone. T. J. Barnes, W. R Strozier, C. L. Hamilton, C. A Whitaker, E. E. Griffin and W. C Legget.

In Washington, Theron Lamar Caudle, assistant attorney general said the matter had been placed in the hands of U. S. District Attorney J. Saxton Daniel of Savannah. Daniel declined any comment.

Challenges of the qualifications of some 700 negroes in adjoining Ware county were withdrawn today, following a visit to Waycross by a Savannah attorney who was employed by a group of negro organizations to inquire into reports of discrimination.

Other challenges contesting the right of several hundred negroes to vote in Fulton county (Atlanta) have been registered with T. E Suttles, tax collector, and hearings on these will begin Monday.

The text of the telegram asking an investigation here follows:

"We the undersigned citizens of Appling county, Georgia, have reliable evidence that a member of the board of registrars of this county is conspiring with others here in an effort to deny all negroes the right of voting in the state Democratic primary election to be held on July 17; that he assisted such other persons in getting from county registration records at night when the board was not in session and when no other member of the board was present a list of all negro voters in the county; that on the following morning he presented to his fellow members formal challenges as to qualifications of some 500 negro registrants; that these challenges were signed by several persons, who, it would appear, have little if any knowledge as to qualifications of the persons challenged.

"It appears, nevertheless , that it is the purpose of the majority of this board of registrars to lend their cooperation to this scheme of wholesale disqualification of negroes by methods never employed as to white voters. We urge an investigation by your department and if made promptly, are quite sure that ample evidence is available of flagrant and wilful violations of federal voting laws. We pledge you our cooperation in such investigation."

Four More Are Disqualified In Fulton 'Purge'

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta Ga
Wed. 7-10-46

Hearings Show Sinister Plot Behind Activity

The hearings, challenging the right of Negroes to exercise their political rights continued in Fulton County, Tuesday, with four persons being dropped from the voter's list and 13 ruled qualified by Deputy Registrar Ellis McClelland.

After Tuesday's session, hearings were posponded until 9:30 Thursday morning. During the first two days 41 registrants appeared before the deputy registrar and of this number ten have been disqualified. Several defendants who were absent Tuesday were checked over until Thursday morning.

PURELY DISCRIMINATION

As the hearings entered the second day, it became increasingly clear that this move is purely a case of discrimination, based solely on color. Horace H. Scoggins, the challenger arbitrarily contested the qualifications of the defendants on the basis of their character and understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship in a republican form of government.

Attorney Charles G. Bruce, representing Scoggins who became irked Mon., when several defendants gave similar answers to his question on the duties and obligations of citizenship put Attorney Willard T. Bethany on the stand Tuesday. Attorney Bethany testified that he heard some dafendants rehearsing for the quiz, while waiting outside of the court room.

PRAISES EVENING SCHOOLS

In successfully defending his clients, Attorney A. T. Walden informed the court, "it so happens that we have some fine evening schools in Atlanta, and that the teachers stress citizenship." Attorney Walden wa sassisted by Attorney Walden was assisted by Attormorning.

The implications of Attorney Bruce were that the defendants were drilled through refresher courses prior to the hearings. In spite of the fact that the content of civic textbooks throughout the country, is more or less the same, he could not understand why most of the registrants listed payment of taxes, voting, observance of laws and fighting for one's country as duties and obligations of citizenship.

CITIZENS INDIGNANT

Atlantans become more indignant as the purge hearings proceed. Contacted Tuesday by a World reporter, Dr. Benjamin F. Mays, president of Morehouse College made the following statement:

"We need the Atlanta Daily World to expose the injustices and discriminatory practices that are now going in in Room 220-B at the courthouse. We need Negro attorneys to do what A. T. Walden is doing to defend Negro registrants against the malicious and vicious effort being waged to intimidate and disqualify Negro voters.

Wed. 7-10-46

"If the people who are pushing this purge were interested in democracy or justice or in good character, they would be looking up the criminal records of white persons as well as those of Negroes because some white people have court and criminal records too. But no attempt is being made to hunt out white people who have criminal or jail records.

TRIAL INTERESTING

"It is interesting to watch the trial. When the prosecuting lawyer cannot convict a registrant on the basis of crime or disqualify the voters by proving they are unfit for citizenship, he tries to prove that the registrants are too ignorant to vote by asking them questions on citizenship and political science, or by testing them on the constitution.

The prosecuting lawyer tried to convict a woman by producing the picture of another woman, once convicted, which the deputy registrar himself had to admit was not the picture of the woman being tried.

"Most of the questions the prosecuting lawyer asked are irrelevant. For example, if the person being examined gives the correct answer on citizenship, he shifts immediately and tries to prove that the person has been coached in the hall or in the room where the Negroes are sitting — just as if the time when a person learned something is relevant to the issue under discussion.

"There is one ray of hope, the man, the deputy registrar, who has been appointed to hear the case is trying to deal with them fairly. Most of the persons examined thus far have been qualified. It is clearly an effort to intimidate Negroes with the view of keeping them from the polls. Attorney Walden is doing a magnificent job. It is nevertheless unfortunate that such can happen in Atlanta, one of the most enlightened cities of the South."

WEATHERSPOOL'S COMMENT

Dr. W. W. Weatherspool, pastor of Mount Olive Baptist Church, made the following comment after attending the morning hearing:

"The right to vote is sacred; it is the high point in anyone's citizenship. No duly qualified persons should be deprived of voting by subterfuges regardles of race, creed or color. The United Supreme Court has spoken on the right of Negroes to vote in Georgia primaries. Any attempt to keep Negroes from voting in this primary is vicious and unholy. This challenge purge attempting to keep Negroes from voting anywhere in Georgia should not be treated lightly."

Registrars Deny Race Discrimination

R. B. Pollard and George Tatum, representing the Board of Registrars of Worth county, through their attorneys, R. B. Williamson and P. B. Ford o f Sylvester and S. B. Lippitt of Albany, have filed an answer to the action brought in Federal District court asking that they be required to restore to the registration list the names of hundreds of negroes who were purged from the list after a hearing here a few days before the Democratic primary election.

In their answer the Worth county Registrars contend that they complied fully with the state laws requiring that a person challenged be given a full, complete and open hearing before action in each individual case, and that they, the registrars, neither officially nor individually discriminated against anyone because of race, color, etc.; that all persons so challenged were notified in time and were given an opportunity for a ful hearing, an adequate remedy provided by law.

The case is set for hearing before Judge Hoyt Davis, district judge, in Albany Oct. 9th.

NEGRO VOTER DISQUALIFICATION ISSUE SETTLED IN U. S. COURT

St. Simons Island, Ga., Georgian July 19, 1946

State-Wide Conspiracy Charged—Judge Scarlett Orders Names Replaced—Suggests FBI Inquiry

In a hearing before Judge Frank M. Scarlett in the U. S. District Court in Brunswick last Monday, the boards of registrars in Appling and Pierce counties were given one day in which to replace names of colored voters stricken from the registration lists in those counties. A similar ruling was made in a case in which the registrars from Coffee county appeared as defendants, and a previous temporary injunction granted July 10th was made permanent by Judge Scarlett preventing further disqualification of negro registrants in that county. In each of the three cases, the board of registrars were ordered to replace on the registration lists all names peviously removed and that correct lists be delivered to election managers in advance of last Wednesday's democratic primary.

Six hundred names of negro registrants had been stricken from the Appling county list.

Conspiracy Charged

Appearing as attorney for negro defendants in two of the counties, Aaron Kravatch, Savannah attorney, charged that the arbitrary dropping of negro registrants from the lists was part of a "state-wide conspiracy to disfranchise negro voters." Kravitch called the attention of the Court to the challenge forms being used in twenty or more counties and stated that they had been printed with the same machine, and were exact duplicates in every detail. Questioned regarding the source of the challenge forms used in Coffee county, R. V. Williams, chairman of the registrars, stated he didn't recall where he got them, but he thought they had been received from an Atlanta printer. He admitted distributing some of the forms in an adjoining county.

The challenge issued in Coffee county against 117 negro registrants were signed by Albert Kirkland, who admitted on cross-examination that he didn't know what he was signing, did not know all of the registrants he challenged, and that the list of names was given him by Williams. Michael Vickers, justice of the peace, said he signed four of the challenges.

In passing judgment on this case, Judge Scarlett recommended that the U. S. District Attorney, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation look into the matter.

Other Boards Told To Appear In Court Monday

Daily Herald, Atlanta, Ga. 7-14-46

Federal Judge Scarlett Makes Stern Ruling

Tuesday

The Board of Registrars of Atkinson County was ordered to stop their wholesale purge of Negroes from the voter's list, Saturday at Brunswick, by United States Judge Brank Scarlett. After the brief hearing the court made the temporary injunction permanent.

In Coffee County, the challenger was ordered to appear in court, Monday when the hearings are to be continued. Julian Bennett, attorney for one of the board members moved to set aside the temporary injunction but the motion was denied.

Registrars of Appling County, where 600 Negroes were stricken from the voter's list, Friday were ordered to appear in court, Monday after Aaron Kravitch, a Savannah attorney appealed to the court for an order to show the Negroes were qualified. Such an order could be followed by a petition for court enforcement. 7-14-46

HEARINGS TO CONTINUE

While hearings in the state-wide purge of Negro registrants are slated to continue Monday in 28 counties, mass challenges have been dismissed by the Board of Registrars at Griffin, (Spalding County), and at Cartersville, (Polk County).

In dismissing challenges against 200 Negroes, the Spalding County Board took the position that the challenger admitted that he did not know the individuals whose right to vote he was contesting.

Challenges were dismissed against 499 Negroes in Polk County, where the Board of Registrars ruled that the Tax Collector had carried out his duties when he qualified the voters. It was also stated that it would be impossible to serve the subpoenas and conducted the hearings in the limited time.

NOT FORCED TO ATTEND

Challenged Negroes in Lamar County were informed by the Board of Registras at Barnesville, that attendance at the hearings was not compulsory and that they did not have to answer the questions unless they desired to do so. Chairman Raymond Davis stated that it was assumed that these voters were legally registered when they signed the voter's oath.

As the hearings got underway at Baxley, the attorney for 400 challenged Negroes requested the four white challengers to state their cases. Counsel for the challengers ammended the complaint, moving that all Negroes by stricken on the grounds that they failed to take the proper oath of registration. When the attorney asked postponement in view of the amended complaint, he was given five hours. Then when the attorney and the challenged voters failed to return, the Board ordered the registrants who registered before June 24 to be stricken from the list.

Hearings were suspended at Moultrie when Bert Clark, a member of the Board resigned. C. E. McLendon who had previously termed the challenges as "nothing but political pressure and prejudice," stated that the examination could not continue until a new Board member was named.

MUST PROVE GUILT

At Barnesville, Chairman Davis stated that he was not willing to compel the defendants to prove their innocence until the challengers made some effort to prove their guilt. He also indicated that the burden of proving a Negro disqualified rests entirely upon the challenger, as the registrants was presumed to be qualified when the voter's oath with tax collector.

When the challenger J. M. Sims a Talmadge supporter, appeared before the Board, he stated that he had filed blanket charges against the entire Negro registration, without specific evidence except in a few cases.

FULTON PURGE CONTINUES

The purge will continue in Fulton County, Monday when more than 40 Negroes registrants are suppose to appear before Deputy Registrar Ellis McClelland.

FBI to Back Negro Rights In Georgia

Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va.

'Purged' Registrants Ordered Restored

Tue. 7-16-46

ATLANTA, July 15 — (AP)—The Federal government stepped in today to insure the civil rights of Negroes in a Georgia Democratic primary boiling with the heat of a "white supremacy" cry, charges of out-of-State meddling and a CIO-PAC issue.

About the time the FBI announced it was probing the primary, in which hundreds of Negro registrants have been stricken from the voting lists, a United States judge ordered 600 persons who were "purged" in a block in Appling County restored.

The judge, Frank M. Scarlett, at Brunswick, also enjoined Pierce County election officials against "illegal disqualification of any Negro from voting" between now and the primary Wednesday.

The announcement of FBI scrutiny was made by agent John T. Frost, who said he was acting on Justice Department orders to back up a Supreme Court ruling that qualified Negroes be allowed to vote. Tue. 7-16-46

The "white supremacy" cry was raised in the gubernatorial race by iron-jawed, former Governor Eugene Talmadge, who has warned "wise" Negroes to stay away from the polls. Red-gallused Talmadge also has charged "Moscow-Harlem zoot suiters" with trying to grab control of politics in Georgia.

Riot Inciting Charged

The Talmadge battle call brought a charge from two of his three opponents that he was trying to stir up race trouble and riots. These two are James V. Carmichael, wartime bomber plant manager, who has the blessing of youthful Governor Ellis Arnall, and E. D. Rivers, former Governor.

The CIO-PAC was thrust into the primary controversy by Solicitor-General Charles H. Garrett, who charged that thousands of marked ballots listing PAC-sponsored candidates were being distributed in the Macon area to influence Negro voters.

The State prosecutor branded the distribution of marked ballots "illegal and criminal," and said he was investigating.

At Atlanta, State PAC chairman C. C. Matthias said he didn't "know anything about it."

A million persons—twice as many as ever before—are registered for the red-hot primary. Included are about 135,000 Negroes and some 100,000 teen-agers enfranchised by the Arnall administration.

Congressional seats and various State offices also will be filled. So far, however, the deep interest has centered in the Governor's race.

Federal Courts Halt Georgia Negro Purge

ATLANTA — (AP) — The federal government stepped in yesterday to insure the civil rights of Negroes in a Georgia Democratic primary boiling with the heat of a "white spuremacy" cry, charges of out-of-state meddling and a CIO-PAC issue.

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The Talmadge battle call brought a charge from two of his three opponents that he was trying to stir up race trouble and riots. These two are James V. Carmichael, wartime bomber plant manager who has the blessing of youthful Gov. Ellis Arnall, and E. D. Rivers, former governor.

The fourth candidate is Hoke O'Kelley, a newcomer in politics who has done little campaigning.

The CIO-PAC was thrust into the primary controversy by Solicitor General Charles H. Garrett who charged that thousands of marked ballots listing PAC-sponsored candidates were being distributed in the Macon area to influence Negro voters.

THE STATE prosecutor branded the distribution of marked ballots "illegal and criminal" and said he was investigating.

At Atlanta, state PAC Chairman C. C. Matthias said he didn't "know anything about it."

A million persons—twice as many as ever before—are registered for the red-hot primary. Included are about 135,000 Negroes and some 100,000 teen-agers enfranchised by the Arnall administration.

Congressional seats and various state offices also will be filled. So far, however, the deep interest has centered in the governor's race.

Reinstate Purged Voters In Appling, Judge Orders

Constitution Atlanta 7-1-48

A federal judge has ordered one county to reinstate the names of 600 Negroes stricken from the registration list in a block.

Meanwhile, the Federal Bureau of Investigation announced in Atlanta yesterday it has launched an investigation into Georgia's Democratic Primary. While Special Agent John F. Trost, of the Atlanta FBI office, would not say what his office is investigating, Maj. William Spence, of the Georgia State Patrol, said he understood the FBI was looking into the possibility of violations of Negroes' civil rights in several counties.

Federal Judge Frank M. Scarlett, at Brunswick, yesterday ordered registrars of Appling County (Baxley) to return to the list of qualified voters for the primary tomorrow the names of 600 Negroes knocked off in a mass purging.

The names were stricken when a majority of the Negroes failed to appear before the Board of Registrars, which had summoned them to answer challenge of their right to vote. Several of the group who did appear were disqualified. Judge Scarlett gave the registrars until Tuesday to put the Negroes' names back on the list and certify the list to the proper county authorities.

The judge also ordered registrars of Coffee County (Douglas) to complete their list of eligible voters and turn it over to the proper County authorities by Tuesday.

Judge Scarlett Saturday enjoined the mass purging of Negroes in Atkinson County.

Federal District Attorneys Neil Andrews in Atlanta, John Cowart in Macon, and J. Saxton Daniel in Savannah have announced they received numerous complaints of alleged violations of Negroes' civil rights.

Maj. Spence of the State Patrol said he anticipates no disorders when the Negroes go to the polls Wednesday.

Another half dozen Negroes were disqualified from voting yesterday by Fulton County Deputy Registrar Ellis McClelland, and it appeared likely that, so far as the July 17 primary is concerned, no more would be marked off the lists, since the lists must be in the hands of the precinct managers by tonight.

Of the 28 disqualified out of 81 challenges heard, all but six were marked off because of criminal records. Attorneys Charles Bruce and Ike Wengrow questioned those challenged yesterday.

The total number registered to vote in Fulton County yesterday was 122,119, of which 22,765 are Negroes.

M. L. ST. JOHN

Young Liberals Ask For a Better Georgia

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

I went to a strange meeting the other night. A group of about a dozen young men and young women from different sections of the State gathered here with stars in their eyes and idealism in their souls and decided to do something about the political mess in Georgia. Their sole ambition is to do something not from their own or anyone else's personal political advantage, but for the advancement of this State. They want to develop new leaders in Georgia politics. They want to clean up politics. They want to make government more efficient. They want to install more liberal leaders.

The Young Voters of Georgia—for that is their name—are practical enough to realize they cannot wield much influence in this summer's primary. They are taking the long view on Georgia's future. They are not concerned with one election or one candidate. They are writing a platform by which they will measure candidates in elections for years to come. As an organization, the Young Voters of Georgia will be non-partisan. It will not indorse nor condemn any particuluar candidate. But it will encourage its members, acting as individual citizens, to measure all candidates by the organization's constitution and then vote for the one who, in the individual's opinion, is the best fitted to give the city, county, or State the best government. It will encourage its members to exercise their duties as citizens and become a voting generation. It also will encourage its members to run for offices themselves—but without expectation of getting the indorsement of the non-partisan organization as a group. Sun 4-14-46

That is the program these young men and women out of college only a few years, or still in college, hope to sell to upwards of a half-million potential young Georgia voters. Leaders of the Young Voters of Georgia are confident that young people believe sufficiently in Georgia to donate their time and energies to improving its government and citizenship.

Skeptic Is Convinced Having watched hotel room maneuvers of Legislators and seen political candidates plant student organizations in schools to promote their candidacies, I watched the leaders of the Young Voters of Georgia very carefully for some indication as to "what and who is back of this high-sounding movement." I heard of the plans for its organization two weeks before the group met. I investigated the chief leader, J. D. Cherry, a former school teacher and a Navy veteran. I found no political tie-up between him and any potential candidate. When the organizational meeting was called, it did not follow the pattern a more experienced political gathering would have followed. It would have been more natural for the leaders to have held a caucus and decided what they wanted to do, without being watched by outsiders. But Cherry invited representatives of all the press to the first meeting, and the session was wide open.

If I were a political figure supporting this organization, even from behind the scenes, I would have made it possible for the young people to have been dinner guests. This was not done. The young idealists paid their own transportation fares from their home towns to Atlanta and met at a dinner hour without a table laid.

You should have heard their discussions on finances. A cynic would have sworn they still believed in Santa Claus. First, they discussed putting up $1.50 to pay for the stamps for the news releases they were mailing to the newspapers. That doesn't sound like they had a sugar daddy in the background somewhere. Then they talked about the possibility of dues. They mentioned $1 a year. But some thought that would discourage the masses of young people in the country from joining. They knew the young people would contribute their time and energies, because they had that. But they weren't sure but what the youths would hesitate to put up a dollar for such an intangible thing as improving Georgia citizenship and government. So, one lad mentioned the possibility of accepting contributions from older business leaders. Sun 4-14-46

The idealists acted like a bombshell had been dropped in their meeting. They didn't want to be tainted by filthy lucre. They didn't want to be bought, either directly or indirectly, by any businessman or prospective candidate for office. They want the young people to be independent. They instructed their constitution drafters to write it in the organization's rules that the Young Voters of Georgia will be financed by young members.

That's what I have learned of this new organization. If it should come out and indorse any candidate, I will be greatly shocked. I would be more inclined to think that some political figure had slipped in and stolen the group, rather than that the group was organized from its inception as a tool of some political figure. It will be interesting to watch its development.

Voters Out in I

Iowa Register

Iowa citizens surprised the most optimistic by turning out in large numbers to vote in the primaries Monday. Gov. Blue, seeking nomination for a second term rolled up a substantial lead over George Olmsted; most incumbents at the state house except Secretary of State Ropes won by handsome majorities. Des Moines Iowa.

The Republicans may well take comfort in the large number of votes cast, thus indicating that Iowa has made little change in its political complexion. Ther. 6-6-46

There is further encouragement to the almost immediate pledge of George Olmsted that he would abide the decision of the voters and support the Republican ticket this fall.

LOUISIANA NEGROES APATHETIC TO VOTE

The Times

Leader Reports That Only 5% of 100,000 Eligible Enrolled in Democratic Primaries

New York, N. Y.

SAYS JOB BARRIERS STAND

Thurs. 11-28-46

Cites Negro Veteran Training Which 'Ignores Expansion of Industry and Commerce'

By GEORGE STREATOR

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 27—The return of the Negro veteran has not "upset the apple cart in Louisiana," Negro leaders said today.

In spite of the separation of more than 22,000 Negro veterans from the services in New Orleans alone, neither the industrial nor the political patterns have been changed, Clarence A. Laws, executive secretary of the New Orleans Urban League declared.

"The soldier looked to the citizenry to open up opportunities for the veterans," Mr. Laws said.

"New Orleans Negroes apparently expected the returned service man to push vigorously for economic and political rights. Both sides have cause for disappointment."

Mr. Laws, who served in the armed forces overseas and returned with the rank of captain, said that only 5,000 Negroes of more than 100,000 potential voters were registered for the Democratic primaries.

Says Discrimination Continues

"The Negro veteran does not appear to be interested in politics, probably convinced that the community is not interested in him. Job discrimination continues, and the training program that we heard so much about before V-J Day has certainly not materialized in New Orleans."

About 600 Negro veterans are in training and these "for the traditional jobs," he continued. "Barriers have not been broken down in any jobs previously closed to us. The training program for Negroes has ignored the expansion of industry and commerce. The Louisiana State Department Service continues to ignore the Negro's capabilities."

In some of the classes, he said, veterans and high school students are being trained in the same classes. Courses in carpentry, bricklaying, automobile mechanics—which absorbs over half the trainees—shoe repair, barbering, painting and printing "are good in themselves, but not adequate for our industrial needs," he said.

Monroe T. Stringer, assistant business manager of the AFL construction workers union, said that membership dropped from 11,000 to 3,000 at the end of ship building. White membership which declined from half to less than 10 per cent during the war, now numbers about 15 per cent.

Several AFL Unions "Mixed"

He said that AFL unions in New Orleans have "improved," although the plumbers, steam fitters, electricians, machinists, sheet metal workers and the typographical trades still barred Negroes. Several AFL unions are "mixed," he said. He named the bricklayers, who have a Negro president, the plasterers, teamsters, cement finishers, rodmen, latherers, roofers, tugboat men and the ladies' garment workers as "satisfactory."

The ship carpenters, which were mixed, and the boilermakers, which had an auxiliary lodge for Negroes, have both "disappeared" as far as Negroes are concerned, he added.

He said that Negro union members "on the whole, are willing to go down the line with John L. Lewis."

A. W. Dent, president of Dillard University, said that veterans returning this year "are no problem, since most of them either studied here before the war or planned entering college when called into service." A total of 542 students are enrolled in Dillard, of whom 199 are men. Of these, 118 are veterans, he said.

Louisiana Negroes Vote In Primary, But Lack Leadership

The Informer Houston, Texas

2-16-46

NEW ORLEANS—The departure of Negroes from traditional political party affiliation was definitely shown here on January 22 when more than 3,000 Negroes voted in the Democratic primary which selected the nominees for municipal offices. It was proved on that day that Negroes of this city who had previously cast their lots with the Republican Party are beginning to realize the advantage of using the right of franchise as a medium of exchange in order to attain the goal of full citizenship. And it proved that Negroes are not immutably committed to any one party but will consider each party's offerings and affiliate where most benefits are likely.

It is also significant that while 3,000 Negroes voted in the municipal Democratic primary, which in this city is tantamount to election, the winner was elected by a scant 2,048 majority. This means that Negro Democrats--had they been solidly organized--could have swung the election either way thus, for the first time in the history of New Orleans, Negroes held the balance of power in a Democratic primary. But they were not organized. 2-16-46

Here in New Orleans, an organization of white Democrats, the Choctaw Club, more popularly known as the "Old Regulars", had been so solidly organized that since 1925 it has named those who govern the city. The success of this organization was unity of purpose. Despite many disputes within its ranks, the Old Regular organization always managed to present a solid front to the general public and when election days came its followers "went down the line" for whatever candidate the group have chosen to support. In addition to having controlled the city government since 1925, this group had, with the exception of four years, been in power since 1912. But in 1945, internal strife entered the ranks of the group with such fury that the public came to the conclusion that the organization was no longer solid. Leaders overconfident of the group's ability and influence, considered other candidates of little importance despite the record-breaking registration and its possibilities. And so when the counting of ballots for the Democratic primary was concluded, the Old Regulars were out and the Independents of Progressives were in the City Hall.

Whether Negroes are Republicans, Democrats, Socialists on Independents, they should be organized; should have definite aims policies, and LEADERS. In the recent primary, the back doors of the City Hall and political headquarters were cluttered daily with self- styled leaders of the Negro Democrats. More than half-dozen self styled leaders went about the business of promising to deliver the Negro vote bag and baggage. In fact, it was learned that one of the self-styled leaders was not even registered as a Democrat-nor was he registered AT ALL. But seeing the opportunity to lead "his people", he did not let such a small factor as registration stand in the way of his ambition. Unconfirmed reports, too, were that much money changed hands in consideration of certain services; that the payoffs were "backhanded," of course, and in cash so that there wouuld be no records. These reports are numerous but are, naturally, hard to prove.

2-16-46

It cannot be denied that there was no unified leadership of Negro Democrats and it is no secret that Negro votes in the primary were not cast along any definite plan nor with any definite point in view. Each of the self-styled leaders of the Negro Democrats, it is likely, had some ulterior motive. But, it is not significant that not one of those prominent during the campaign had ever before been publicly identified as a Negro Democratic Leader?

In a democracy, it is admitted that there is not even need of any groups within the accepted political parties. Then, too, any group or party formed along racial or religious lines in repulsive and contrary to Americanism. But, it is a known fact that in this section of the country such practices are popular and considered by some as indispensable. It is, therefore, necessary that Negroes, excluded for no fault of their own from these already-organized groups operating within political parties, should definitely organize if they wish to make their voting strength felt and if they wish to obtain the greatest possible benefits.

To do this, there should be a definite leader chosen. This business of having a half-dozen self-styled leaders, each working for personal recognition, and promising to deliver the Negro vote is not only wholesome but casts an unfavorable light on the entire race and was one of the reasons that hastened the disfranchisement of Negroes in Louisiana just around the turn of the century.

Unions Help Negroes Vote

P. M. New York, N.Y.

Thurs 7-4-46

Special Correspondence

NEW ORLEANS, July 4.—The People's Defense League, sponsored by local CIO and AFL unions, has launched an intensive drive to register 50,000 New Orleans Negroes for the Louisiana primaries in September.

According to Ernest J. Wright, league director, already 2000 Negroes are on the rolls. The League is maintaining 10 "voter schools" to instruct Negroes on how to surmount the barriers erected in their path by many local registrars.

The most troublesome requirement encountered thus far, Wright said, has been the demand that a new voter be accompanied by two registered voters from his own ward and precinct.

He said that many registrars, by invoking technicalities, hope that the applicant will give up. If a Negro fails to fill out a questionnaire to the precise satisfaction of the registrar, Wright said, he is rejected. Thurs 7-4-46

As an example, he pointed out that the questionnaire contains the statement: "My color is ——." The correct answer is "Col." If the applicant fills in "Negro" or "black" or "brown," Wright charged, he is disqualified.

Urge Negroes To Register Here

Louisiana Weekly New Orleans, La.

It takes more than a Supreme Court decision to guarantee the right to vote. Before a large number of Negroes can exercise the privilege they have got to be registered, and registering in the south is a complicated process especially when a generous portion of prejudice is added. 6-22-46

To make sure that the recent fight to outlaw discrimination will not go for naught several organizations are assisting those who want to register. The NAACP has long urged that every one register. They have given help to many who sought instruction.

What promises to be the most effective registering aid, however, is the various project organizations like the Lafitte Civic Association which averages 25 registrations per week. The Association, under the direction of R. B. Delahoussaye, Association president and active member of the NAACP, has divided the Lafitte project into six blocks. Two or more tenants who are familiar with registering methods are in charge of each block. The Association has 100% registration of eligible project tenants as its goal. Sat 6-22-46

Similar plans are under way in the other projects. The one in the Calliope project, under the direction of C. J. Williams, president of the Calliope Community Association, is aiding not only project tenants but anyone in the community who seeks help. Altogether the four projects hold about seven or eight thousand prospective voters. 6-22-46

Even with such effective organizations as these it will take a long time to develop the voting habit. Not until the majority of southern Negroes really want to vote and are willing to face and overcome the delays and inconveniences resulting from the prejudice of white registrars will the weight of this vote be felt.

In New Orleans 2,000 persons out of a total colored population of 165,000 have registered. In Florida 32,000 Negroes voted, in Alabama 23,000 exercised their constitutional right. These figures represent a substantial gain, of course, but not until ten times this number of people realize the importance of the vote will the Bilbos, Eastlands, and Rankins be ousted.

Asked Irrevelent Questions While Trying To Register

The Weekly New Orleans, La.

Cards Torn Up Upon Failure to Answer

Sat. 8-10-46

'We Are Our Leaders'

Referred to NAACP For Legal Assistance

While the war was still being fought a good deal of talk circulated about the part the returned veteran would play in politics. Ten million men would be united by a common bond stronger than that had ever been known before. They would not accept complacent leadership. They would fight for clean politics. With the war almost a year old these predictions seem to be coming true if the "election" battle in Tennessee recently is any indication of things to come.

Last week four veterans who were being given the run-around at the Houma, Louisiana, registration office were told to seek advice from their leaders. They replied cooly, "We are our leaders."

The four men were Harold and Roy Ringo, Eddie Lewis and Silas Green. When they tried to register they were asked such questions as, "Who is the vice-president of the United States?", "Who is our congressman from Louisiana?", "Who is the judge of Orleans Parish?", "Did your father vote?" When the men didn't answer these questions the registrar told them they could not register and tore up their cards.

They were sent to the sheriff who said he had no jurisdiction and sent the men back to the registration office accompanied by a deputy. They were told to talk to their leaders. The registrar probably referred to the reactionary Houma church leaders who told their congregations not to incur it will by trying to register.

The veterans have since contacted the Peoples Defense League. League director Ernest J. Wright has referred them to the NAACP for legal aid.

The action of these men followed close on the heels of huge riots in Tennessee where hundreds of white veterans backed up their demands for a clean administration with guns and bombs. These men had organized themselves and found leadership among their own ranks. They knew what they wanted and they knew how to get it. The Weekly

Progressive leaders realize this determination on the part of veterans to solidify the things for which they fought. They realize, too, the great hypocrisy in denying these things to veterans who happen to be Negroes living in the south. Senator Alben Barkley, speaking to an Ohio audience last week said: New Orleans

"The United States should be setting an example to the rest of the world, but until every man who fights for his country, regardless of race, color or creed or what part of the country he lives in, has equal employment and voting rights with his fellow men, we are failing in our duty as leaders."

Party to Fight Negroes' Suits

(Reprinted Fr ... tion)

Baton Rouge, La., July 2.—(AP)— The Louisiana Democratic State Central Committee today formally approved the action of its officers in employing counsel to defend a voting registrar in a suit brought by a Negro, and voted authority for future employment of attorneys "as necessary."

Action on employment of counsel followed a speech by State Representative Sevier, of Madison, a member of the committee, in which he said that "every registrar of voters in Louisiana sooner or later will have to defend a lawsuit."

"These officers posts, with a second primary October 15 if necessary. The committee continued. "This committee should assume the responsibility of raising all necessary funds."

The committee set September 10 as the date of a primary for nomination of candidates for Congress, and other officers, and voted to do so personally." The general election is November 5.

Why They Are Opposed

The Informer
Houston Texas Sat. 9-28-46

From New Orleans in recent weeks have come news items about the steady increase in registered Negro voters and also about the jitters which are being built up in some white quarters, lest the Negro should become a fully enfranchised citizen. One of the hate-mongering newspaper articles even had the audacity to complain because New Orleans Negroes "for the first time" had been permitted to use the tax-built and tax-supported city auditorium. Said the hate article: "For the first time since it was constructed some 15 years ago, the New Orleans Municipal Auditorium was used Sunday night, August 18, for an all-Negro entertainment."

That tips their hand and shows why these hate-mongers are opposed to having Negroes as a part of the enfranchised electorate of the community. In a word they want the tax dollars of New Orleans and other Southern places to be spent not for the benefit of the entire community, but for that particular part of the community which they want to enjoy these benefits. They know that, if the Negro votes, he will in time have access to city auditoriums and other community benefits that come from spending the tax dollars of the community. And the hate-mongers just don't want Negroes to have any equal share in the benefits of these tax dollars, and that is why they are opposed.

Danville Va Reg
Sept 6, 1946

Negroes To Test Vote In Louisiana Election

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 5.—(AP)—Negroes, until recently barred by party rules from voting in the Democratic primary in the Far South, will test their strength at the ballot box in Louisiana next Tuesday in a congressional primary.

But the Negro vote in Louisiana as in the July 2 Mississippi primary, will be negligible by comparison with the white vote, since so few Negroes have qualified to vote.

A nearly complete estimate of the vote in the six Louisiana congressional districts, where contests will be staged in Tuesday's Democratic primary, showed only about ,000 Negroes registered among a otal of more than 400,000 registrations.

Daniel E. Byrd, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, estimated that the Negro vote would run "not over 7,000," in the combined districts, which normally poll more than 350,000 votes.

ting Negroes from Said Not Matter ics or Justice

x Bridge, La., Sept. 30 (AP) ng negroes from partici- in Democratic primary is not a matter of ethics e in the opinion of Congressman James Domengeaux (D-La) of Lafayette.

Speaking here yesterday at a homecoming for veterans of World War II, he said:

"This is a practical question and not one of ethics or justice. It is obvious why a 10-year-old boy is not given the right to vote. A race having such adolescent development would endanger our civilization and retard our government for many years if the franchise rights were allowed them."

He added that the negro is "not yet ready for citizenship in Louisiana, and the right-thinking people, of all political factions, will see to it by legal means that the negro will not be allowed to participate in Democratic primary elections."

7-13-46

AMERICA REVISITED

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

New Orleans Lags In Fight

By ENOC P. WATERS JR.

NEW ORLEANS—There is optimism here that Negroes will soon join the police force, but apportionment of other jobs and city supported facilities to Negroes is appallingly low.

Although the ratio of Negroes to whites in this town of half a million is roughly one to two, Negroes are allowed use of only one-tenth of all public recreational facilities. The inequities also are apparent in education, housing and other publicity services.

It is the opinion of most Negro leaders here that these disparities can be corrected through intelligent use of the ballot. Yet in no city I have visited on this tour has there been a poorer response to efforts urging Negroes to fight for votes.

Oddly enough New Orleans Negroes were among the firs. in recent times to launch a vigorous campaign to secure voting rights. In 1940, four years before the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the primary case, 500 Negroes under the leadership of militant Ernest Wright marched to the Orleans Parish Courthouse to register. Shortly thereafter the enthusiasm aroused by the demonstration was diverted by a strike that culminated in the arrest of Wright and Zack Ramsey, president of the United Office and Professional Workers Union (CIO) who had been active in the labor dispute. Before the attention of the people could be redirected to the necessity for registering, the war broke out. However, during the war, charges were filed in federal court by Ed Hall against T. J. Nagel, a registrar in St. John Parish who had refused to allow Negroes to register. Handled by A. P. Tureaud, Joseph A. Thornton, and Thurgood Marshall, NAACP attorneys, the case was carried to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals after the district court dismissed it. A recent decision on the appeal calls for a hearing of the charges in the district court.

2000 Registered

According to recent estimates about 200 Negroes are registered voters in New Orleans. As is customary in a few places in the South, a token number of Negroes has always been allowed to qualify for for the ballot. The number of token voters here was 750 when the poll tax was abolished during the Huey Long regime. This means that hardly more than 1,250 Negroes have been registered since 1940. Even with the NAACP, the Urban League, the Knights of Peter Claver, the Peoples' Defense League, the two local Negro weeklies, the "Louisiana Weekly" and the "Sentinel," and other civic minded organizations conducting programs to arouse the masses to vote, the response has been slowed down.

It is estimated that 5,000 Negroes have sought to register here since 1940, but that only one out of every five has been permitted to qualify. Grady Farley, industrial secretary of the local Urban League, visited the registrar's office 20 consecutive days, each time filling out an application that was rejected with the explanation that it was not made out to the satisfaction of the registrar. Upon his return from a trip he again went to the office of the registrar who recognized him and inquired about his absence. "I concluded," Farley told him, "that I must be a pretty dumb man when I can't fill out one of these blanks, so I went to summer school to get some more education."

Farley Registered

The registrar gave him another blank, his 21st. Farley filled it out as he had all the others. After looking it over, the registrar informed him that it met with his approval and that his voting credentials would be mailed him.

Illegal techniques of registrars do not account in full for the low Negro registration. There is a noticeable apathy among Negroes themselves, and there are a number of reasons for this. According to leaders in the community, one is lack of forceful incentive, many say, because of the easy intercourse between the races.

It is also pointed out that Negroes here are victims of a civic paternalism through which they receive a minimum share of public facilities and services without having to demand them. The result is a peculiar personal relationship between some individuals and city officials. There has been a tendency to rely upon the influence of persons having an "in" rather than upon mass organization. I was told of "leaders" in the community who are convinced that a voting campaign would antagonize city officials and alienate some of the "good white friends."

Catholic Church Noncommittal

It is the belief of some here that the Catholic church, to which 30 per cent of the Negroes belong, could do much to stimulate registration. At present the Knights of Peter Claver are conducting registration classes with Raymond Floyd as instructor at Holy Ghost School hall and Fr. Vincent J. O'Connell, of Notre Dame Seminary, has evinced an interest in civic affairs. For the most part, however, the Catholic church has been noncommittal while several Protestant ministers have been very active. The individual credited with doing the best job in urging Negroes to register is Ernest Wright, CIO organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. Wright has developed a mass organization of more than 3,000 persons known as the Negro Defense League which has voting as its chief objective.

NAACP Committee

The local NAACP has a registration committee headed by W. S. Augustine, that has been active, mostly in Protestant churches.

The Urban League, headed by Clarence Laws, has a stock of sample registration blanks that are used in its instructional program. The "Sentinel's" John E. Rousseau, and C. C. DeJoie Jr., of the "Weekly" have given full support to these efforts in addition to publishing editorials designed to awaken the people.

As this story was being written (June 29) renewed efforts were being made by all groups to intensify their drives. But no suggestion as yet has been made of a city-wide non partisan, undenominational committee that would cut across caste, class, religious and party lines to spearhead the movement.

Miss. Legislature Now Concerned Over Negro Vote

Atlanta Daily World, Ga.
Sat 3-2-46

JACKSON, Miss.—(SNS)—The State Legislature now in session here showed its concern over the prospects of Negro voting in the state by the appointment of a five-man committee last week to study remedies necessary to bring the constitution of the state in line with the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court respecting Negro voting in the so-called White Democratic Primaries of the South.

The appointment of the Committee is said to have resulted from a petition presented to the Governor and the Legislature by a state-wide Negro Mass Meeting held in Jackson earlier in which reference was made to the continued denial of the right to vote to Negro Citizens of the state.

NEGRO VOTE RIGHT IN MISSISSIPPI PLEA

Age Herald

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 25—(AP)—Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council, said today he had sent a telegram to President Truman asking that Mississippi Negroes be given the right to vote in that state's Democratic elections.

Brown said the telegram read in part: Tues 2-26-46

"We insist that 100,000 Negro veterans of Mississippi and their families have full opportunity to make certain thedefeat of Sen. Bilbo, who is campaigning for reelection in the coming primaries."

Negroes Ask For Troops To Guard Vote Rights

Montgomery Ala.

CHICAGO, April 28.—(AP)—The National Negro Council today sent a telegram to President Truman asking that U. S. troops be sent to Mississippi "to guarantee 100,000 Negro veterans and their families constitutional right to vote" in the coming Democratic primary.

The telegram, signed by Edgar G. Brown, council director, was drafted at the group's convention. Mon 4-29-46

Brown said the council also had raised from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 its goal of petition signers to impeach Senator Theodore Bilbo (D), Mississippi.

Negro Voting Is Object Of Mississippi Group

Birmingham Ala.

JACKSON, Miss., May 18—(AP)—Further plans to assure qualified Negroes the right to vote in Mississippi Democratic primary July 2 weer under discussion here yesterday at a meeting sponsored by the Mississippi Progressive Voters League. 5-18-46

More than two score Negro leaders, most of them from the delta and northeast area of the state, attended the two-day meeting. A nine-man committee was named yesterday to study a proposal to raise $20,000 to test in court any refusals of Circuit Court clerks to register qualified Negroes.

Percy Green, Negro editor of Jackson, told the meeting that the Negroes did not want to dominate the white race and could not if they desired. He said they merely want to join the white voters in giving Mississippi good government.

Another plan adopted provided for the formation of county units of the league in each congressional district, with the units to conduct voting schools to teach Negroes how and where to qualify to vote.

Any refusal on the part of a Circuit Court clerk to register qualified Negroes would be reported to the federal Department of Justice, the delegates were told. Sat. 5-18-46

NEGROES TO SEEK BIG PRIMARY VOTE

Birmingham Ala.

JACKSON, Miss., May 16—(AP)—More than two score Negro leaders laid plans today to assure qualified Negroes the right to vote in the Democratic Party primary July 2 and to teach others to become qualified.

They came mostly from the Delta and Northeast Mississippi, where the Negro population is in the majority, but there were a few from scattered points in the Southern section of the state.

A nine-man committee was named to study a proposal to raise $20,000 over the state with which to test in court any refusals by Circuit Court clerks to register qualified Negroes. The committee is to report tomorrow. Fri. 5-17-46

Percy Green, Negro editor of The Jackson Advocate, called on the group to act now to get Negroes registered so they can vote July 2.

He said the Negroes do not want to dominate the white race and could not if they desired, but merely want to join with the white voters in giving Mississippi good government.

Negro Says He Was Beaten

JACKSON, Miss., June 22—(AP)—B. B. Dansby, registrar at Jackson College for Negroes and a notary public, said today he had notarized an affidavit from Etoy Fletcher, Negro World War II veteran, to the effect Fletcher was beaten by unknown parties June 2 in Brandon, Rankin County, because he had attempted to register to vote.

Dansby said he did not recall all the details of the affidavit.

Justice Department Checks Mississippi Vote Complaints

Newark Star-Eagle
Wed 6-25-46

Washington, June 24.—(U.P.): Assistant Attorney General Theran L. Caudle revealed tonight that he is checking into complaints of anti-negro activities in connection with Mississippi's July 2 primary election.

He said that numerous complaints of racial abuses had been received and are being investigated to determine whether the justice department should take action. Newark

He made his statement after the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People submitted an affidavit by Etoy Fletcher, of Puckett, Miss., negro war veteran, who claimed he was flogged while attempting to register in Rankin county. Charleston S.C.

Two advocates of white supremacy are among the candidates up for reelection in the primary. They are Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, and Representative John E. Rankin, Democrat, who recently recommended to Mississippi negroes that they remain away from the polls. Gadsden

Caudle's statement recalled that last Friday night Attorney General Tom C. Clark told the Chicago Bar association that they would use "every force at my command to see to it that in the primaries and forthcoming elections, no American citizen will be deprived of his vote because of his race or color".

Fletcher charged that when he went to the circuit clerk at Brandon, Miss., and asked to be allowed to register, he was directed by the clerk to the "gentleman in charge of veterans matters" Peoria

There, the affidavit said, Fletcher was told that "niggers are not allowed to vote in Rankin county, and if you don't want to get into serious trouble get out of this building and don't mention voting any more."

Later, while waiting for a bus, Fletcher said, he was forced into an automobile by four men who drove him into a wooded area, stripped him and flogged him with a heavy wire cable. Gua. 6-25-46

He said the men told him he would be killed if he again attempted to vote.

THE DEEP SOUTH

Negroes Ready for First Vote in Mississippi Primary

Times

By GEORGE W. HEALY Jr.

NEW ORLEANS, June 8—Mississipians are observing calmly, if not happily, the passing of their traditional "white primary." Sun.

For the first time, Negroes are preparing to vote in numbers in a Mississippi Democratic primary to nominate a United States Senator. The vote will be on July 2, and candidates are Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Tom Q. Ellis, former Representative Ross Collins, former Lieut. Comdr. Nelson Levings and former State Senator Frank Harper. 6-9-46

Experts among the State's political observers predict a vote of 250,000 in the primary. Just how many of these voters will be Negroes is anybody's guess. It's not likely that the Negro vote will run into five figures.

Right now several organizations are making efforts to qualify Negro war veterans as Democratic voters, particularly in urban communities. Most active of these organizations is called the Mississippi Progressive Voters' League, which has been campaigning for a heavy Negro vote in Jackson, the State's capital and largest city.

A primary which had the earmarks of a dress rehearsal of the election of July 2 was Tuesday's balloting in Pass Christian, a resort city on the Mississippi gulf coast. About 10 per cent of the 800 Pass Christian citizens who voted in the city election were Negroes. One election commissioner, contending that he did not agree with other commissioners that Negroes should be permitted to vote, refused to serve. 6-9-46

Mississippi Voting Rumors Investigated

Birmingham News
Birmingham Ala.

WASHINGTON, June 28—(AP)—A double-barreled inquiry was under way today into reports that there are plans to deprive Negroes of their vote in Mississippi's senatorial primary, where Sen. Bilbo (D.) is running for renomination.

A meeting of the Senate privileges and elections committee was called for tomorrow to consider assertions that some elements in Mississippi would attempt to deny the polls to the Negroes, including war veterans. News

Sen. Smith (R., N. J.) told a newsman the Federal Bureau of Investigation also was inquiring into the reports and had agreed to pass its information along to the Senate group. Gua 6-28-46

Miss. Voters' Bid For Ballot May End Bilbo Reign

Bulletin

JACKSON, Miss. — The re-election hopes of Sen. Theodore Bilbo (D., Miss.) dimmed last week when Negro political leaders here announced that anyone attempting to prevent Negroes from voting in the July 2 Democratic primary will be challenged.

The announcement came after a meeting here last week for the Mississippi Chapter of the Progressive Voters' League. During the session, attended by some of the state's leading clergymen and newspaper editors, a committee was named to raise a $20,000 Negro vote campaign fund. Percy Green, editor of the Jackson Advocate, is chairman of the fund committee. He stated that the fund will be used to legally prosecute any election official who refuses qualified Negro voters the right to register for the primary, as well as to educate Negroes in the qualifications for voting. 5-25-46

T. B. Wilson, president of the Mississippi Chapter of the Progressive Voters' League, told delegates to the meet: "Let this issue come to a head in Mississippi as it has in other southern states." Chicago, Ill.

Bilbo Calls It "Doom"

Representatives of the Voters' League revealed that the state's requirement to register is that the applicant must be able to read and interpret any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar. Asked if whites had to undergo such tests, they replied that the tests were intended to deny the ballot to Negroes. "Whites do not have to submit to educational quizzes," it was pointed out.

Hearing of the move afoot to unseat him, Senator Bilbo said in his opening campaign speech: "I am thoroughly alarmed over the doom threatening my white race."

Protests Deluge Clark Over Bilbo Threats

Daily Tribune
Chicago Ill.

Attorney General Thomas Clark has been deluged with demands that he act against Sen. Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi whose threat of violence against Negroes who seek to vote has aroused national indignation.

The Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions yesterday addressed identical telegrams to President Truman and Attorney General Clark inquiring "what action the federal government plans to institute to protect the voting rights of all Mississippi citizens in Tuesday's primaries." 6-29-46

Signed by Jo Davidson, chairman of the ICC, the telegram cited the case of Etoy Fletcher, a Negro veteran who was brutally assaulted when he tried to register at Brandon, Miss.

Clark, three days ago in a Chicago speech, warned of a crackdown on progressive - labor vice of his anti-union bills and the Truman's anti-union of his breaking of the inspiration of the rail strike. 6-29-46

The Independent Citizens Committee of the United Negro and Allied Veterans urged Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary next Tuesday, acting chairman of the Federal Communications Commission asking what steps were being taken against those radio stations which carried Bilbo's invitation to violence of the Democratic primary next Tuesday. Daily Tribune

On still another case, the murder last Saturday of the Ferguson brothers in Freeport, L. I., Clark was yesterday accused of failure "to act in a case of violation of the 14th ammend-

RALLY NEGRO VETS 6-29-46

From Chicago, Commander Ken-

Reign of Terror in Mississippi

NEGRO WOMAN BEATEN; VET IS MISSING

JACKSON, Miss., June 27 (UP).—A Negro editor asserted yesterday that Negroes were living under a "reign of terror" in nearby Brandon, Miss., where a Negro veteran charged he was flogged for attempting to register to vote.

Percy Green, editor of the **Jackson Advocate, charged that a Negro woman was beaten Sunday night by white men in "a second case" of recent violence in Brandon.**

BARRED FROM THE STREETS

Green reported that the floggers told the woman, Matilda Pinckney, that **"they were not going to allow Negroes on the streets after dark."**

The sheriff's office in Brandon, however, said it has received no report of such a case.

The 43-year-old woman was so badly beaten, Green said, that she had to remain in bed in her Brandon home and could not be removed to a Jackson hospital.

Meanwhile, Green said he had joined Jackson College authorities in a personal search for Etoy Fletcher, 22-year-old Negro war veteran, who charged in an affidavit that he had been flogged with a cable for trying to register to vote in the Rankin County town, 12 miles from here.

Fletcher was said to have remained away from Jackson College, where he is enrolled, since the account of the affidavit was published last Saturday.

The newspaper editor said it now had become difficult to get any information from Brandon Negroes because of the "reign of terror" he claimed was in progress.

JACKSON, MISS.—(SNS)—

Protesting "the organized effort to prevent Negro citizens, including veterans, from registering to vote in the July 2 Mississippi Democratic primary elections," CIO Political Action Committee Chairman Sidney Hillman yesterday called on President Truman for speedy action to "halt this violation of the constitutional rights of American citizens."

Mr. Hillman, in his wire to the President, cited reports from Mississippi that Etoy Fletcher, Negro veteran, was denied the right to register and was severly beaten following his attempt to have his name placed on the roll of electors. The CIO PAC head further charged that the situation had been made worse by the "mad rantings of Senator Bilbo, who in a recent radio broadcast virtually appealed for mob action to prevent voting by Negroes." In the broadcast to which Mr. Hillman referred, Sen. Bilbo exhorted the "red-blooded Anglo-Saxon" men of Mississippi to "resort to any means" to keep Negroes from the polls.

Mr. Hillman also dispatched telegrams to U. S. Attorney General Tom C. Clark, stating that "election officials and others in Mississippi . . . are resorting to violence to prevent registration and voting by Negro citizens, including veterans" and urging that "immedaite steps be taken to apprehend those who tamper with our democratic electoral system," and to Federal Communications Commission Chairman Charles R. Denny, Jr., stating that Sen. Bilbo's broadcast was an "abuse of the radio" and requesting a thorough investigation "to protect the people of Mississippi against such inflammatory statements in the future."

The texts of the wires follow:

To President Truman:

"Reports from Mississippi indicate organized effort to prevent Negro citizens including veterans, from registering to vote in Democratic primary on July 2nd. According to these reports Etoy Fletcher, Negro veteran, was denied the right to register at Brandon and was severely beaten following his attempt to have his name placed on the roll of electors. The situation in that state has been further complicated for mob action to prevent voting by Negroes. In view of the Supreme Court decision outlawing the "white" primary, I respectfully urge prompt action to halt this violation of the constitutional rights of American citizens. If this defiance of the law of the land is not promptly suppressed we may expect a reign of terror in Mississippi and other states where effort is being made to circumvent the Supreme Court decision."

To U. S. Attorney General Tom C. Clark:

"Defying the authority of the United States government, election officials and others in Mississippi, prompted by the mad rantings of Senator Bilbo and Congressman Rankin, are resorting to violence to prevent registration and voting by Negro citizens, including veterans. In view of the constitutional guarantees and the Supreme Court decision outlawing the "white" primary may I urge you to take immediate steps to apprehend those who tamper with our Democratic electoral system. The right to vote is basic. The responsibility for upholding that right is the federal government's."

To Charles R. Denny, Jr., Federal Communications Commission chairman:

"According to reports published in Sunday's papers, Senator Theodore Bilbo has used the radio to broadcast a speech calculated to incite white Mississippians to violence against Negro citizens to prevent them from voting in Democratic primary on July 2. The senator's speech as reported is a clear appeal to the lynch spirit. If violence flares anew in that state, Senator Bilbo should be held accountable. I urge you to make a thorough investigation of this abuse of the radio and to take steps to protect the people of Mississippi against such inflammatory statements in the future."

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ment to the constitution."

The charge was made by the New York Committee for Justice in Freeport.

"Facts disclosed by the investigation did not reveal the violation of any Federal Criminal Statute," Clark had said.

The Freeport Committee cited the case of a Negro killed in Baker County, Georgia by Sheriff Screws. In a decision handed down in May, 1945, the Supreme Court ruled that the sheriff was guilty under Federal statutes, because the Negro was deprived of his life without due process of law.

Dorothy Langston, executive secretary of the Freeport Committee informed Clark the Committee would continue its campaign for pressure on Dewey and on Clark to correct this "miscarriage of justice."

A protest by Sen. Glen Taylor (D-Idaho) against Bilbo's incitement to violence resulted in a decision of the Senate Privileges and Elections Committee to hold a special meeting today. The Committee will decide whether to send an investigating committee to Mississippi.

Mississippians Start Drive To Organize Voters

Jackson, Miss., May 29.—The Mississippi State Voters League adjourned a two-day session here recently and urged all Negroes of Mississippi to register at once at the office of the circuit clerk in their county before June 17, and thereby be ready to vote in the Democratic primary, which will be held in Mississippi on July 2.

All GIs, both white and colored, can vote now in Mississippi without paying any poll tax. All GIs need to do is to go to the circuit clerk's office at once and register before June 17 and carry their discharge papers, also carry their discharge papers with them when they go to vote on July 2, but all GIs must register before June 17.

All other Negro citizens of Mississippi who are not GIs, both men and women, who have paid their poll tax for the last two years are also urged to register at once prior to June 17, and go to the polls and vote on July 2.

Those who have never voted in Mississippi are told to just go to the ballot box on July 2 and ask for a ticket and go into the little booth and put a cross mark in the little block or square space opposite the name of the person they want to vote for, and fold the ticket and hand it to one of the men in charge of the ballot box. All who want to vote must have registered, though, 15 days prior to July 2, 1946.

Ministerial Group Urges 'Qualified' Negroes to Vote

The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, colored, in a statement Saturday said at a call meeting of members it was voted to "urge every qualified negro citizen of Mississippi to go to the voting place at your home July 2nd and cast your vote for the candidate of your choice."

The statement was signed by Rev. C. F. Odom, president, Rev. C. A. Greer, vice-president; Rev. J. D Wheaton, secretary, and nine other persons.

FCC Asked To Stop Broadcast Of Hate Speeches

Truman, Clark Urged To Move In Fletcher Case

Mississippi Showdown Near On Negroes In Demo Primary

By KRIS KREEGER

JACKSON, Miss., June 28—(AP)—The state of Mississippi, population almost half Negro, is moving tensely toward its first major contest at the polls since the U. S. Supreme Court ruled Negroes could vote in all primaries.

The contest next Tuesday features the effort of Theodore G. Bilbo, outspoken advocate of white supremacy, to obtain his third Democratic nomination to the Senate—the equivalent of election in this one-party state.

Bilbo has defied the federal government to back up the Justice Department's announcement that it will enforce the Negro's right to vote. He has called upon "all red-blooded Anglo-Saxons" to prevent Negro voting, and has offered his "legal services to anyone who gets in trouble."

Actually the Negro can form only a small percentage of perhaps 200,000 ballots expected to be cast Tuesday. Although there are more than 1,000,000 Negroes in Mississippi—49.2 per cent of the population, according to the last census—very few have registered.

The highest estimates have placed Negro registration at little more than 5,000 in the state.

Only one act of violence has been reported. Etoy Fletcher, war veteran and student at Jackson College for Negroes, signed an affidavit charging white men flogged him for attempting to register in Rankin County.

Demand Grows For U.S. Action

More demands for Federal intervention in today's Mississippi's Democratic primary were made yesterday by Negro and civil rights organizations.

Emanuel Bloch, investigator for the National Civil Rights Congress, asked U.S. Attorney General Tom Clark and Sen. James Mead (D-

T. B. WILSON, NEGRO PRESIDENT of the Progressive Colored People League, has asserted, however, that some circuit clerks has advised Negroes to register and intimidation are keeping Negroes from registering. Voters attempt to vote, but to leave the polls quietly if denied the right to do so. The Jackson Advocate, Negro weekly, urges editorially that "qualified Negro citizens . . . go peacefully and, without fear to the polls." The all-Negro town of Mound Bayou will vote in a Democratic primary for the first time in its history, says its mayor, B. A. Green. He predicts 200 ballots will be cast.

"I don't say go to violence," he admonished in a campaign speech here last night, "but remember the best way to keep the Negro from voting is to see him before."

Where Negroes insist on going to the polls, he said, they should be challenged on the basis of a Mississippi law which says no one is eligible to vote in a primary who has not been "in accord with the party for the preceding two years."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has advised Negroes to register and attempt to vote, but to leave the polls quietly if denied the right to do so. The Jackson Advocate, Negro weekly, urges editorially that "qualified Negro citizens . . . go peacefully and, without fear to the polls."

"If you are denied the right to register, go home and come back with a handful of your friends and vote the next time. Do it next year after and soon there will be none of you left to go to the polls."

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A Ray of Hope The Afro-American

Mississippi GI's Pledged to Reconstruct Southland

Baltimore Md. Sat. 7-13-46

By RALPH MATTHEWS

JACKSON, Miss.—Twice in less than six months I have kept a rendezvous with revolution.

A few months ago I was led down winding, narrow streets thruogh dark areaways to a wine merchant's storeroom in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, and there listened to wild-eyed students flush with victory, explain how they had just overthrown a president.

Here in Jackson in the heart of benighted Mississippi, I was reminded of them when after winding through other dark streets I listened to equally excited young students lay their plans to tackle another despot—Theodore Bilbo the Dixie Hitler, the following day.

Brings Message

Without knowing it or where I would find them, I had unconsciously been looking for these young men ever since that night in Haiti. I had a message for them.

"Please carry our felicitations to the revolutionary youth of America," was the parting word the young Haitian students told me, but at the moment I could not think of any movement among colored youths equivalent to their own.

Mentally, I deplored the fact that our youth unfortunately were more concerned with jitterbugging and playing it safe in the way of their fathers than in dynamic political action.

But the young men I met in Mississippi Monday night changed my mind. World War II veterans, attending Jackson College under the GI Bill of Rights, these young men have a vision that is inspiring. "We are going to remake Mississippi in our time. We have a long range program," they explained, "but we fire the first shot tomorrow." The Afro-American

Ready to Die

"Bilbo has threatened us with violence if we attempt to vote. One of our comrades has already been beaten up for attempting to register, but if they kill us all, we are going to vote against Bilbo tomorrow and we are going to vote at the polling place in his own house." Baltimore, Md

We agreed on an hour to meet and they all showed up on time, two carloads and they voted. As they lined up for their ballots, a number of whites got up in a huff and walked away mumbling something under their breaths about refusing to vote with n---rs. Nobody said a word as they stalked away. Sat. 7-13-46

But the attitude of these young veterans is even more inspiring than their actions.

"Friends of ours," they explained, "have given us the d for coming back to Jackson c lege to continue our education. This is a teachers' college and under the GI Bill we could have elected to be doctors or lawyers or have gone north to big white universities, but that would not fit into our plans.

Caught New Vision

"We are not concerned with entering professions where we can make a lot of money. We caught a new vision over there in the foxholes and we don't think it's right to leave the whole job of teaching the young people of the South to women, matters not how low the pay.

"We believe more young men with vision should enter the field of education and go into our rural schools and help prepare the next generation to carry on the fight against the Bilbos and the Rankins.

"After fighting this war, getting away from here, seeing what America and the world is all about, we realized that if things are going to be better in Mississippi, we have got to make them better right here.

"We can't depend on Northern whites nor Northern colored people to do it. We GI's from Mississippi have got to come home and do it ourselves and we cannot solve the problem by running away seeking escape only for ourselves.

Going Into Hinterlands

"That's why we came back to Jackson Teachers' College and that's why we are going out into the hinterland and sacrifice, if necessary, to put our idea over.

"Our job won't stop at the classroom, but we are going to carry our ideas into the communities in which we work. We are going to spread the 'doctrine of desire.'

"If we do nothing more than inspire each person we come in contact with to want something very badly—a decent home, an automobile, maybe an urge to be a big shot—matters not what it is, just so he has ambition and is willing to work to accomplish it, we feel we shall have done our jobs."

It was three a.m. as I left these young men and wandered back to my hotel and I had the feeling of a wet nurse leaving the scene of birth—I knew I was seeing a new South being born.

I got out my memo pad and scribbled a note to my young revolutionary friends in Haiti, "The youth of America join you in your struggle for freedom. Viva, Haiti!"

(EDITOR'S NOTE:) The names of the young men in this article are being withheld at their request. They seek no vain glory and fear premature publishing of their names will make their work ineffectual and render them impotent to carry out their plans.

MISSISSIPPI WEIGHS NEXT NEGRO VOTE

The Times New York, N.Y.

Primaries Next Summer, It Is Held, Will Show Effect of the Bilbo Inquiry

Sun. 12-8-46

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 7—Political talk around the Capitol here, in and about the Federal Building and in the streets today was mostly on the effect that the Bilbo hearings will have on Negro voting in Mississippi. The first test will come next August at the primaries for all State and many local offices.

So far as white politicians in this city are concerned, Senator Theodore G. Bilbo won a sweeping victory in the defense he put up before the Senate's Campaign Investigating Committee against charges of having incited the intimidation of Negroes during his primary campaign last spring. The hearings, under the chairmanship of Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, closed on Thursday. Memories of the inquiry, however, will linger for some time in Mississippi.

With the exception of one Roman Catholic priest and one rabbi, not a white man took the stand to find any fault with Mr. Bilbo's campaign oratory of last June, preceding the primary election on July 2. The Senator's counsel wisely elected to call only political enemies of "the man." One of them testified that he had not been on speaking terms with Mr. Bilbo for four years. Another said he had opposed him every time he ran for public office.

An Old Mississippi Tradition

Their intra-mural differences, however, led to no conflict of opinion relative to the thesis that the Democratic party in Mississippi belongs exclusively to the white voters. They all agreed that Negroes have no moral right to participate in Democratic primary elections, when the party chooses its candidates. Some of them advanced what they claimed to be sound legal reasons under the State's statutes.

The State's law governing primary elections, as applicable to all parties which choose that method of naming candidates, requires that any qualified elector seeking to vote in any party's primary must have been in accord with that party for at least two years preceding the election in which he offers to vote. Under this provision, the legalists claim that Negroes in Mississippi have traditionally voted for Republican candidates for the Presidency and cannot, therefore, offer themselves as Democrats.

Negro witnesses who were heard during the inquiry maintained they were Democrats. Most of them were veterans of World War II who had never voted. The older witnesses said, however, that they had been converted to the Democratic party since the advent of the New Deal in 1933.

A second legal ground that has been advanced for the barring of Negroes is a provision in the statutes that electors offering to vote in a primary must be resolved to support, at the succeeding general election, the nominee selected by the primary in question. The white political leaders held that the Negroes would not do this.

Political Opinion Offered

Some Negro witnesses confirmed this estimate, in part, although unwillingly. A handful of them had voted in the primary of July 2. Mr. Bilbo's counsel, Forrest Jackson, asked all of them if they had gone back to vote for Mr. Bilbo, the successful nominee, in the general elections on Nov. 5. They admitted they had not. As a matter of fact, practically no white voters bothered to go to the polls on Nov. 5, as there was no Republican or other opponent in the field against Mr. Bilbo. His nomination in July had assured his pro forma election in November.

White witnesses, however, took the position that the Negroes had not gone through the form of voting in the general election because they disliked the Democratic nominee and were not prepared to support him.

The extreme right wing of political thought here today appeared to believe that the result of the hearings will be to put white people on their guard throughout the State against the alleged menace of Negro voting in Democratic primaries. It is contended that next summer's primary elections will drive home to every white citizen in Mississippi the immediate problem which, it is held, is involved. Sun. 12-8-46

In a number of towns and counties in Mississippi, Negroes outnumber whites by wide margins. For the State as a whole, there are only a few thousand more whites than Negroes. It would be theoretically possible, therefore, for Negroes to be nominated for sheriff, constable and other local offices if they voted for members of their race in the Democratic primary. The Republican party nominates its candidates by convention in Mississippi, so that the question of Republican Negroes voting in primaries does not arise.

45e 1946

Mississippi

Kept GIs From Voting

NAACP Files Charges Against Mississippi Political Figure

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 6-22-46

PASS CHRISTIAN, Miss.—Acting in behalf of eighty local veterans of World War II who were deliberately denied the right to vote in a Democratic primary election here Tuesday, June 4, Daniel E. Byrd, president of the Louisiana NAACP branches, and Atty. A. P. Tureaud, legal counsel for the New Orleans NAACP. filed formal charges last week with U. S. Attorney General Tom C. Clark in Washington, D. C.

Charged with intimidating the veterans was Eaton Garriga, a candidate for city marshal, who was singled out in notarized affidavits with insisting that the veterans' votes be enclosed in envelopes with the names of the voters signed on the outside. Signees of the three affidavits were Peter and Louis G. Manuel, Elmer Armstrong, Arthur Barbine, Arnold Venable Jr., Joseph A. Saucier, John G. Coleman, Lionel F. Fields, Horace B. Labat, Emile D. Landry Sr., James J. Frederick Joseph R. Venable, Daniel C. Charlot Jr., Leonard H. Fields, and the Rev. Father George T. J. Strype, SSJ., of St. Philomena Catholic Church in Pass Christian. The affidavits were notarized by C. R. Jones, justice of the peace and notary public.

CHARGE INTIMIDATION

The Rev. Father Strype specifically pointed out that the men voted in the June 4, Democratic primary, however, a majority of them was told that they could not vote June 11, because they were registered as Republicans. When the men protested that they were registered Democrats, John Farrell, the city tax collector, wired the Mississippi State Attorney General in Jackson to find out if registered Republican could vote in the Democratic primary, the affidavit reveals, yet no reply was received. Sat. 6-22-46

The Rev. Father Strype's affidavit further points out that Mr. Garriga, much to the disgust of the better class of whites, campaigned via a mobile loud speaker as the "white man's candidate," thus injecting racialism into the campaign. Mr. Garriga also declared, the affidavit discloses, that if the election were close the veterans' votes would be counted, but if the votes did not change the election results, they would not be counted.

the pattern of the deep South.

Tuesday morning, two days before the nation celebrates Independence Day, the citizens of this State will go to the polls to decide whether Theodore Bilbo, America's No. 1 race baiter, will be returned to the Senate or be repudiated by reconstructed body politics.

Reign of Terror On

Bilbo has successfully stirred up a reign of terror and intimidation throughout the State to prevent colored citizens from voting in compliance with a recent ruling of the Supreme Court.

Moreover, his disciples are conforming with his admonition to keep colored people away from the polls in many forms ranging from outright violence to the more subtle means of persuasion and balanced threats. Sat. 7-6-46

The city of Jackson is reasonably calm with the exception of provocative caravans which parade throughout the colored sections bearing hugh banners calling for the re-election of Bilbo.

Youth Taking Up Fight

Up to a late hour Monday, flying squadrons, representing the South- still distributing hand bills, urging ern Negro Youth Congress, were veterans to register and vote.

The pamphlets read:

"You who laid old Hitler low,
Don't be scared of old Bilbo;
Just like Hitler's friend, Tojo,
Bilbo, too, has got to go."

Some idea of the effect of the reign of terrorism, however, is seen in the fact that some veterans, after reading the pamphlets, ran after the distributors and handed them back, afraid to be caught with such inflammatory material on their person should they fall in the hands of the local Gestapo.

No Choice, All Bigots

In spite of urgings, there was little activity in the county courthouse, Monday, where last minute registrants were seeking to qualify.

While intimidation is an underlining cause for the lack of interest, a part of the lethargy on the part of colored voters is also due to the lack of choice among the candidates.

All are campaigning on a white supremacy platform, differing only in degrees, with Bilbo taking the lead in his vituperative attacks on colored people.

Commander Favored

Veterans have been quietly taking as the lesser of the five evils offered them, former Naval Commander Nelson Levens who, while no outstanding liberal by Northern standards, is the least objectionable of the candidates.

Older colored voters lean toward Tom P. Ellis, former clerk of the Supreme Court.

The fight really centers around Bilbo and Ross Collins, neither of whom hold any hope for colored voters.

Most reports of intimidation come from the smaller county seats.

Investigation Almost Vain

Emmanuel H. Bloch of Washington, former FEPC counsel and now attorney for the Civil Rights Congress, is in the city with a small staff of investigators whom he is dispatching to the outlying county seats to take affidavits of intimidation.

Bloch complained on Monday, however, that he was unable to get many volunteers to co-operate in the investigation from local organizations.

It is disheartening, he said, that with a campaign of such momentous proportion in progress, many of those interested in the welfare of the colored man were apparently disinterested and unco-operative.

Most NAACP leaders, instead of being here in the midst of the biggest fight, are still in Cincinnati attending their convention, many complain.

Plea to Executives

A telegram, signed by Mr. Bloch, was sent to President Truman, Tom Clark and Senator James Meade on Monday. It read:

"On-the-spot investigation reveals that Senator Bilbo's exhortations to white people to resort to any means to keepcolored people from exercising their Constitutional rights to vote in Tuesday's primary for federal reasons, have spread a blanket of terror and apprehension over colored people of Mississippi, constituting over one million people, about 50% of the State's population.

"Wholesale incidence of intimidory acts, threats and assaults against colored people, particularly veterans, have occurred; documentary evidence is available.

Infringements Clear

"No colored people have been committed to register in a large number of counties. Clear and convincing cases of violations of Section 51 and Section 52 of the Civil Rights Law are numerous. Conspiracy exists to exclude colored people from the polls, and public officials acting under color of law, are willfully engaging in illegal acts.

Call for Immediate Action

"Federa lintervention today and tomorrow is imperative to safeguard the purity of elec tions and to protect colored pople from bodily harm.

"It is further a proper subject for investigation by Senate committee on elections.

"It is also necessary ot procure immediate pronouncement by Attorney General Clark that the Federal Government will protect any citizen in his civil liberties and constitutional rights and prosecute vigorously any offender."

Employer Intimidated

Meanwhile in Greenwood, Miss., there are charges that leading businessmen called in a prominent insurance man and faced him with the fact that all of his employees, plus other outstanding colored citizens, had registered.

He was given a list and ordered to persuade them not to vote and report his developments back to a white businessman who met him in his office along with the mayor.

Records Opened Somehow

In many counties this technique is being followed with white businessmen capable of bringing strong economic pressure against colored businessmen or urging them to discourage other colored people from voting. It is hinted that strong reprisals will be taken against them unless they are successful.

How these white businessmen are given the secret records of all voters will be a subject of investigation.

Methodist Minister Said A Signe

Although the names of the signe were not released, spokesmen sai among white citizens signing th petition was the Rev. Joseph A Smith, McComb Methodist pasto and member of the state colleg board during the Conner adminis tration.

Representatives of the Civil Right Congress aided in preparing th petition which was sent to a specia sub-committee to investigate campaign expenditures headed by Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana Other members of this committee include Senators Eubanks of South Carolina; Johnson, Colorado; and Styles Bridges, New Hampshire Bridges, is a Republican; Senato Green of Rhode Island is chairman of the full committee.

Filed With Committees

The original copy was filed with the special committee to investigate senatorial campaign expenditures and a duplicate was filed with the Senate privileges and elections committee.

The compliant alleges that Senator Bilbo "incited the white population of Mississippi to commit acts of violence and intimidation against the Negro population" during his campaign for re-election prior to the July 2, Democratic primary election.

The petition alleges further by his campaign speeches, Senator Bilbo has "violated his oath of office," and therefore "cannot reasonably be relied upon in the future to honor the oath of office required to be made by the United States senators." It further charges that the senior senator is a member of the Klu Klux Klan and that he subscribes to the Klan principles.

"Except for the fraud, duress, illegality, force and violence" a negro vote would have been cast against Senator Bilbo sufficient to assure his defeat, the petition said.

Miss. Voters Set to Decide Future

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

By RALPH MATTHEWS

JACKSON, Miss.—The State of Mississippi is now on the eve of deciding whether one year after the war to crush Nazism, she is ready to take her place in the sisterhood of democracy or whether the Hitler terror is to continue as

NEGRO VOTERS PROTEST BILBO'S RE-NOMINATION

A petition charging intimidatior of negro voters at the polls anc calling on the United States Senat to refuse to seat Senator Theodor G. Bilbo was dispatched Monda from more than 50 qualified Mis sissippi voters to the Congressiona sub-committee named to investigat his election and to Senate privi leges and elections committee.

T. B. Wilson, Jackson negro rea estate man and president of th Mississippi Progressive Voter League, a Negro organization, mai ed the petition and photostati documents. Copies of the petitio were released by Percy Green Jackson negro editor.

The release which included number of exhibits said: "Over negro and white qualified voter attached their signatures to "sworn complaint."

Stripped of Clothes, Man Hit With Wire

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 6-29-46

Bilbo, Justifying Attack, Charges Reds Behind Attempt to Use Ballot

NEW YORK—The latest victim in the campaign of terrorism to keep colored citizens from exercising their newly conceded right to vote, Etoy Fletcher, World War II veteran, following his attempt to register on June 12 for the July 2 Mississippi Democratic primary, was abducted by a mob, carried into the woods, near Puckett, Miss., and severely beaten with a heavy cable wire.

An account of the beating was disclosed by Fletcher Saturday in an affidavit forwarded to the national office of the NAACP.

Sen Theodore G. Bilbo (Dem. Miss.) runing a desperate campaign for re-election, when told of Fletcher's charges in Washington, began a long tirade against Communists, whom he accused of encouraging colored citizens to vote. He uttered not a single word of condemnation of the mob which had perpetrated the act.

Fletcher, who was given an honorable discharge from the Army on April 23, 1946, in his affidavit told how he had approached the circuit clerk of Rankin County, Miss., in Rankin, asking to be registered.

Sent to 2nd Floor

The clerk, according to the affidavit, told him to go to the second floor of the courthouse, where he would find a man in charge of all "veterans'" affairs.

On reaching the room, Fletcher said he found one man seated at a desk in the corner. Before he could state his mission, Fletcher said the man began cursing him, ending with: "N—rs are not allowed to vote in Rankin county, and if you don't want to get into serious trouble get out of this building and don't mention voting any more."

Leaving the building, Fletcher said he was waiting on the street for a bus to carry him to Jackson, Miss., where he is attending school, when an automobile containing four men drove up.

The door was opened, Fletcher said, and he was ordered to get in. The car in which he was riding was followed by another filled with red-faced white men.

Reaching a point 3 or 4 miles from town deep in the woods, Fletcher said he was ordered out of the car and directed to remove his clothing.

Beaten Mercilessly

Forced to get on his hands and knees, Fletcher said the men began beating him mercilessly across his naked back with a large cable wire. The eight men, he said, would each take turns in the flogging until they became tired.

His back, shoulders and sides, painfully bruised and bleeding, Fletcher said he was then loaded back in the car and carried to the residence of another white man, who was asked by members of the mob if he didn't want to beat him some too.

This man, Fletcher's affidavit said, replied, "Well if you have already beaten him to your soul satisfaction we will just let that do."

Carried back to the edge of Brandon, Fletcher said he was released with the warning that if he ever returned and attemptel to vote, he would be killed.

Fletcher, who said he is still wearing large whelps and deep bruises from the flogging, expressed in the affidavit the belief that he will remain permanently injured.

Sworn in Affidavit

The affidavit was sworn to by Fletcher at Jackson, Miss., on June 15, 1946, and a copy of the charges were forwarded to the national office by the Jackson branch of the NAACP.

Attorney General Tom Clark was called upon to take immediate action in the case by the Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association, which heard of the flogging, while in annual convention here.

Citing Sen. Bilbo's call for unity among all Mississippi candidates to discourage the participation of colored voters in the primary, the publishers urged the attorney general to take steps at once to end all intimidation of colored persons, who seek to register and vote in Southern primary elections.

Bilbo, taking to the radio, urged the "red-blooded Anglo-Saxon" men of Mississippi to "resort to any means" to keep colored citizens from exercising their newly conceded right to participate in Democratic primaries.

"And if you don't know what that means, you are just not up on your persuasive measures," he added.

The nation's number 1 race baiter, plainly alarmed over the registration of hundreds of colored veterans avowed to defeat him on the July 2 primary, sought to rouse white Mississippians against their colored neighbors.

His contention was that if a few colored voters were allowed to vote in the Democratic primary this year, more would vote in 1947, "and from then on it will grow into a mighty surge."

"The white people of Mississippi are sleeping on a volcano," the rabble rouser asserted, "and it is up to the red-blooded men to do something about it. The white men of this State have a right to resort to any means at their command to stop it."

Senate Disturbed Over Bilbo's Race Ravings

Detroit

JACKSON, Miss. — Red-blooded Anglo-Saxons, whipped to fever pitch by their ranting, race-baiting King Bilbo, this week sealed their ring of terror around the Mississippi polls.

Farm-bound white primitives, in a pre-victory Bilbo salute, last week shot and clubbed another attempt to do so.

one Leonus Durr, Negro, of Magee, Miss., as a final piece in their pattern of terror. Mt. Olive police have refused to arrest his assailants. Durr remains in a critical condition.

On the eve of this senatorial primary, Bilbo is confident that "my peckerwoods" will "contact" all potential Negro voters up to and including the night before the election, July 2. Sat. 7-6-46

Senate Prepares Action

On the eve of this election also, the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections and the U. S. Department of Justice prepared to launch investigations into complaints that Negroes were being terrorized in an attempt to keep them from the polls.

The long sought Senate and Justice Department action is seen by individuals and organizations across the nation as praiseworthy, but much too late.

From rural areas throughout the state reports indicate that Negroes have been successfully intimidated and have been afraid to register. Less than 2,000 are expected to venture to the polls. Chicago

Etoy Fletcher, veteran, of Puckett, Miss., whose sworn affidavit charged that he was flogged and threatened with death for attempting to vote in the primary, has vanished. Tribune

Twenty-six Negro citizens of Holly Springs, Miss., were denied the right to register and threatened with bodily harm if they made

T. B. Wilson, of Jackson, president of the Mississippi Progressive Voters' League, says that every effort will be made to have all Negroes who were denied the right to register and vote file charges with the Department of Justice. Sat 7-6-46

Last week the bragging Dixie king, seeking Senate renomination and speaking in his own behalf, defied the U.S. Attorney General, the Department of Justice and the FBI to try to keep the white people of Mississippi from running the Democratic primaries as "we think they should."

This week, after the matter had received nationwide attention, Sen. Glen Taylor (D., Idaho), urged the Senate privileges and elections committee to conduct a special meeting to look into reports that Bilbo has urged "red blooded Anglo Saxons to use any means to keep Negroes from voting in the state's July 2 primary."

Accusing Bilbo of borrowing "Hitler tactics" in an effort to obtain Senate reelection, Sen. Taylor urged the privileges and elections committee to launch a full scale investigation into the matter.

Taylor told the Senate, "Ours is the duty as well as the privilege of passing on the credentials of our members. We cannot disregard charges such as these without serious loss of prestige."

Justice Dept. 'Checks'

In a similar statement Assistant Attorney General Theron L. Caudle revealed that he is checking into complaints of anti-Negro activities in connection with the Mississippi July 2 primary.

Caudle said that many complaints of racial abuses had been received and are being investigated to determine whether the Justice Department should take action.

This week, replying to a United Negro and Allied Veterans of America request that troops be sent to Mississippi during the July elections, Caudle stated.

Justice Department Ready

"This matter is receiving the careful attention of the Department of Justice, and prompt action will be taken with respect to any interference with the rights of qualified Negroes to vote in Mississippi."

Caudle instructed Kenneth C. Kennedy, UNAVA national commander to observe the functioning of the Mississippi primary election on July 2 and to report immediately any violation of the civil and voting rights of citizens, Negro or white. The Defender

Senator H. Alexander Smith, (R., N.J.), called on the justice Department to supply him with all the information it has on the incident. A member of the privileges and elections committee, Sen. Smith described the Bilbo tirade as "a terrible thing if it's true," and added "if it's true we'll have to move in on it." Chicago, Ill.

Fletcher, who since the rabble rousing Bilbo speech has disappeared, stated that he attempted to register June 2, at Brandon, Miss., and was told by the man in charge: "Niggers are not allowed to vote in Rankin County. If you don't want to get into serious trouble get out of this building and don't mention voting any more."

His affidavit says he later was flogged by four white men and threatened with death for attempting to vote. Sat. 7-6-46

His affidavit says he was later flogged by four white men and threatened with death for attempting to vote.

Sen. Taylor, referred to Bilbo but did not use his name when asking a Senate probe of affairs in Mississippi.

"We cannot disregard these charges without investigation," he said, asking the Senate committee to look into the matter "so no people will be deprived of the right to vote."

Bilbo Confident

But Bilbo, confident that his farm bound backers would meet his demands, kept saying things "his people" wanted to hear, the way they wanted to hear them.

Apparently referring to a recent Justice Department statement that it would prosecute any state or party official who attempted to keep any person from voting because of color alone, he declared:

"In the first place, they'd have to get a grand jury of Mississippians to indict a man. And second they'd have to get a jury of 12 good and true Mississippi white men to convict him.

"I'm a damn good lawyer. I've defended people in 11 murder cases in my life and got them all free."

45e 1946 Mississippi

Veterans Prescribe Their Cure for Bilbonic Plague

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 7-13-46

These veterans of World War II are shown as they lined up on the porch of Sen. Theodore Bilbo's farmer home in Jackson, Miss., gave their answer to the threats of violence made by the nation's No. 1 demagogue. A historic occasion, July 2 marked the first time that colored voters ever participated in a Mississippi Democratic primary. 7-13-46 Baltimore, Md.

The Afro-American Sat.

BILBO—THE COWARD MOUNTEBANK

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

Theodore Bilbo has at last given the Negro a clear-cut issue of incontrovertible meaning with which to force the fight for full citizenship to the attention of the nation and the nation's law makers.

The senator in a public campaign speech for reelection urged "all red-blooded Anglo-Saxons to use any means" to keep the Negro from the polls in Mississippi's July primary. He urged race warfare. The senator screamed for violence. The senator yelled for a Nazi putsch. Sat. 7-6-46

Like most fascists, the senator is a coward. It is not brute courage, which leads him hysterically to advocate physical combat — even for others. Rather it is a wild fear that the unrepresented minority which has kept him in the senate until now will collapse in the face of the militant determination of the Negro to grasp and wield a franchise against him.

Like most acts performed in fear and hysteria, Bilbo's statement stupidly overstepped the limits within which he hoped to get away unscathed. He all but used the word "fascism" in his hate-tirade.

Nothing could have been better for the cause of the Negro. The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, with embarrassed haste, began an investigation of the incitement to riot by their filthy-mouthed colleague. So did the U. S. Department of Justice.

Errant as is the white press in its duty to tell the story to the people of the Negro's battle, on this occasion hardly a paper failed to take notice of Bilbo's flat defiance of federal law, and human decency.

Of course, Bilbo has always been what he revealed himself to be in his recent spewing. It is unfortunate that action by the government will be too late to aid the gallant Negroes of Mississippi who fought so bravely for the vote in this primary to defeat a petty tyrant. It is entirely likely that the Negro vote will be held to a minimum and Bilbo renominated which is tantamount to reelection. In the long view however, this is not so tragic as it may seem. Bilbo is a completely worthless, stupid and vicious man. For that very reason he is the perfect symbol of bigotry and bias which typifies the fascist wing in the U. S. politics, both above and underground. His consistent opposition to all legislation in the interests of the masses, creates an ideal personification of the inescapable connection between the problem of the Negro and all progressive action in the country. This is a lesson in political action and unified interest which neither the Negro nor the liberal white can learn too well.

Bilbo stands today a naked filthy sore on the face of America. Now is the time to hit him and through him the deep roots of fascism from which he grows.

Miss. Editor Bares Terror of Bilboism

The Afro-American Sat. 7-27-46 Baltimore, Md.

By RICHARD DIER AFRO Staff Correspondent

NEW YORK—Defying numerous threats of bodily harm, Percy Greene, 46-year-old World War I veteran and editor of the Jackson (Miss.) Advocate, Wednesday bared for the first time the vio- Greene was in New York for a conference with leaders of the Civil Rights Congress, which

yers and investigators since the primary, to unearth evidence against Mississippi race-baiters' campaign of violence and intimidation.

The evidence gathered formed the basis of a petition filed with the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures on July 16, seeking to deny Bilbo a seat in the Senate.

Many Whites Sign

Mr. Greene, who was a leader in the Mississippi campaign to unseat the reactionary Senator, stated that the petition was submitted after he had consulted with Senators of both political parties; and that its signers included influential whites.

"The campaign was one of the most violent in the history of the State," declared Greene." "Only between 3 and 4 thousand colored people actually qualified to vote out of a normal potential vote of 1,250,000.

"Of these, only 2,000 or more actually voted. Most of them were from the cities, and practically none from the rural areas.

"There was one case of a colored voter who was called into the office of the Mayor of Greenwood. The Mayor had an attorney there, who gave the voter a list of 30 eligible colored voters in town and told him to visit them personally and see that they didn't get to the polls—or else! Well, his man called on them and gave them the instructions. They did not vote!"

Veteran Beaten

He told of an incident in which a veteran went into a polling place to vote. He was called "a damn n—r" and beaten on the head and face, and not allowed to exercise his right.

On stumbling outside after the merciless beating, he was arrested by the police and taken to County jail, where he was again hit and kicked in the stomach and head and knocked unconscious. When he came to, he was locked up.

"There was another case in Louisville, where two or three persons went to the polls to vote. The whites there told them that if they did vote, 'we'll see you tonight about this.' So they just picked up and left the place, not voting."

Writing New "Mein Kampf"

The publisher said that Bilbo is writing a new "Mein Kampf" book called, "Segregation or Mongrelization"; and that if this book is allowed to circulate while he is still in office, it will have the same effect upon this country as Hitler's book did on Germany, and lead it down the same disastrous trail.

"I feel that Bilbo would have carried the State with a far larger majority had not our campaign against him been carried on," he continued.

"Nothing can be done for the South if the people who come down compromise with the status quo. I don't want people to be-

Foe of Bilbo

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. **PERCY GREENE,** *9-28-46* **editor of the Jackson (Miss.) Advocate, one of the signers of the petition filed with the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee asking that Bilbo's recent primary campaign be investigated, is shown as he arrived in New York for a conference with leaders of the Civil Rights Congress. He told of specific cases where qualified voters were denied the right of franchise because of Bilbo's exhortations to violence.**

lieve that all the whites in Mississippi are like Bilbo.

"Many are fine, progressive liberals, just like those in New York. Mississippi is an American problem. There is no such thing as an outsider. Mississippi and the South are not isolated from the U.S. The South is part of America.

Appealed to Prejudices

"Bilbo appealed to the existent prejudices in the State and tried to intensify them."

Mr. Greene has often been singled out in Mississippi as the greatest menace against "interracial harmony." He is not a gradualist, and doesn't believe conditions in the South will change gradually. He is for doing things right now.

"I believe the color question has become a world problem, and not only affects the people in America internally, but also on an international scale. Those people who clamor against giving us equal rights will lead us into international disaster.

"I don't believe 120,000,000 whites will stand to lose anything by giving 15,000,000 colored people their equality, which they are entitled to under our Constitution.

"As a matter of fact," he pointed out, "I am not for colored people leaving the South and coming to New York as a solution to their problems. They should stay where they are and where they want to be, and keep building up the Southland."

World War I Veteran

The publisher is 46, and was born and reared in Mississippi. His weekly, one of the three standard colored papers in the State, has a circulation of 5,000. He founded the Jackson Advocate in 1939, and has served as its publisher and editor since that time.

A clerk and a deacon in the Jackson AME Church, he served in the U.S. Army during World War I, and is a member of the American Legion and of the Masonic Order.

When Tom Clark was appointed Attorney General, Greene wrote an editorial in his paper, citing the immense good the new official could do for America in fighting for justice for all peoples. The following day, an editorial appeared in a daily warning Greene to watch his step if "he wanted to remain healthy."

The Civil Rights Congress is pressing for an investigation of Bilbo's campaign between now and the opening of the new Congress. Its purpose is to make every Senator who will be called on to vote Bilbo in or out to understand the sentiment of the people.

45e 1946

Mississippi

Reign of Terror Uncovered; NAACP Asks Federal Probe

The Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh Pa

Sat. 7-13-46

B-U-L-L-E-T-I-N!

JACKSON, Miss.—In an extraordinary session here Saturday, the State Democratic Committee officially declared Theodore (The Man) Bilbo renominated to the U. S. Senate for his third six-year term. Bilbo had a total of 97,820 votes, while his four rivals picked up only 93,986 of the 191,806 ballots cast in the election. The committee declined to take action on a protest registered by one of Bilbo's opponents, Nelson Levings, who charged that "The Man" accepted $25,000 from a private Mississippi firm for his campaign.

By LUCIUS JONES, Louisiana Bureau

NEW ORLEANS, La.—Although Negroes voted without incident in some parts of Mississippi during the Democratic primary election Tuesday, July 2, a "reign of terror" held sway in many sections of the State, particularly the Gulf Coast area, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People here learned last week, through its militant young executive secretary, Daniel E. Byrd, who was an eyewitness to some of the voting in Mississippi and has affidavits, photographs and other concrete data in the NAACP files as evidence that hosts of white Mississippians took Senator Theodore G. Bilbo at his word when he urged them to "resort to any means to keep the Negroes from voting."

Other Pictures on Page 5

Despite radio broadcasts heard and news stories published throughout the South, and, doubtless, all over the Nation, to the effect that Negroes voted peaceably in the primary election, NAACP investigators, sent into the State by the national organization's New Orleans headquarters, reported Friday to the local colored press that three colored men and a woman who tried to vote in Gulfport, Miss., were severely beaten by irate whites "on guard" at the polls, while scores of others were browbeaten and refused the right of franchise at Pass Christian, Miss.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT GIVEN FACTS

Information brought the NAACP here by its investigators has been rushed to Walter White, head of the national organization in New York City, by Byrd, as well as to the U. S. Department of Justice by the Rev. Father George T. J. Strype, S. S. J., pastor of St. Philomena Catholic Church in Pass Christian. Sat 7-13-46

Speaking of the vicious and undemocratic acts in Gulfport and Pass Christian, Mr. Byrd said to The Courier during a week-end interview: "The violence heaped upon Negroes in the Congressional Primary in the Gulf Coast area of Mississippi, instigated and encouraged by Theodore Bilbo, has brought the Federal Government to the position long dreaded, either that Bilbo and his ilk will run not only the Department of Justice but the entire Nation as well, with total disregard for the rights of citizens under the Constitution or the Federal Government will have to put all the Bilbos out of business . . . Bilbo's seat must be challenged. The representation of Mississippi in Congress must be reduced in accordance with Article XIV, Section 2, of the U. S. Constitution. If our Government refuses to live up to its obligation towards all citizens, then it is time for America to admit to the world that democracy has failed."

MANY NEGROES FEARED BRUTALITY

Sat. 7-13-46

The largest number of Negroes actually voting in the primary election, the local NAACP learned through its investigators, was at Mound Bayou, the all-colored town where Mayor A. B. Green estimated that more than 200 cast ballots. Jackson, Miss., with more than 500 colored registered voters, had the second highest total voting, it was reported. According to Percy J. Greene, editor of the Jackson Advocate, weekly newspaper, at least 150 voted with the response being especially brisk in the Thirty-first Precinct. The third largest number of voting Negroes was reported in Vicksburg.

Afraid of brutality, intimidation and acts of reprisal, few of the State's more than 5,000 registered voters tried to cast ballots in the smaller counties, the NAACP informants stated. It was also disclosed that in many counties, Negroes were not even allowed to register because they could not "satisfactorily interpret the Constitution."

NEGROES CHALLENGED AT POLLS

In a widely published syndicate news story, Walter Sillers of Rosedale, speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives, admitted that every Negro vote cast in Bolivar (his home county) was being challenged. He said he had talked with election officials in Adams (Natchez) County, who stated that they, too, were challenging all colored votes, the grounds being (1) whether the Negro voter had been in accord with the Democratic Party the past two years, and (2) whether the voter would support the party nominee in the general election.

Sillers, oldest of the 189-member Mississippi Legislature in the point of service, was quoted by the press service as saying a white citizen was stationed at every polling place in his county to challenge Negro voters on the said points. He also admitted that most Negroes when asked would they vote for renomination of Bilbo said firmly "No."

THREATS LOWERED BALLOTING

Estimates received by the NAACP investigators indicated that, in addition to the heavier balloting in Mound Bayou, Jackson and Vicksburg, about eighty Negroes voted in Pass Christian municipal primary recently, but none last week there or in Gulfport and Hattiesburg. A "few" voted in Greenville and Central Biloxi, it was revealed.

"Whereas the posting of white person "on guard" was a curbing technique widely used in some counties, an equally prevalent stratagem, The Courier was informed, was the "earmarking" and placing in special envelopes of the ballots of Negroes, so that they could be contested on points of "party loyalty," if necessary to assure Bilbo's renomination.

TECHNICALITY RAISED AGAINST BILBO

One of his rivals challenged Bilbo's renomination on the allegation that the race-baiting Senator had accepted $25,000 for his campaign from a private Mississippi firm, a syndicate press release stated. It also quoted T. B. Wilson, prominent colored real estate man of Jackson and president of the Progressive Voters League, as saying he was "generally pleased" with the response of Negroes in the primary election, but that hundreds of Negroes "were denied the right to register in most of the counties of the State. We have affidavits to that effect."

Information to The Courier, through the NAACP, discloses that V. E. Collier, 36-year-old veteran and prominent Gulfport businessman, and his wife, Mrs. Ernestine Collier, a school teacher; J. T. Hall, well known mortician, and R. E. Daniel, another 36-year-old war veteran of Gulfport, were all beaten Tuesday, July 2, when they attempted to vote in the election. All have resided in Gulfport most of their lives. Sat - 7-13-46

REPORTED FBI INCIDENT

Other information is that the Gulfport incident was reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Jackson and protection asked the same day the incidents took place, but that the FBI agent said it was his duty to "investigate, not protect."

A dozen colored war veterans signed an overall affidavit describing how they were denied the right to vote in Pass Christian. The sworn statement was notarized by C. R. Jones, white justice of the peace residing there. Its signers were Eugene H. Roberts, Daniel C. Charlot Jr., Edward Watson Jr., Steve Hunter Jr., Joseph R. Venable, Thomas E. Guyot Jr., Leon E. Brady, Edward M. Benoitz, Godfrey W. Benoitz, John J. Cotton, Harock B. Labat and Thomas Spencer.

WAR VETERAN DENIED FRANCHISE

The affidavit charged that the veterans had appeared at the City Hall in Pass Christian to vote in the election for U. S. Senator and sundry offices, but were met at the doors by Eaton Garriga, the bailiff, who turned them away, saying that no Negroes would be allowed to vote.

It was learned that in Gulfport, Collier and his wife went to the City Hall between noon and 1 o'clock in the afternoon on election day to try and cast their ballots, whereupon they were directed to the east wing of the building by a police officer. In the corridor, about fifteen unkempt white men were standing and when the couple approached, the men spread out fan-wise to block them, NAACP investigators reported, adding that the Colliers were told, "You people don't vote here today; you come back tomorrow; that's your voting time."

WAR VET, WIFE BEATEN

But before Collier had a chance to reply, the NAACP investigators said, he and his wife were attacked by the whites who began beating them to the porch, finally dragging them to the street. The police officer stood by and made no effort to stop the assault, the NAACP was informed.

It was further reported that Collier had a badly swollen face and one eye was practically closed. The day after the election, Collier was attacked by a mob from trailers and knives and the couple had to run to keep the mob from trailing them.

The day after the election, Collier was also beaten for trying to vote and was jailed after reporting the

SEPARATE BALLOT BOXES FOR NEGRO VOTERS IN MISSISSIPPI—It was estimated that at least 1,500 Negroes ignored Senator Bilbo's threats and voted in some sections of Mississippi during the State primary election July 2. Most of the Negro votes were cast in Jackson, Miss., Hinds County. Separate ballot boxes were set up for colored voters. Observers said this system was used in order that ballot counters could check Negro votes, if it became necessary. Ed Holt (left), secretary of Local 311, Plasterers and Cement Finishers, AFL, was the first Negro to cast a vote in the Thirty-first Precinct, Hinds County. Several fearless and civic-minded citizens are shown casting their votes in middle photo. At right, a woman resident of Jackson drops her ballot into the box. Quite a few women voted.

fact to the chief of police, it was learned. He was charged with drunkenness and disturbing the peace, the informants also revealed. Sat. 7-13-46

BEATEN AND JAILED

According to descriptions given the NAACP investigators, Daniel, who spent forty months in the armed forces, went to the polls and was told to use a side door, after which he was asked if he had voted before and if he had voted the Democratic ticket. He was told to go the Ward School to vote after he said that he had voted previously, but, as he started out of the building, he was approached by a group of white men who struck him and told him never to enter the building again with his hat on.

On leaving the building, the information further revealed, Daniel was approached by still other white men, accompanied by a policeman, and then was placed under arrest, taken to the Harrison County jail and beaten again so severely about the head that his hearing may be permanently injured. He was beaten into unconsciousness, the NAACP learned, and then kept in jail until 11 o'clock at night and eventually released on a $250 bond with a charge of being drunk and disorderly against his name on the records. Sat. 7-13-46

AWAIT TRIALS

According to the information, Hall and Daniel are to face trial Saturday of this week. Fearful of reprisal, Hall and Daniel declined themselves to give information concerning their misfortunes. NAACP investigators had to get the facts from uninvolved Negroes who either saw or learned the developments shortly after they took place. As a precautionary measure, the NAACP is withholding the identity of all its informants, Mr. Byrd told the New Orleans Newspaper Council.

Hundreds Brave Threats To Vote

The Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Sat 7-13-46

B-U-L-L-E-T-I-N!

JACKSON, Miss. — Indignant because 1,500 Negroes were permitted to vote in the primary last week, Senator Theodore G. Bilbo Saturday called upon his home State of Mississippi to revise completely its election laws to "keep primaries all white." He said he would support a special session of the Legislature to revise the State's election laws.

By PERCY J. GREENE

JACKSON, Miss. — (Special to The Courier) — Negroes voted in the Mississippi Democratic primary election Tuesday, July 2, in all sections of the State. At the same time, there were many counties, towns and villages, where no Negroes attempted to vote, due to fear and apprehension caused by the tension during the campaign. The number of Negroes actually voting have been variously estimated as being from one to three thousand, although Mississippi has more than five thousand colored persons registered and eligible to vote.

DAILY CITES HOWARD'S PRO-BILBOISM

Aside from fear of reprisal, another factor which held down colored voting, the Jackson Daily News hinted in a statement attributed to Perry W. Howard, National Republican Committeeman for Mississippi, was Howard's appeal to Negroes of the State not to vote in the Democratic election. According to the article, Senator Bilbo, during his campaign speech-making, constantly referred to Perry Howard as "one of my best friends." Sat. 7-13-46

Ellis, Bilbo's strongest rival, did no mud-slinging during the campaign, but he made it clear that he too is an advocate of "white supremacy."

Bilbo cast his own vote at Alliance Hall in Pearl River County, then returned to his home at Juniper Grove there, where he listened to the election returns. Renomination in Mississippi, like in other Southern States, is tantamount to election, and Bilbo is assured of another six-year term in the U. S. Senate. It will be his third term. Bilbo has been a stormy petrel of Mississippi politics thirty-eight years, most of which he has preached "white supremacy" and consistently fostered efforts to "keep the Negro in his place." At one time, he advocated a "back to Africa" movement for Negroes of America. Recently, on the floor of Congress, he assailed the record of the all-colored Ninety-second Division overseas. In this campaign, he resurrected the "race issue" and said Mississippi white people should resort to any means to keep the Negroes from voting. Even if they voted, he urged that their votes be challenged unless their loyalty to the Democratic Party for the past two years were established. Sat. 7-13-46

INTIMIDATING SIGN POSTED

In one Mississippi voting district, a sign read, "All Negroes Vote at Your Own Risk Here." Even so, at this point, Central Biloxi, to be exact, nearly twenty Negroes did vote before noon of primary day.

Commenting on the election, T. B. Wilson, president of the Progressive Voters Lague of Mississippi, said that when the first Negro vote was cast in the election in bold defiance of threatened violence, intimidation and reprisal, it put Mississippi on the road to a new day for democracy. He said he was "generally pleased" over the fact that hundreds of colored persons, throughout the State, braved all threats and voted anyway.

There were a few reports of incidents involving intimidation, but, on the whole, Negroes who had the courage to cast their ballots did so unmolested.

Dr. S. D. Redmond, prominent Mississippi Republican leader, said, "The election brought a new challenge to the Republican Party of Mississippi."

Here in Jackson, Negro voting was especially brisk in the Thirty-first Precinct. I cast my own vote here and the white people in charge of the precinct headquarters could hardly have been nicer. They accepted all Negro voters with courteous resignation and no unpleasantness has been reported.

BILBO GETS TWELVE VOTES IN ALL-NEGRO TOWN

In the returns from Mound Bayou, an all-colored town, Bilbo ran last, but did poll twelve votes.

Mayor B. A. Green of Mound Bayou said Sheriff W. E. Kent of Bolivar County had challenged 200 votes. After a first challenge was overruled by the three election judges of the community, they were challenged again on the party harmony ground, and this time the ballots were segregated for determination later as to their validity. Sat. 7-13-46

White leaders in LeFlore County, the rich delta county land, made a drive the day before the primary to persuade colored people not to vote.

Four colored persons were challenged in Natchez on the ground that their names did not appear on the poll list.

A lone colored man at Meridian was not allowed to vote because he did not present his certificate of exemption from paying the poll tax. Veterans who were out of Mississippi during their war service need not pay the tax.

NO EVIDENCE OF FBI

Walter Sillers, Speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives, said he had joined in challenging the votes on the ground that Mound Bayou's population was Republican and did not intend to support the Democrtic nominee in the general elections.

Federal law-enforcement agents were not in evidence, but Federal authorities asserted they were in close touch with the situation in the State. J. M. Lopez, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation at Jackson, referred comment on the primary situation to Attorney General Tom Clark in Washington. Sat. 7-13-46

Bilbo Calls On Home State To Take Action Against Negro Ballot

The Birmingham News Birmingham, Ala. Fri. 7-12-46

Senate Primary Winner Declares 'Mississippi's Enemies' Are Defeated

JACKSON, Miss., July 12—(AP)—Sen. Theo G. Bilbo, presiding at a "victory celebration" here last night, called for a special session of the Legislature to change the election laws so as to keep Negroes from voting, took barbed verbal shots at his political opponents, and welcomed all voters "back into the fold."

Bilbo said the celebration was staged not "to crow," but to mark "the greatest victory of our lives because we have defeated our enemies outside of Mississippi — the enemies of the South and all the South stands for—the South's enemies from Maine to San Francisco, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf."

The senior Mississippi senator, who won renomination in the July 2 primary, said that in the campaign "We did something that our fathers could not do—we whipped the damnyankees."

Bilbo said his election was a victory over "the Drew Pearsons, the Walter Winchells, Jim Dombrowskis, of the so-called Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Aubrey Williams, of the Southern Farmer; the PAC-CIO; the magazines Life, Saturday Evening Post, Time, Collier's The (Memphis) Commercial Appeal; The (New Orleans Times-Picayune; The St. Louis Post-Dispatch; The Philadelphia Record; Washington Post; The Chicago Defender; Pittsburgh Courier; Old Lady Roosevelt; Harold Ickes and Hank Wallace, together with all the Negroes, Communists, Negro lovers and advocates of social equality who poured out their slime and money in Mississippi." Fri. 7-12-46

* * *

BILBO THANKED his campaign workers and the laundry in Jackson which laundered his clothes during the campaign.

Turning to his proposal for a special session of the State Legislature, Bilbo said:

"I want to urge the governor of this state to immediately call a session of the Legislature to enact such laws as will not violate the decisions of the Supreme Court but at the same time will perpetuate the plans and purposes of the state constitution of 1890 that has kept the ballot box clean and white for 56 years. Fri. 7-12-46

"We can retain our white control and white supremacy and we must do it at once.

"The clock has already struck and if any renegades, traitors or scalawags attempt to block our efforts, ostracize them, drive them out, and if there be any Negroes in Mississippi who are just hell-bent on voting, politely ask them to either go North or move to Liberia, the only all-Negro republic in the world.

Bilbo Questions Negro Voting In Mississippi

By MARTHA COBLE

Jackson, Miss., June 25—(UP)—Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (Dem., Miss.) today challenged the right of the Federal Government to tell Mississippi it must allow Negroes to vote in next Tuesday's Democratic primary.

Bilbo's defiant statement was prompted by an announcement in Washington that the Justice Department was making preparations to protect Negroes who desire to vote in the primary during which Bilbo, an ardent white supremacy advocate, is running for renomination.

In a campaign speech last night Bilbo flatly challenged Atty. Gen. Tom Clark, the Department of Justice and the FBI to "try and keep the white people of this state from running the white Democratic primaries as we think they should be run."

Numerous complaints of Negroes being denied the right to register for the primary have been received by the Justice Department.

One Negro war veteran, through the National Association of Advancement of Colored People, has filed a copy of an affidavit contending he was flogged by four white men when he attempted to register at Brandon, Miss.

"We are checking these complaints very carefully to determine whether federal action should be taken," Assistant Attorney General Theron L. Caudle, head of the criminal division, said.

Joining Bilbo, Rep. John E. Rankin (Dem., Miss.) last week advised Mississippi Negroes to stay away from the primaries if they desired to maintain a peaceful relationship with the whites. Rankin drew in the Communist threat and charged they sought to divide the people of his state.

State Supreme Court Clerk Tom Q. Ellis, one of four candidates opposing Bilbo, also took sides with "The Man" in demanding that Negroes be kept from the polls.

"The Southern white man congratulates the Negro on his progress since he emerged from the bonds of slavery," he said. "The thinking white man realizes the injustice he has done . . . but the Southern leaders of the Negro race realize these matters can be adjusted only within our bounds."

Any action which the Justice Department might initiate would come under the civil rights statutes. Speaking to the Chicago Bar Association Friday night, Attorney General Tom C. Clark said:

"I, as attorney general, will use every force at my command to see to it that in the primaries and forthcoming elections, no American citizen will be deprived of his vote because of his race or color.

"I have already instructed the U. S. attorneys and interested federal agencies to be especially alert and forceful to prevent and prosecute violations of the law."

The affidavit filed by the NAACP was that of Etoy Fletcher, Puckett, Miss., veteran. Fletcher's affidavit said that when he went to the Brandon circuit clerk to ask to register he was directed to "gentlemen in charge of veterans matters."

The advisers, the affidavit added, told him "niggers are not allowed to vote in Rankin County, and if you don't want to get into serious trouble get out of this building and don't mention voting again."

While he was waiting for a bus after leaving the building, the affidavit said, Fletcher was forced into an automobile by four men who drove him to a wooded section where they stripped and flogged him with a heavy wire cable. It said that he was told he would be killed if he again attempted to vote.

Twice the Supreme Court has ruled that Negroes have a right to vote, its latest decision being one of April 1 where it ruled on a Georgia case. The Augusta, Ga., primaries of April 16 were conducted without incident.

In no instance has the Supreme Court ruling affected such voting restrictions as poll taxes and literacy tests which are within the province of state regulatory powers. But it was firm in its belief that Negroes should not be barred because of their color.

Where violations do occur, an official convicted of barring a Negro from voting because of color, would be subject to maximum penalties of $1,000 fine, or a year's imprisonment.

Committee Decides Against Probing Mississippi Voting.

WASHINGTON, July 1. — (AP) — Senator Maybank, Democrat of South Carolina, said today the Senate campaign investigating committee has decided against sending investigators to Mississippi to look into tomorrow's Democratic primary election.

"It would be an insult to the people of Mississippi," Maybank told Democrat of Mississippi, seeking reporters after a meeting with some re-election, nor any of his opponents others of the investigating group. in the primary had made such a request that the Senate commit-quest.

Requests for investigation May-tee send a representative were made by Senator Taylor, Democrat of Idaho, and Edgar G. Brown, representative of the National Negro council.

Maybank said there had been numerous requests and demands from "all over the country" but

Mississippi Negroes Defy Threats; Vote in Primary

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y. Wed 7-3-46

Mississippi Negro voters going to the polls defied threats of violence by Senator Bilbo and Rep. Rankin, two fiery advocates of "white supremacy," in the primary yesterday.

United Press reported that many ballots were immediately challenged by registrars. The ballots were placed in segregated envelopes which will not be counted until the Democratic County Committees pass on the rights of the Negro voters to participate. This occurred in Mound Bayou, all-Negro town of 1,000 population in the Mississippi Delta. It was the first time since the community was founded 43 years ago that Negroes there had voted in a Democratic primary.

Other reports indicated that on the Gulf Coast, a few eligible Negroes were permitted to vote but the majority were barred from the polls.

Walter Stillers, speaker of the State House of Repersentatives, said that "no coercion" was being used to keep Negroes from the polls at Natchez and Mound Bayou, but that their ballots were being marked and would be thrown out later if the Negroes were found not qualified. Stillers, who served as an election official at Mound Bayou, said he challenged all ballots on the ground that Negres were not members of the Democratic Party and would not support the nominee.

Voting was reported moderate throughout the State. Only known violence reported was at Tupelo, where Rep. Rankin assaulted a photographer and seized his camera.

When photographer Allen Snipes had snapped his picture outside of a voting booth, Rankin ripped off the photographer's shirt, scratched his neck and hands and shouted: "I'll kill you, I'll kill you."

Both Bilbo and Rankin's campaign for a third term was based on an appeal for white supremacy. Bilbo was opposed by former Naval Commander Nelson Levings, Supreme Court Clerk Tom Q. Ellis, former Congressman Ross Collins, and Frank Harper, a tree salesman. Bilbo violently attacked "northern yankees," and appealed to red-blooded Anglo-Saxon Mississippians to "give me the greatest victory of my life." Wed 7-3-46

A survey of the state indicated that most of the Negro voting was at Jackson. Another site of Negro voting was Vicksburg. No Negroes voted at Tupelo, Clinton, Pascagoula, Brandon, Poplarville and other towns. No Negroes had registered at Poplarville, county seat of Bilbo's home county. About half of Mississippi's two million inhabitants are Negroes.

Mississippi Will Vote Tuesday After Bitter Racial Campaign; Senate May Probe Election

Times Dispatch Richmond, Va.

JACKSON, MISS., June 30—(AP)—Mississippi's bitter congressional campaign, marked by stress on the race issue and reports of possible Federal investigation, ends Tuesday when the State's Democrats nominate a United States Senator and seven Representatives.

Unless there is a runoff primary, the vote will be equivalent to election, Mississippi being virtually a one-party State.

But before the voting starts, the Senate Elections Committee is due to consider whether a formal investigation is warranted by published charges that eligible Negroes might be kept from casting their ballots.

Action Deferred

The group met in Washington Saturday, but deferred action till tomorrow. 7-1-46

Last week Senator Taylor (R-Idaho) called upon the Senate to investigate reports that a Senator had said he would do all in his power to prevent a group from exercising its right to vote.

He did not identify the Senator or the incident, but Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (D-Miss.) running for his third nomination to the office, has called upon "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to resort to any means" to keep Negroes from voting.

Bilbo has called upon his four opponents to join him in "requesting" Negroes to refrain from voting. Representative John E. Rankin, seeking renomination from Mississippi's First Congressional District, has urged "all law-abiding Negroes" to remain away from the polls.

Surveys have shown that Negro registration is a small percentage of the total, and in many counties there is none at all. But Bilbo claims it will increase with each election until it means "an end to white supremacy." Negroes form 49.2 per cent of the State's population, according to the last census.

The campaign has been largely one of personalities rather than political organizations. There is no State-wide political group in Mississippi, except the Democratic party, and candidates usually rely upon individual appeal.

Other major officeholders have held generally aloof this time. Governor Thomas L. Bailey has made no public comment on the primary.

Tuesday's Candidates

Here are Tuesday's candidates:

For Senator—

Bilbo, 69-year-old lawyer and farmer, of Poplarville, fiery debater, who has held public office almost continually since he was elected to the legislature in 1908. He served twice as Governor.

During his first term impeachment proceedings against him were defeated by one vote. He has been in the Senate since 1934.

Ross A. Collins, of Jackson, 66-year-old lawyer, who served nine terms in the House of Representatives. He has been a candidate for the Senate three times before without success. His chief campaign plank has been a charge that Bilbo has not championed white supremacy strenuously enough.

Tom Q. Ellis, 55, of Jackson, Supreme Court clerk, who claims he was chosen to that office with the largest vote ever given a State-wide candidate in Mississippi. He is the only senatorial candidate to avoid name-calling. He has called his campaign "a crusade for dignity and honor in high places."

Nelson T. Levings, of Gulfport, 44-year-old naval veteran and former bank vice-president. His only previous try for office was an unsuccessful race for Lieutenant-Governor in 1939. He has addressed his plea chiefly to the veterans, and has claimed white supremacy is not an issue.

Frank Harper, former State Senator and peachtree salesman, who has hitchhiked over the State in his campaign. Claims he cast the deciding vote to kill the impeachment proceedings against Bilbo when he was in the legislature.

For Representatives—

First District: John E. Rankin, of Tupelo, incumbent since 1920; Claude F. Clayton, Charles G. Hamilton.

Second District: Jamie L. Whitten, incumbent, unopposed.

Third District: Will M. Whittington, incumbent, unopposed.

Fourth District: Thomas G. Abernethy, incumbent, unopposed.

Fifth District: Arthur Winstead, incumbent; J. O. Hollis.

Sixth District: Arthur Winstead, incumbent; Grover C. Doggette.

Seventh District: Dan R. McGehee, incumbent; Stewart C. Broom, C. A. Sullivan, John Bell Williams.

Senate Investigation Asked

WASHINGTON, June 30—(AP)—Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council, called today for an immediate investigation by a Senate committee of Mississippi's Democratic primary in which Senator Bilbo is seeking nomination.

In a letter to Senator Edwin C. Johnson (D-Colo.), acting chairman of the Elections Committee, Brown cited Bilbo's appeal to "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to resort to any means" to keep Negroes from voting in the primary Tuesday.

The committee decided yesterday to defer until tomorrow a decision on whether to look into Bilbo's campaign.

Brown's letter was similar to a message he sent to President Truman yesterday urging that Federal troops be sent into Mississippi to "protect the polls."

He wrote Johnson that the Senate committee "would render an incomparable public service" if it would recommend Bilbo's expulsion from the Senate.

2000 Mississippi Negroes Vote, Rankin Scratches AP Photog For Vote

N.Y. Times 7-3-46

Negroes voted for the first time in Missippi's Democratic primary yesterday as Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo and Rep. John E. Rankin, ranting advocates of "white supremacy," sought renomination. No violence against Negroes was reported and estimates were that about 2000 voted—not enough to change election results but a sizeable turnout in a State that has only about 5000 registered Negro voters.

In a few isolated instances, Negroes were denied their right to vote as Democrats, and Negro leaders at Jackson conceded they saw no indication of intimidation or trickery. At Biloxi, a red-lettered sign was posted at a Main St. intersection: "Warning to all Negroes: Vote at your own risk."

Only violence reported was at Tupelo where Rep. Rankin assaulted a Associated Press photographer. Allen W. Snipes, who had snapped Rankin's picture outside a voting booth. Rankin ripped off the man's shirt, scratched his neck and hands and shouted: "I'll kill you, I'll kill you." Snipes, a big fellow, refrained from striking back in deference to Rankin's age (64) and small stature.

¶ In Oklahoma, an unexpectedly heavy vote was indicated as voters balloted on a Governor, eight Congressmen and various State officials. Unless the high man in each race gets a majority, the two highest will go into a runoff primary July 23 to determine part nominees for the November election.

Negro Allegedly Beaten For Vote Bid Vanishes

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Mar. 6-27-46

Jackson, Miss., June 26 (AP)—Etoy Fletcher, Negro veteran who Saturday said he had been flogged June 12 after attempting to register as a voter in Rankin County, "has disappeared amid the usual rumors in a case like this," a spokesman for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said here today.

He said efforts to locate the Negro veteran of World War II at his rooms here and at the Brandon at night."

Brandon, seat of Rankin County, was beaten last week end "because his father in Puckett, white men who told her they home of his father, white men who told her they Rankin County, had been unsuccessful. were "not going to allow Negroes on the streets of Brandon after dark," the spokesman said.

Woman Reported Beaten.

The N.A.A.C.P. spokesman said also that the association had received a report that a Negro woman, Matilda Pinkney, of Brandon, N.A.A.C.P. is urging Negroes in Mississippi to continue to register as voters, and those who succeed in qualifying, to vote in the July 2 Democratic primary.

MISSISSIPPI NEGROES INVADE WHITE PRIMARY; NO VIOLENCE

Blue dispatch

Oklahoma City, Okla.

Intimidation Practiced Largely in Rural Sections of State

BILBO'S THREATS UNHEEDED

Sat. 7-13-46

JACKSON, Miss.—(NNPA)—Racial and political traditions were shattered Tuesday, July 2, apparently without violence, as colored electors in Mississippi defied Senator Theodore G. (The Man) Bilbo and voted in the so-called Democratic "white" primary for the first time since adoption of the state constitution in 1890.

Singly and in groups colored electors quietly went to the polling places and cast their votes in the hotly contested primary, in which victory is tantamount to election.

Throughout the day no cases of physical violence had been reported, although many of the colored electors were challenged and many instances of intimidation were reported. One report said 2,000 colored persons had voted.

Reports from the outlying parts of the state indicated that the colored vote in the rural districts, where intimidation was strongest, was light or non-existent. But here in the state capital and in some of the larger communities they flocked to the polls in increasing numbers as the day wore on.

That any dared vote at all in a Democratic primary, and that none were apparently molested, was a history-making event in Mississippi.

The quietness with which the precedent against colored citizens voting in a Democratic primary was broken surprised even Mississippians. In Jackson, colored persons who could qualify for voting appeared to be handled no differently from white voters at the polling places.

Challenges were chiefly on the grounds of failure to pay the poll tax, for failure to have been in harmony with the Democratic party for the past two years, and for inability to satisfy the circuit clerk that the prospective voter was familiar with the Constitution. Sat. 7-13-46

A state law provides that a voter in a party primary must have been in harmony with the party for the two-year period; in other words, nobody must have been in harmony with the party for two-year period; in other words, nobody who voted Republican during the time could qualify. Another state law gives the circuit clerk of each county the right to examine a vote on his knowledge or understanding of the Constitution.

The challenged votes of colored persons were not counted in the unofficial tabulation, but were placed in sealed envelopes to have their validity passed upon by the Mississippi State Democrat Executive Committee.

Some instance of challenges were reported because of a negative answer when the voter was asked if he or she would support Bilbo in the November election if he is the nominee.

In the returns from Mound Bayou, said Sheriff W. E. Kent of ran last, but did poll twelve votes.

Mayor B. A. Green of Mound said Sheriff W. E. Kent, of Bolivar County had challenged 200 voters. After a first challenge was overruled by the three election judges of the community, they were challenged again on the party harmony ground, and this time the ballots were segregated for determination as to their validity.

White leaders in LeFlore County, the rich delta county land, made a drive the day before the primary to persuade colored people not to vote. Sat. 7-13-46

Four colored persons were challenged in Natchez on the ground that their names did not appear on the poll list. Sat. 7-13-46

A lone colored man at Meridian was not allowed to vote because he did not present his certificate of exemption from paying the poll tax. Veterans who were out of Mississippi during their war service need not pay the tax.

Walter Sillers, Speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives, said he had joined in challenging the votes on the ground that Mound Bayou's population was Republican and did not intend to support the Democratic nominee in the general elections.

The Circuit Court building in Jackson was crowded late in the morning and afternoon by both white and colored persons seeking to register. Many of the colored persons, learning that they could register right through July 5, and possibly qualify to vote in the July 2 primary as the November 5 general election, hurried to the circuit clerk's office, and then made a bee-line for their polling places. These included a number of veterans.

Federal law-enforcement agents were not in evidence, but Federal authorities asserted they were in close touch with the situation in the state. J. M. Lopez, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation here, referred comment on the primary situation to Attorney General Tom Clark in Washington.

In view of Senator Bilbo's call to the "red-blooded Anglo-Saxons" of Mississippi to use any means whatever to prevent colored people from voting, it was ironical to see a line of sixteen colored persons standing on the porch of the Senator's former home in Jackson, waiting to vote at a polling place on the porch where Senator used to sit. Sat. 7-13-46

At the corner of Robinson and Eastview Streets, in the beautiful residential section of West Jackson, several cars filled with colored persons had just drawn up. The house, built by the Senator in 1933, just before he became Governor for the second time, is a private resident now, and was the polling place for the 29th Precinct.

Two middle-aged women and a man, all white, sat at two card tables on the veranda, shaded by large trees. Colored persons, some of them veterans and their wives, others, white-haired men and women, formed a line before the tables. All carried poll tax receipts or veteran certificates exempting them from payment of poll tax.

With politeness on both sides, these papers were examined, the ballots and dropped them in the box. Then they quietly left. The same scene was repeated at many other polling places around here, although at some there was less politeness, and after the colored voters had left, downright cussing.

Many Mississippi Negroes Vote; Rankin Assaults AP Photographer

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 7-3-46

JACKSON, Miss., July 2—(UP) Despite warning of bloodshed, several hundred Negroes voted without molestation Tuesday in Mississippi's Democratic primary in which two hot-tongued advocates of white supremacy, Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo and Rep. John E. Rankin, sought renomination.

Negro leaders had feared trouble and had appealed for Federal protection at the polls.

But the only violence reported during a quiet day of voting was at Tupelo, where Rankin assaulted a photographer and seized his camera.

Angry because Associated Press Photographer Allen Snipes had snapped his picture outside a voting booth, Rankin ripped off his shirt, scratched his neck and hands, and shouted, "I'll kill you, I'll kill you."

A witness, Walter Long, separated the pair. Long said Snipes made no attempt to fight back.

Rankin later returned the camera but kept the film.

Bilbo, whose campaign for a third term was based entirely on an appeal for white supremacy, was opposed by former Naval Cmdr. Nelson Levings, Supreme Court Clerk Tom Q. Ellis, former Rep. Ross Collins and Frank Harper, a tree salesman.

Bilbo had violently attacked "Northern Yankees" who he said were trying to defeat him, appealed to red-blooded Mississippians to keep Negroes from the polls and had called on the 150,000 to 200,000 white voters to "give me the greatest victory of my life."

All four of his opponents also stood for white supremacy but not so violently.

A survey of the State indicated that most of the Negro voting was at Jackson.

Of the first 2,700 voters at Jackson, 110 were Negroes, and it was expected that 300 or 400 would ballot by the time the polls close.

A half dozen or so Negroes voted at Vicksburg, a few at Pass Christian and some 200 at Mound Bayou, an all-Negro town of 1,000 population in the Mississippi Delta. It was the first time since the community was founded 43 years ago that Negroes there had voted in a Democratic primary.

However, Sheriff W. E. Kent, of Bolivar County, in which Mound Bayou is located, said some of the votes would be challenged.

A survey Tuesday afternoon indicated that no Negroes had voted at Tupelo, Clinton, Pascagoula, Brandon, Popularville and other towns. No Negroes had registered at Popularville, county seat of Bilbo's home county.

At Meridian, one elderly Negro tried to vote, but was told he was not qualified. At Corinth, a Negro was turned away because he was too young. Officials said he was only 19.

About one-half of Mississippi's 2,000,000 inhabitants are Negroes.

Rankin was opposed by former Circuit Judge Claude Clayton and Charles Hamilton, Minister and School Teacher.

Three other Congressmen had oppositon. Rep. Arthur Winstead was opposed by J. O. Hollis in the Fifth District; Rep. William Colmer was opposed by Grover Dogett in the Sixth and Rep. Dan McGehee in the Seventh District was opposed by John Bell Williams, Stewart C. Broom and Arthur Sullivan.

SENATORS REFUSE INQUIRY ON BILBO

Times-Herald Wed. 7-3-46

Special Committee Declines to Act Without a Complaint From Mississippi Residents

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 1—A Senatorial investigation of complaints against the nature of the Democratic primary campaign being conducted in Mississippi by Senator Maybank for his part in Southern politics from the outside" and added that to take ac-

5,000 Negroes Qualified; Another Flogging Revealed

Informer - Houston Texas

7-6-46

F-L-A-S-H!

JACKSON, Miss. — **Negroes not only voted in Mississippi, but Bilbo's house was the polling place and Negroes voted in Bilbo's own home in Jackson, Mississippi! 300 to 500 had voted at one o'clock Tuesday. Negroes voted without any molestation, and the polling places were exceptionally courteous. The only challenges ever hurled were on the question of whether they were Republicans or Democrats. Indications at one o'clock were a possible run-off between Bilbo and Nelson T. Levings.** 7-6-46

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The Department of Justice announced last Tuesday that the Federal Bureau of Investigation will investigate charges of intimidation of colored persons who sought to register to vote in the Democratic primary in Mississippi Tuesday, July 2. About 5,000 colored persons, mostly in cities, were said to have been qualified to participate in the July 2 primary.

The announcement followeed submission of a photostatic copy of an affidavit made by Etoy Fletcher, a veteran, of Puckett, Mississippi, who alleged that he was unmercifully flogged by four white men after he had attempted to register in Brandon, Mississippi.

Press dispatches from Jackson, Mississippi, quoting Senator Theodore G. (The Man) Bilbo, who was seeking nomination for a third term, calling on white voters in Mississippi to "see to it" that colored persons did not vote in the Mississippi primary, was also brought to the attention of the Justice Department.

At Laurel, Mississippi, on the night of June 22, Bilbo called on "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon man in Mississippi to resort to any means to keep Negroes from the polls uly 2." Sat. 7-6-46

"And," he added, "if you don't know what that means you are not up on persuasive measures.

"The white people of Mississippi are sleeping on a volcano, and it is left up to you red-blooded men to do something about it. The white men of this state have a right to resort to any means at their command to stop it."

Bilbo was opposed by Ross Collins, Tom Q. Ellis and Nelson Levings, who campaigned against him intensively. It was believed in political circles here that a runoff primary will be necessary to determine the winner.

JACKSON, Miss.—The Democratic primary elections held throughout Mississippi on Tuesday may be probed by the United States Senate, it was indicated early this week in a statement by Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council, Washington, D. C., following campaign speeches by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo urging whites to use any means to keep Negroes from voting, and after at least two Negroes were reported flogged for attempting to register in the past two weeks.

Percy Green, editor of the Jackson Advocate, said in a statement to United Press, that a reign "of terror" was on in one section of Mississippi last week and the Negro voting issue warranted a congressional investigation.

While campaigning, Senator Bilbo made white supremacy the main plank of his platform.

In Washington, Senator Glen Taylor, Democrat of Idaho, asked that the Senate committee on elections and privileges investigate a published statement by Bilbo calling on "every red-blooded" Mississippian to see that Negroes are kept away from the polls in the primary.

Taylor, without calling names, cited Bilbo's published campaign statement, and added: Informer

"We cannot disregard these charges witho an investigation."

The senate committee should look into the situation, he said, "so that no people will be deprived of their right to vote." Houston Texas

Attorney General Tom Clark announced earlier last week that a federal investigation of the situation in Mississippi might be undertaken. But Bilbo immediately challenged the Justice Department and the FBI. Sat. 7-6-46

Percy Green, the newspaper editor, reported that the town of Brandon, where Etoy Fletcher, a Negro war veteran, flogged, was in the midst of a reign of terror last week. Green said he had learned of the second flogging to occur in that community in which Mrs. Matilda Pinckney, 43-year-old woman, was so badly beaten that she could not be removed to a hospital.

The sheriff's office said it had received no word of the alleged flogging which Green said took place last Sunday night. He said the alleged attackers told the woman they "were not going to allow Negroes on the streets after dark."

Bilbo charged that "well organized" outsiders were stirring up trouble among Negroes and encouraging them vote.

The last survey taken before the election showed that only a small number of Negroes would be eligible to vote but the smallness of the potential Negro vote did not diminish in importance to Bilbo who said in his closing campaign speech: it will be two handsful next time "If you let a handful vote this time, and four the time after, and soon white supremacy will be lost."

The low figures on Negro registration were blamed by T. B. Wilson, president of the Progressive Voters League, on ruse and intimidation by some circuit clerks.

The first flogging reported was that of Etoy Fletcher, a war veteran, who told of being beaten by four white men with heavy wire because he had attempted to register at Brandon, Mississippi.

An attempt was made to offset Fletcher's statement on Friday when Dr. C. P. Matranga, a white physician who treated Fletcher after his injuries on June 13, signed an affidavit saying Fletcher had told him that he had been beaten by a group of Negro boys. 7-6-46

In connection with Mrs. Pinckney's flogging, it was learned from reliable source that two men has been apprehended and charged

And regardless of the final tabulations of the election, it is likely that the senate committee will conduct a probe into the Mississippi situation, it was predicted on Sunday.

MISSISSIPPI POLITICIANS ASK NEGROES REFRAIN FROM PRIMARY VOTING

Washington, June 22—(AP) — Rep. Rankin (D-Miss) today joined Senator Bilbo (D-Miss) in urging "law-abiding" Mississippi Negroes to refrain from voting in the state primaries.

In a statement, Rankin said:

"I simply appeal to the law-abiding Negro of Mississippi to refrain from attempting to participate in the white primaries.

"I know that the Communists are trying to stir up race trouble all over the South, just as they did in Columbia, Tennessee, and they don't care how much the Negroes or the white people of the South suffer as a result. What they want is to stir up friction.

"They know, and everyone else knows, that their activities will result in untold injury to the Negroes of the South by stirring up friction between them and the white people among whom they live, and upon whose good will and friendship they must depend for their future peace, happiness and prosperity."

Taylor told the committee it "must act fast" if it is to act, but then offered a suggestion which put possible action off—to refer the situation to the special committee on campaign expenditures.

Committee chairman Theodore F. Green (D-RI) quickly accepted the offer, saying his group lacked jurisdiction.

UNAVA national commander, said:

"This matter is receiving the careful attention of the Department of Justice and prompt action will be undertaken with respect to any interference with the right of qualified Negroes to vote in Mississippi."

Senator Says Bilbo Plots to Break Law

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

WASHINGTON, July 1.—Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo was charged before a Senate committee today with engaging "in a widespread plan to break Federal laws." The committee, however, passed the buck to another body and declined to investigate.

On the eve of the Mississippi Senator's "white supremacy" bid for renomination, Sen. Glen H. Taylor (D-Ida), told the Privileges and Elections Committee that Bilbo had raised an issue which, **"in the minds of millions of our citizens, tests the sincerity of our Senate."**

"It is as important to the future of our republic as any problem which has come before us this session," Taylor said. "We cannot duck it. We cannot avoid it. It is before us." Sun 7-2-46

Bilbo told Mississippi election meetings to "use any means" to prevent Negroes from voting. He promised to defend any person arrested for so doing, adding that he had defended 11 persons on murder charges, all successfully.

Mississippi Faces Negro Vote Problem

JACKSON, Miss., June 29. (AP)—The Negro voting question today turned the national spotlight, and perhaps a Senate investigation, upon Tuesday's democratic primary election in Mississippi, but only a corporal's guard of Negroes, at most, can cast ballots.

A last survey showed that the Negro registration is only a tiny percentage of the total number of names on the books. Many counties have no Negro registrants, and in the state's largest county, Hindu, there are only about 500 Negroes registered as compared with 25,000 white voters.

But the smallness of the potential Negro vote did not diminish its importance as an issue in the eyes of Senator Theo G. Bilbo, who has stressed white supremacy in his campaign for re-nomination.

"If you let a handful vote this time," Bilbo has said, "it will be two handfuls next time and four handfuls the time after, and soon white supremacy will be lost."

The low figures of Negro registration have been blamed by T. B. Wilson, Negro president of the Progressive Voters League, on "ruse and intimidation" by some circuit clerks. He claims clerks have prevented registration by such means as feigned absence from their offices, or by pretending that the deadline has passed.

Meanwhile, the Senate elections committee in Washington was considering whether a federal investigation of the Mississippi primary was warranted, and the National Negro Council asked President Truman to send troops "to guard the polls."

Election Committee Defers Action

The elections committee met today, but deferred action in the matter until Monday.

At least four of the senatorial candidates will continue vigorous campaigning right up to the eve of the primary. Bilbo, who has called upon "all red-blooded Anglo-Saxons" to prevent Negro voting "by any means," will climax his speaking program with a radio address Monday night over "all radio stations in Mississippi and one in Tennessee."

Nelson T. Levings of Gulfport, naval veteran who has asked other ex-servicemen to help him "end the Bilbonic Plague," likewise will end his campaign in Jackson, with a outdoor rally which also will be broadcast.

Supreme Court Clerk Tom Q. Ellis closes his tour with talks Monday in three smaller towns. Ellis, alone of the five candidates, largely has steered clear of personalities.

Former Representative Ross Collins, will wind up in Meridian. Collins has addresses traveled on his hitchhiking campaign tour by

Negro Registration

Moultrie Ga. Observer
June 20, 1946

Negroes in reasonable numbers are registering throughout the state, but there is no grand rush or unseemly eagerness about the way they are registering. It will be a new experience for the Ngroes to vote in the white primary this year. In the larger cities they have registered in considerable numbers, but throughout the state the registration is not large in proportion to the number who are entitled to register. A lot of white people of the state, stirred by sensational political speeches, have been expecting that the colored people would immediately get into politics and in counties and districts where they have a majority there would be Negroes offering for office. The Observer had hoped that this would not come to pass and have counseled that we give the Negro a chance and if he behaves in the primary voting as we believe he will behave himself, we will have gained a new citizen and a new voter and will have done no one any harm.

If it should be found that the Negroes were over ambitious and sought to take charge of things in some areas it would then be time enough to experiment with new methods of maintaining white supremacy. We have a few counties in Georgia that have more Negroes than whites. An encouraging thing is the fact that in these counties where there are large numbers of colored people living in rural districts they are paying least attention to registering and to plans for voting. It may be that after all the Negro at the ballot box will be no problem. At least, it is a bridge that we can afford to wait and cross after we get to it. It will be much better if the state can ease into these inter-racial primaries and elections without stirring up strife and bitterness and without getting into long drawn out litigation. We may find solution in a way that we had not anticipated. Give the thinking people of both races a chance to work it out and find something that is both satisfactory and legal.

JUST PLAIN LYING

The New York headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a notorious social equality-seeking organization, has made public an affidavit signed by Etoy Fletcher, a Rankin county negro, claiming that he was taken from the court house at Brandon by four men and flogged with a heavy wire cable because he had offered to register as a voter in that county.

All evidence thus far available indicates that Fletcher is an unmitigated liar and that his affidavit is a plain frame-up secured for the purpose of influencing negro votes in Northern states.

Fletcher says the flogging took place on June 2nd. Four days later he came to this city and underwent physical examination for admission as a student at Jackson College. College records do not show that his body bore any marks of a flogging, which would certainly have been the case if he had been severely whipped as claimed.

Fletcher was not available for questioning Saturday after his affidavit was made public in New York. He is not now available. Nobody at the college seems to know anything concerning his whereabouts.

D. V. Gayden, circuit clerk and registrar of Rankin county, says he does not recall that any negro answering Fletcher's description has ever offered to register. The sheriff's office says it has not received any complaint on the subject.

The National Association for Advancement of Colored People is notorious for its malicious mischief-making and strife-breeding propaganda. Fletcher's hair-raising story may be sanely dismissed as another incident of that sort.

Bilbo in the Lead as Negroes Vote in Mississippi Primary

Times New York, N.Y. Wed. 7-3-46

Some Are Challenged on Legal Grounds, but There Is No Disorder as They Cast Their First Ballots

Wed. 7-3-46

By The Asso

JACKSON, Mss., July 2—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, vociferous advocate of white supremacy, led his four opponents in early returns tonight from Mississippi's first mixed democratic primary. He had a majority with more than 10 per cent of the votes counted.

He was seeking his third term in a primary in which Negroes were allowed to vote for the first time. A few were challenged at the polls, but for the most part those who could qualify were permitted to cast their ballots peacefully.

Unofficial returns from 276 out of the 1,713 precincts gave Bilbo 20,296; Ross Collins 3,733; Tom Q. Ellis 12,302; Frank Harper 250; and Nelson T. Levings, 2,625.

A red-lettered sign at a main Biloxi business intersection said "warning to all negroes, vote at your own risk." Four negroes who approached a Biloxi polling place and said they came to vote were turned away by a bystander.

And Eaton Garriga, who served as a bailiff at Pass Christian where 18 negroes participated in a municipal primary several weeks ago, said that election commissioners there voted before the polls opened this morning to deny the ballot to negroes today.

But for the most part, reports indicated that registered Negroes who sought to vote were challenged only for legal cause, such as non-payment of poll taxes or questioned adherence to the Democratic party. Only a thousand Negro ballots were cast, in all, but the number represented a good proportion of the total registration.

Negro leaders at Jackson said they saw no indication of intimidation or trickery. 7-3-46

Each hoping to force Mr. Bilbo into a run-off primary, the Senator's four opponents closed their campaigns with expressions of confidence. All conceded that he would be high man in the race, but all predicted that he would not obtain the outright majority needed for nomination in today's voting.

Mr. Bilbo's opponents were Ross A. Collins, veteran of nine terms as representative in Congress; Tom Q. Ellis, 55-year-old clerk of the State Supreme Court; Frank H. Harper, former State Senator, and Nelson T. Levings, who served as a lieutenant commander in the Navy during the war. Times

Three representatives in addition to Mr. Rankin had opposition. Representative Arthur Winstead of the Fifth District was opposed by his former Campaign Manager, J. O. Hollis. In the Sixth District Representative William M. Colmer was opposed by Grover C. Doggette. Three opponents of Representative Dan R. McGehee in the Seventh District were Stewart C. Broom, C. A. Sullivan and John Bell Williams. New York, N.Y. Wed. 7-3-46

Negro Voting Overshadows All Issues in Mississippi

Times Dispatch Richmond, Va.

JACKSON, MISS., July 1—(AP)—The red-hot question of Negro voting overshadowed all other issues tonight on the eve of a Mississippi Democratic primary election in which Congress' most outspoken advocates of white supremacy—Senator Theo G. Bilbo and Representative John E. Rankin—seek return to office.

Backed by a Supreme Court opinion and a Justice Department warning, Negroes already have voted in primaries in other one-party Southern States.

But they never before have cast ballots in a Mississippi primary, and Bilbo has called upon "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in the State to use whatever means are necessary" to keep them from the polls tomorrow. 7-2-46

Rankin, since 1920 the Representative of the First District which embraces Northeast Mississippi, urged "law-abiding" Negroes to refrain from voting.

Instructions to Vote

On the other hand, Negroes have been instructed by their own organizations to make an effort to vote, but to come away peacefully if the ballot is denied. Mayor B. A. Green said that about 200 votes will be cast in the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, where citizens have voted before in general elections but never in Democratic primaries.

No accurate estimate was possible as to the number of Negroes in the State who have registered, but it is only a tiny proportion of the eligible white vote. The 1940 census showed that Mississippi's population was 49.2 per cent Negro.

The tense situation brought repercussions from out of the State.

Senator Taylor, Idaho Democrat, asked the Senate elections committee to investigate the accuracy of reports that Bilbo had made his call to "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon.

The committee finally decided to refer Taylor's demands to the special Senate Campaign Committee.

Taylor told the committee that it should "gather all of the facts of this case, while the evidence is still available, in order to build up a file for future reference in the event that a candidate's credentials are challenged before his seating next January."

The Idahoan expressed the belief that President Truman should sent troops to Mississippi to protect the Negroes' right to vote "if that is the only way that their rights can be assured."

Director Edgar G. Brown, of the National Negro Council, already had asked the President to send troops into the State to "protect the polls."

The supercharged Negro voting issue came to the fore near the end of a name-calling senatorial campaign in which Bilbo, seeking a third term, was the storm center.

Opponents Blast Bilbo

Three of Bilbo's four opponents directed their fire against him. The fourth, State Supreme Court Clerk Tom Q. Ellis, steered clear of personalities, and based his appeal for votes on a pledge to fight the Fair Employment Practices Commission, and to obtain favorable veterans' legislation and better farm legislation. 7-2-46

Ross A. Collins, veteran of nine terms in the House of Representatives at Washington, charged that Bilbo had been lax in his champion of a white supremacy. He accused Bilbo of seeking repeal of Mississippi's poll tax, and of responsibility for the appointment of a Negro to a political office in the State, Washington.

Nelson T. Levings, a Navy lieutenant-commander during the war, charged that Bilbo had stirred up personalities, and based his appeal for votes on a pledge to fight the Fair Employment Practices Commission, and to obtain favorable veterans' legislation and better farm legislation. 7-2-46

Ross A. Collins, veteran of nine terms in the House of Representatives at Washington, charged that the Negro voting matter as a Bilbo had been lax in his campaign measure. Levings said there is no issue that white supremacy is because we have it in Mississippi and intend to keep it."

Frank H. Harper, former State Senator and peacetime Fifth District Representative Arthur Winstead is opposed by his former campaign manager, J. O. Hollis.

In the Sixth District Representative William M. Colmer has as opponent Grover C. Doggette, Laurel. 7-2-46

Four House Incumbents

Three Mississippi Representatives in addition to Rankin are opposed for renomination.

Rankin, who stayed in Washington during the campaign, is running against Claude F. Clayton and Charles G. Hamilton.

Mississippi Negroes Threatened, Says Bloch

JACKSON, Miss., July 1. (AP)—Charges of "wholesale" intimidation, "threats and assaults" to keep Negros from voting in tomorrow's Mississippi Democratic primary were made today just before U. S. Attorney General Tom Clark announced the justice department would back up their right to vote.

The charges came from Emanuel H. Bloch, counsel for the Civil Rights congress, New York, who asserted that "exhortations" by Senator Theo. G. Bilbo have "spread a blanket of terror and apprehension" over 1,000,000 Mississippi Negroes.

Bilbo and Rep. John L. Rankin, both outspoken advocates of white supremacy, are candidates for renomination in the primary.

Bloch telegraphed protests to President Truman, Attorney General Clark and Senator Mead (D., N. Y.), member of the senate committee on elections. He urged an investigation and an "immediate pronouncement . . . that the federal government will protect any citizen in his civil liberties and constitutional rights."

Clark said a few hours later that the full force of his department would stand behind any qualified Negro seeking to cast his ballot in the primary. A supreme court ruling "makes federal law in this question entirely clear," he added.

Senator Maybank (D., S. C.) said in Washington, however, that the senate campaign investigating committee would not send investigators because "it would be an insult to the people of Mississippi."

Maybank said the committee did not feel justified in acting since none of the candidates themselves had asked an inquiry. All such requests, he asserted, have come from "dabblers in Southern politics from the outside."

Bloch in his telegram said that documentary evidence was available that "wholesale incidents of intimidatory acts, threats and assaults against Negroes, particularly Negro veterans, have occurred."

Backed by a supreme court opinion and a justice department warning, Negroes already have voted in primaries in other one-party Southern states.

But they never before have cast ballots in a Mississippi primary, and Bilbo has called upon "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in the state to use whatever means are necessary" to keep them from the polls tomorrow.

Rankin, since 1920 the representative of the first district which embraces northeast Mississippi, urged "law-abiding" Negroes to refrain from voting.

Instructed To Vote

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Taylor told the committee that it should "gather all of the facts of this case while the evidence is still available in order to build up a file for future reference in the event that a candidate's credentials are challenged before his seating next January."

U. S. to Back Negro Voters In Mississippi

Times-Dispatch

Senate Group Declines To Send Investigator

Richmond, Va.

WASHINGTON, July 1—(AP)—Attorney-General Tom Clark said tonight the full power of the Justice Department will back up the United States attorney's announcement in Mississippi that qualified Negro voters may vote in that State's primary tomorrow.

Clark said in a statement "the latest action of the United States Supreme Court makes Federal law in this question entirely clear."

Senator Maybank (D-S. C.) said today the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee has decided against sending investigators to Mississippi to look into tomorrow's Democratic primary election.

Tuesday

"It would be an insult to the people of Mississippi," Maybank told reporters after a meeting with some others of the investigating group.

Requests that the Senate committee send a representative were made by Senator Taylor (D-Idaho) and Edgar G. Brown, representative of the National Negro Council.

7-2-46

"Outsiders"

Maybank said there had been numerous requests and demands from "all over the country" but added that neither Senator Bilbo (D-Miss.), seeking re-election, nor any of his opponents in the primary had made such a request.

All requests for investigation, Maybank said, came from "dabblers in Southern politics from the outside," and were "wholly from outsiders."

"I am opposed and will not vote for any action to send investigators to Mi sissippi because outsiders ask for it," Maybank added.

"If, however, candidates within the State of Mississippi or any other citizens of that State complain, I am in favor of investigation. Otherwise it is not a Senate matter—not a Senate duty to send investigators to Mississippi upon request of outsiders absolutely."

Taylor's request for an investigation first was made to the regular standing committees on elections which referred it to the special investigating group.

Bar Negro Vote, Bilbo Entreats 'Red-Blooded'

JACKSON, Miss., June 22—(UP)—Sen. Theodore Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, Saturday night demanded that the "red-blooded men" of Mississippi bar Negroes from voting. His demand came a few hours after a Negro Army veteran charged that he had been beaten and flogged by four white men when he sought to register.

In one of his strongest white supremacy statements of his current campaign for renomination, Bilbo said at Laurel that if a few Negroes vote in the Democratic primary this year, more will vote in 1947 "and from then on it will grow into a mighty surge."

He called on every "red-blooded, Anglo-Saxon man in Mississippi to resort to any means to keep hundreds of Negroes from the polls in the July 2 primary."

"And if you don't know what that means, your are just not up on your persuasive measures," Bilbo added.

Bilbo's speech came after Etoy Fletcher, Army veteran attending school under the GI Bill of Rights, charged in an affidavit that he had been seized, flogged and beaten at Brandon, Miss., on June 2 when he attempted unsuccessfully to register. His charge was made in an affidavit made public by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York.

Use Troops at Polls, Oust Bilbo, Cry Negroes

CHICAGO, June 22—(UP)—Edgar G. Brown, Director of the National Negro Council, Saturday night urged President Truman to send troops into Mississippi for the July 2 election to enforce a Supreme Court decision giving Negroes the right to vote in "white" primaries.

Brown, speaking before the annual meeting of the National Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress, said that "if Mr. Truman could send troops to Gen. MacArthur to assure the right of the Japanese, our recent enemies, to vote, certainly he can do the same for our native Americans."

Some 17,000 delegates and guests, representing 4,000,000 Negro Baptists, signed petitions demanding the impeachment of Mississippi Sen. Theodore R. Bilbo.

Bilbo Renews Plea to Prevent Negroes Voting

LAUREL — (Special) — Citizens of Mississippi were again called on here Saturday by Senator Theo. G. Bilbo "to resort to any means" to keep negroes from the polls in the July 2 Democratic Primary.

"And if you don't know what that means, you are just not up on persuasive measures," said Senator Bilbo as he completed a week of stump speaking in South Mississippi.

"Spurred on by the CIO and PAC," the senior senator said, "negroes are going to make an all-out effort to vote next Tuesday week and if you don't know what that means you are not awake to the crisis ahead," he said.

"We are faced with the issue and 'it must be met and it must be met now.' If you let a handful go to the polls on July 2 there will be two handfuls in 1947, and from then on it will grow into a mighty surge."

"The white people of Mississippi can't afford to let this happen in a state where half the population is negro," Senator Bilbo added.

"The white people of Mississippi are sleeping on a volcano," he warned, "and it is left up to you red-blooded men to do something about it. The white men of this state have a right to resort to any means at their command to stop it."

Senator Bilbo said that "every day since the 14th of last October, negroes, foreigners and the scum of the north and east have alternated in picketing my apartment in Washington because of my fight against FEPC, and my refusal, as ex-officio mayor, to let the negroes take over in Washington."

"Since I have been back in the state seeking re-nomination, the CIO and PAC, through their paid agents—and you know who I am talking about—have undertaken a filthy, malicious assassination of my character and record in an effort to silence an expose of their social and political equality movement in Mississippi," he declared. "They doubtless will continue this smear campaign during the closing week."

Negroes Vote In Mississippi Election Today

TUPELO, Miss., July 2—(AP)—U. S. Representative John Rankin of Mississippi assaulted an Associated Press photographer here today, ripping off the newsman's shirt and scratching his neck and hands after the latter took a picture of the congressman outside a Tupelo polling place.

Rankin is seeking renomination from Mississippi's first congressional district in today's Democratic primary.

The photographer was Allen W. Snipes of Memphis.

JACKSON, Miss., July 2—(AP)—Backed by a promise of federal protection, Negroes joined white persons today in voting in Mississippi's Democratic primary election.

They were not molested.

The issue of whether Negroes could vote had been high-pointed during the campaign by an appeal by Senator Theo G. Bilbo, who seeks re-nomiation, to "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to use whatever means are necessary" to keep Negroes from the polls.

Twenty-five Negroes were among the first 45 persons to vote in the 31st precinct at Jackson. Across the street, in the 32nd precinct, one Negro was among 30 early voters.

Negro voters had the assurance of Attorney General Tom Clark in Washington that the justice department would back up the Supreme Court's ruling which, he said, "makes federal law in this question entirely clear."

Bilbo in campaign addresses has defied the federal government to enforce Negro voting rights and has offered his legal services to defend "anyone who gets in trouble" preventing Negroes from casting ballots.

Rep. John E. Rankin, who also has often spoken for white supremacy, has urged "law-abiding Negroes" to stay away from the polls. Rankin, chairman of the House committee on un-American affairs, is one of four representatives facing opposition in today's Democratic primary. The other three are unopposed.

The Democratic primary is equivalent to an election in one-party Mississippi.

COUNTRY EYES NEGRO VOTING

National Spotlight Turned on Mississippi Primary Slated for Tuesday

JACKSON, Miss., June 29—(AP)—The Negro voting question today turned the national spotlight, and perhaps a Senate investigation, upon Tuesday's Democratic primary election in Mississippi, but only a corporal's guard of Negroes, at most, can cast ballots.

A last survey showed that the Negro registration is only a tiny percentage of the total number of names on the books. Many counties have no Negro registrants, and in the State's largest county, Hindu, about 500 Negroes compared with 25,000 white voters.

But the smallness of the potential Negro vote did not diminish its importance as an issue in the eyes of Senator Theo G. Bilbo, who has stressed white supremacy in his campaign for re-nomination.

"If you let a handful vote this time," Bilbo has said, "it will be two handfuls next time and four handfuls the time after, and soon white supremacy will be lost."

NEGROES VOTE IN MISSISSIPPI PRIMARY ELECTION

Above are two negroes as they dropped their ballots in the poll box at precinct No. 31, located a 545 Rose street, Jackson.

Negroes Vote in State Primary Unmolested; Hit Over 100 Here

Although negroes voted in Jackson and at other points in Mississippi in Tuesday' Democratic primary, in mid-afternoon signs of violence were lacking. Early voters in Jack son included about 75 negroes, none of whom was molested.

A last minute rush to register developed at the Hinds county circuit clerk's office. Th office could make no estimate of the number of negroes applying. The majority of those applying were discharged service men who needed no poll tax receipts to vote. They stood in line with white registrants and without comment or demonstration applied for and received their registration certificates.

A check between 11 a. m. and noon showed that 2,702 votes had been cast in Jackson, where the total vote was 5,662 in the latest contest for the governship and other state offices. Polling places were swamped with a rush at noon.

By noon, 110 negroes had voted. Eleven others had their ballots challenged. In one ward, the challenge was on the ground that the negroes had not been in harmony with the Democratic party. In the other, election officials said simply "we are challenging their right to vote." About 40 negroes already had voted in one of the wards.

At one precinct, No. 31 located at the Sansing Refrigeration Service, 545 Rose street, more negroes than whites were voting during the period 8:00 until 9:15 a. m. The negroes came in ones or in pairs to discover their ballot was not to be challenged if they had properly registered.

Among those voting at the precinct was Percy Green, editor of the Jackson Advocate, negro newspaper, who paused at the doorway, entered slowly, signed the poll register, voted and as he dropped the ballot into the box, he stepped lively to the outside and said:

"I've got to call New York."

His remarks were addressed to Emanuel Blich, counsel for the Civil Rights Congress and former attorney for FEPC and others.

Meanwhile, across the street at precinct No. 32, the P. L. Hughes Grocery store, the negro balloting was noticably lighter.

One of the largest single groups of negroes to vote at any one period was at the precinct No. 30, the Bilbo home, corner of Robinson and Eastview street, where at noon a grup of approximately 20 voted. Negro photographers and reporters from out of state newspapers "covered" the occasion.

A record of voting in Jackson by precincts at noon showed:

Precinct 1—Of approximately 350 registered voters, 120 votes had been cast, all by white voters.

Precinct 2—117 votes cast; approximately 435 eligible voters. No colored voters.

Precinct 3—72 votes cast; 200 registered; no colored voters.

Precinct 4—108 votes cast; 400 registered; no colored.

Precinct 5—71 votes cast; 351 registered; no colored.

Precinct 6—162 votes cast; 300 registered; no colored.

Precinct 7—66 votes cast; 175 registered; no colored.

Precinct 7—66 votes cast; 175 registered; 40 negroes.

Precinct 8—87 votes cast; 400 registered; nine negro voters challenged and ballots retained to be passed on by State Democrotic Executive Committee.

Precinct 9—65 voted; 190 eligible; two colored voters were challenged but allowed to cast ballots.

Precinct 10—record not available.

Precinct 11—129 votes cast; more than 400 voters registered; no colored voters registered.

Precinct 12—68 votes cast; 268 registered. No Negroes registered.

Precinct 13—Record not available.

Precinct 14—118 votes cast; 500 registered. No Negro voters.

Precinct 15—195 votes cast; 552 registered. No colored.

Precincts 16, 17 and 18—records not available at time of survey.

Precinct 19—46 votes cast; 400 registered. 4 colored voted.

Precinct 20—65 votes cast; 268 eligible. Four Negroes voted.

Precinct 21—39 votes cast; 260 eligible. Seven Negroes voted.

Precinct 22—84 voted; registration figures not available. One Negro voted.

Precinct 23—77 voted; 260 eligible. No Negro voters.

Precinct 24—94 votes cast; 450 registered; no Negro voters.

Precinct 25—135 votes cast; 535 registered. No Negroes appeared

Precinct 26 - 141 votes cast; 400 registered. No negroes.

Precinct 27 - 169 votes cast; 550 registered. No negroes.

Precinct 28 - 108 votes cast; 500 registered. No negroes

Precinct 29 - 82 votes cast; 280 registered. No negroes voted.

Precinct 30 - Records not available at time of survey.

Precinct 31 - 103 votes cast; 457 registered. 28 negroes voted.

Precinct 32 - 86 votes cast; 500 registered. 8 negroes voted. One additional expressed desire to vote Republican.

Precinct 33 - 65 votes cast; 513 registered. 2 negroes voted.

Precinct 34 - 63 votes cast; all by white voters.

Precinct 35 - 59 votes cast, all by white voters.

Precinct 36 - 72 votes cast; 400 registered. All white.

Precinct 37 - 46 votes cast; 400 registered. No negroes voted.

Precinct 38 - 54 votes cast; 300

SCORES BEATEN, INTIMIDATED, IN MISS. VOTING

Mass Fear Grips Negroes Frightened From Polls

Chronicle

JACKSON, Miss. — A story of terror and intimidation began to unfold in Mississippi this week as full reports of violence on election day were disclosed.

Although virtually no violence was reported on the actual day of election, when Negro citizens voted in the Democratic primaries for the first time in the history of the state, increasing reports of intimidation, violence and brutality and even death indicate that definite efforts were made to hold down the number of Negro voters.

Pat. 7-13-46

Bilbo Responsible

Most of these acts of violence are laid to Sen. Theodore Bilbo, who earlier urged the white people of the state to use any and all means at their disposal to keep the Democratic primary in Mississippi for white men only. By implication Bilbo condoned the use of murder.

Detroit, Mich

A candidate for reelection to the United States Senate Bilbo was joined in his violent race baiting, but in a lesser degree by the four other Senatorial candidates, Ross A. Collins, former U. S. Congressman; Tom Q. Ellis, State Supreme Court Clerk, Nelson Levings, World War II Navy Commander and Frank "Peachtree" Harper.

5,000 Qualified

The results of the election show Bilbo with a majority of slightly over 3,000 votes over the combined total of all his opponents. With a conservatively estimated 5,000 Negroes, including veterans qualified under a state law exempting them from paying poll tax, eligible to vote in the election. Had it not been for the actual violence and fear of violence on the part of Negro voters widespread over the State it appears certain now that there would have to be a second Senatorial Primary.

The reports of election day violence began with an account in one of the state leading daily papers of the shooting to death of F. C. Fowler, a Choctam County Negro citizen. Fowler was shot to death on election day by the town marshal. The marshal said he shot and instantly killed Fowler when he stopped a car Fowler was driving and Fowler got out and started toward him like he was fixing to draw a weapon.

One Killed

In Gulfport, leading city along the gulf coast section of the state a number of Negroes were beaten. There is fear that at least one Negro was killed. J. T. Hall, wealthy Negro undertaker, was arrested and lodged in jail on election day. Because of fear it is almost impossible to obtain information from any Negro regarding the election day incidents.

In Canton, just 25 miles from the state Capitol City of Jackson, a well known farmer, who is often deputized for law enforcement duties when anything happens involving Negroes, stationed himself at one of the polling places armed with a heavy club and when the first Negro appeared to vote, he began beating him with the heavy club. The man managed to escape with only a few blows. When the news spread rapidly over the town no other Negroes attempted to go to the polls and generally stayed in their home and off the street.

False Arrest

In McComb in the Southern section of the state, much in the news in recent weeks following the reported decision of the veterans' administration to locate an all Negro Veterans' hospital there, a 77-year-old Negro registered and qualified by exemption from the poll tax, was the first to attempt to go to the polls. He was met by a group of men. One of whom, after stopping and threatening him, had him arrested and charged with attempting to shove him off the sidewalk. Following the incident no other Negroes attempted to go to the polls.

Trouble Averted

In Natchez, bluff city by the Mississippi river in the southwest corner of the state a serious election incident was narrowly averted due to a hurried meeting of white and Negro leaders.

Negro Council Head Asks Primary Probe

WASHINGTON [AP] Edgar G. Brown, director of the national negro council, called yesterday for an immediate investigation by a senate committee of Mississippi's democratic primary in which Sen. Bilbo is seeking nomination.

In a letter to Sen. Edwin C. Johnson, acting chairman of the elections committee, Brown cited Bilbo's appeal to "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to resort to any means" to keep negroes from voting in the primary Tuesday.

The committee decided Saturday to defer until today a decision on whether to look into Bilbo's campaign.

Mississippi Negroes Vote In Primary

Commissioner Resigns But Negroes Vote

Pass Christian, Miss.—Approximately 80 Negroes, most of them World War II veterans, voted in the municipal primary election here on Wednesday despite the protest and resignation of one of the polling commissioners. The commissioner resigned because Negroes were allowed to vote in the election. According to residents it was the first time Negroes voted in a local election.

Francis Hurset, an ex-Seabee, was elected mayor of Pass Christian over the incumbent, Mayor William G. Simpson, in Wednesday's election. On the basis of returns, Hurset polled 492 votes against Simpson's 343.

The election was conducted orderly after John Ellis, a white railroad agent, said he resigned as an election commissioner because his fellow commissioners insisted on allowing Negroes to vote.

Ellis, who said he resigned and refused to take the oath of office when he learned that other commissioners would insist on allowing Negroes to vote, declared:

"I had written the attorney general and he had told me we should allow every qualified voter to vote, but I am a southern man and I did not feel that a Negro was qualified to vote in a white primary."

The election itself concluded a hot campaign, which local citizens regarded as a miniature of the recent clean-up mayoralty which led to the installation of the Morrison ticket in New Orleans.

William J. McDonald was named to replace Ellis after the latter refused to serve.

Approximately 100 Negro veterans—free of the state's poll tax because of their war services—were eligible to vote and also a few non-veterans who had paid their poll tax, Capt. C. C. Brandt, candidate for tax collector, said.

The offices of mayor, tax collector, town clerk, marshal, alderman-at-large and four ward aldermen were up for election last Wednesday.

All-Negro town casts 12 votes for Bilbo

MOUND BAYOU, MISS. — Twelve votes for the reelection of Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo were cast in this all-Negro community, an Associated Press dispatch said last week.

Mississippi May Pass Law To Ban Effectively Popular Negro Vote

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 31—(AP)—Mississippians, determined to maintain white supremacy in their state, where the population is nearly evenly divided between the white and Negro races, are watching the capitol to see what legislative action will be taken.

Indications this week, with Gov. Thomas L. Bailey recovered from an operation, were that the Legislature will be called into session between late October and mid-November.

Most observers favored the latter date, as the imminent Christmas season would tend to close the session in about 30 days, considered ample time to revamp the state election laws and attend to a number of other matters expected to come before the special session.

The plan to make Negro votes ineffective in general elections is to put the primary elections into the hands of the parties, making the parties the sole judges of qualifications of members.

State leaders seem unperturbed by the possibility this may encourage Negroes to form a party of their own—a party which conceivably could outvote the white Democrats.

For they quietly chuckle to themselves at what they consider the wisdom of old Sen. James Z. George, prime framer of the state constitution of 1890, who inserted a provision in the state constitution that says all state officials shall be elected, not by popular vote, but by electoral votes, with each county having as many electoral votes as it has representatives.

And when membership in the House of Representatives was apportioned, it was so worked out that counties with predominantly white populations have two, three or more legislators, while those with predominantly Negro population have only one.

Hence, though Negroes some day may cast the greatest number of popular votes in the state in a general election, they will never be able to elect a state officer.

Further, the House of Representatives is the sole judge of the qualifications of its members, and may refuse to seat any member elected by popular vote, so that if a Negro should be elected to the Legislature it is doubtful if he would ever be allowed to serve.

Mississippi Negroes Cast First Votes In Primaries

Both Parties In Oklahoma Select Candidates

By The Associated Press

Negroes voted for the first time in Mississippi's Democratic primary yesterday (Tuesday) as Senator Bilbo and Representative Rankin, who wanted Negroes barred, sought renomination. Voting was orderly despite preprimary indications of trouble.

A two-party primary was held simultaneously in Oklahoma where eight Democrats and three Republicans sought nominations for Governor. The State's two GOP Congressmen and five of its six Democratic House incumbents sought renomination. Representative Paul Stewart, Democrat, retired in the Third District because of ill health.

Victory in the Mississippi primary is the same as election although a run-off is set for August 27 for those not getting a majority in yesterday's tests. The United States Supreme Court had upheld the Negroes' right to vote.

Four of the State's Democratic Representatives had opposition. Representatives Whitten, Whittington and Abernathy were renominated without challenge.

Negroes voted in fair-sized numbers in some communities, but their total was only a small fraction of the white vote.

Some Challenged

Attorney-General Clark had promised that their rights would be protected after Bilbo called on "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to use whatever means are necessary" to keep the few qualified Negroes from casting ballots.

Some Negroes were challenged on legal grounds that they were not qualified Democrats or that their names did not appear on the poll list.

Bilbo's opponents were Ross Collins, former Representative; Tom Q. Ellis, State Supreme Court clerk; Nelson T. Levings, Navy veteran, and former State Senator Frank Harper.

Opposing Rankin, a leading member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, were Claude F. Clayton, war veteran and former circuit judge, and Charles G. Hamilton, Episcopal minister.

Among the eight Democrats seeking the Oklahoma gubernatorial nomination to succeed Governor Robert S. Kerr, Democrat, barred from a successive term by State law, were Roy J. Turner, Oklahoma City oil man and rancher; H. C. Jones, former collector of internal revenue for the State; Dixie Gilmer, Tulsa County prosecutor, and William O. Coe, attorney and war veteran.

Olney F. Flynn, former Tulsa Mayor, had the inside track for the GOP governorship banner, according to State observers.

Two incumbent Democratic Congressmen — Representatives Jed Johnson, Sixth, and Victor Wickersham, Seventh, faced strong opposition.

The World Today

By George S. Schuyler

Mississippi Negroes will make big news on July 2. They vote in the "white" Democratic primaries for the first time in many decades. Thus, it is you who do not like "the man," Bilbo, who will finally have a chance to make another choice for United States Senator. Unhappily, Bilbo's opponents are no better than he. Nevertheless, Negroes' voting in Mississippi is really big.

* * *

MORE AND MORE Negroes are voting each year in sections of the South, which many calamity-howlers have written off as a total loss. There will be more Negroes voting in these States each year, and the time will come when they will be holding local offices. If such a prediction seems far-fetched, we only have to contrast the deep South of today with that of A. D. 1906.

VOTE OF NEGROES IS PLACED AT 1000

Jackson, Miss., July 5.—Estimates of the number of Negroes who cast ballots in the Democratic primary election in Mississippi Tuesday ran from 1000 to 3000.

No official count was kept but reports received from poll holders who had made notes for their own information indicated the number ran closer to 1000 than to 3000.

It was the first time since the state adopted the constitution of 1890 that Negroes have cast ballots in a Democratic primary in which federal offices were involved, though in previous years a number of Negroes have voted in the general elections. Most of the latter group are reportedly members of the Republican party.

W. H. Anderson, secretary of the state Democratic executive committee, said today he had received no appeals from rulings of county Democratic executive committees on ballots challenged at the polls. However, he said, he had not received the official report from Bolivar county, where all Negro voters were reported to have been challenged. A large number of Negro votes were challenged at Mound Bayou, all-Negro town founded by a body servant of Jefferson Davis.

Mississippi Primary Near, Negro Voting Issue Comes To Fore

JACKSON, Miss., June 22—(AP)—The issue of Negro voting came to the fore in Mississippi Saturday, 10 days in advance of a Democratic primary election for the nomination of a United States senator and four representatives.

Developments came rapidly:

1—Etoy Fletcher, Negro veteran, of Pucket, filed an affidavit that he was flogged and threatened with death when he attempted to register at Brandon, Rankin County, June 2.

2. A survey of 48 of the states 82 counties showed few Negroes have registered.

3.—T. B. Wilson, Negro, president of the Progressive Voters League, declared "many reports have come in that circuit clerks by ruse and intimidation are keeping Negroes from registering."

4. Sen. Theo G. Bilbo, who seeks renomination, prepared a campaign speech in which he called upon "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to resort to any means" to keep Negroes from voting.

* * *

BILBO SUGGESTED, "if other means fail," that Negroes be challenged in the primary on the ground that they are not Democrats and have not supported the party in the last two years.

5. Rep. John Rankin, who asks return to Congress from the First District, joined Bilbo in urging "law-abiding" Negroes to refrain from voting in state primaries.

6. Nelson T. Levings, who seeks Bilbo's seat, charged in a campaign speech that Bilbo is responsible for Negroes voting in Mississippi.

Levings said Bilbo's supporters in the Legislature "blocked Speaker Speaker Walter Sillers' attempt to enact new primary laws at the last session. "Due solely to Bilbo we have the present conditions."

"In the second place, the official record shows that you, as 'Mayor Bilbo,' of Washington, actively convinced in appointing the Rev. Dr. Marshall Shepard, a Pennsylvania Negro preacher, as your recorder of deeds in the District of Columbia, a job that pays this Negro $8,750 a year and an office that has both white and black employes. Why don't you practice what you preach?"

Replying to a letter Bilbo sent to all candidates for Democratic nomination as U. S. senator, asking that they join him in urging Negroes not to vote, Collins said:

"In the first place, the wise provisions of the constitution of 1890 provide for payment of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting. You have long and consistently sought abolition of the poll tax as a requirement for voting in the Democratic primary.

"Due solely to Bilbo we have the present conditions. Bilbo's endorsement of his idea is 'a rather odd invitation to come from you.'"

Collins Is With Bilbo On Negro Vote Stand

JACKSON, Miss., June 20—(AP)—Ross A. Collins has joined Sen. Theo F. Bilbo in asking Mississippi Negroes to refrain from voting in the July 2 Democratic primary. You have been asked to refrain from voting in the July 2 Democratic primary, but suggested Bilbo's request for endorsement of his idea is "a rather odd invitation to come from

Mississippi

Daily Worker New York N.Y.

ASSISTANT U.S. ATTORNEY GENERAL Theron L. Caudle has informed the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America that the Department of Justice will take **"prompt action . . . with respect to any interference with the right of qualified Negroes to vote in Mississippi."**

Many Negro and white spokesmen, including Senator Glen Taylor (D-Ida) have proposed that action be taken so that the words of the Department can be carried into deeds.

Senator Taylor urged that President Truman send troops to Mississippi today to protect Negro voters **"if that is the only way their rights can be assured."**

Yesterday, in a telegram to President Truman, the Daily Worker endorsed this demand.

Sen. Theodore Bilbo has issued repeated calls to "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon" to do violence to American citizens exercising their constitutional rights. Bilbo dons a martyr's cloak, charging "northern interference," but already his actions have resulted in violence against Negro registrants.

Tues 7-2-46

Failure of the Justice Department to act can only result in encouraging the activities of the Ku Klux Klan and other subversive organizations and individuals.

We are not here dealing with a mob or "anonymous" state officials.

We are dealing with a Senator of the United States—unrepresentative though he be of the constituency from which he hails.The Senate Elections Committee is now preparing to investigate Bilbo's fascist calls to violence. If it fulfills its task it will recommend the impeachment of Bilbo.

All decent Americans should let the Senate Elections Committee know that they will not let their conscience rest with the presence of such a spectacle as Senator Bilbo in the nation's highest legislative body.

Bilbo's Thugs Defied

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

NEGROES voted in Mississippi, despite "white supremacist" threats to violence by Bilbo and Rankin.

For the first time since the Civil War, qualified Negro voters exercised their right of franchise as a direct result of the Supreme Court's ruling abolishing the "white primary."

Half of Mississippi's two million citizens are Negroes.

Wed 7-3-46

A significant lesson can be drawn as we await election results: that the mass protest movement, including Senator Glen Taylor's (D-Idaho) call for federal troops to protect Negroes' voting rights, strengthened the determination of Negro citizens to go to the polls.

Now it is necessary to remind the U. S. Attorney General of his promise to protect the rights of Negro citizens and to take steps to guarantee that the "white supremacist" anti-labor crowd do not invalidate ballots cast by Negro citizens.

Mississippi and Poland

Daily Worker

IF THERE were any sort of logic in things, this would be the time for the United States to be getting a sharp note from the Polish government on our phony "elections" in Mississippi.

New York, N.Y.

The Polish government had its democratic referendum despite every effort of Britain and Washington to use their stooges in Poland to rough things up.

But down in Mississippi only several hundred Negroes dared to vote out of the 5,000 who dared to register.

Both Bilbo and Rankin "ran" on a thoroughly Nazi-like "race supremacy" platform. Bilbo threatened bloodshed. But the promises of Attorney General Clark to uphold the law against anti-Negro violence were treated with the same contempt by the Bilbos as they were by those in Washington who uttered them.

The United States now has a new Senator, or rather the old one, elected **by 7 percent of the adult voting population.** That's called "democracy."

Nevertheless, the traditional gang of cotton kings and plantation masters got quite a scare in this last election. Even the tiny trickle of Negro votes frightened them. They know that their rule is based on cruelty, robbery and oppression of a people which can vie with any in savagery.

Sun 7-5-46

The fight to smash that ancient oligarchy, which is backed today by Wall Street banks a thousand miles away, will grow hotter all the time.

Impeach Senator Bilbo

The Black Dispatch

It appears to the Black Dispatch that any senator who incites to riot and openly urges his constituency to "resort to any means to keep Negroes from voting" has violated his oath of office and is subject to impeachment. In taking such unlawful and unconstitutional position, Senator Bilbo offers loyalty to government by men rather than government by laws. He forgets that he lives in a democracy, which he as senator has sworn to protect and defend.

The constitution of the United States guarantees to every state a republican form of government, and in this connection we might point out that a republican form of government is a state where sovereign power is vested in the electorate. The war amendments made Negroes a definite and constitutional part of the electorate ,and yet Senator Bilbo, who has sworn to uphold the constitution of the United States, incites his political sub-division to riot and bloodshed, urging that certain citizens be denied fundamental rights in government.

Oklahoma City, Okla

The question is: Can Mississippi have a republican form of government, or will it have a fascist form of government, if any portion of the constitutional electorate is denied suffrage? The ancient Romans vested suffrage solely in the hands of aristocracy. Italian republics were later limited oligarchies, but since the days of the French Revolution and the Commune, society has seen the wisdom of extending the franchise to all citizens, regardless of race, creed or color.

The 13th amendment to the constitution of the United States gave the black man citizenship, and the 15th amendment reads as follows:

"The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

The 15th amendment thus makes it binding upon state government to guarantee the right to vote, and calls upon Congress to pass appropriate legislation for enforcement of this guarantee. Is it not passing strange that a thieving hypocrite and perjurer, in the person of Senator Bilbo, would, forgetful of his oath, and with guilty knowledge that he is denying citizens inherent rights, would call upon his constituency to unlawfully seize the polling places in Mississippi, terrorizing and intimidating Negro citizens, who seek to exercise influence upon government?

In the Texas White Primary cases, and again in the more recently declared decision at Macon, Georgia, the law was so clearly stated by the court that no fool could err. Senator Bilbo inadvertently admits this when he tells Mississippi white voters that if terrorism and frightfulness fails, they are then to resort to the law. To admit there is a law providing rules for Negroes voting, proves clearly that Senator Bilbo not only seeks election across a sea of broken oaths, but that he urges fellow Mississippians to commit murder, arson and cruelties of all character in order to preserve a nebulous something which he characterizes as "White Supremacy."

In his letter to Mississippians asking them to drive from the polling places, Senator Bilbo said:

"These Negroes have no right to do, and they must not and should not be permitted to vote."

But remembering that aside from the basic guarantee granted all citizens in his state to exercise the franchise, Negro soldiers could waive all of the ordinary obstacles thrown in the path of the blacks, the Senator continued:

"And if other means fail, Negroes who attempt to vote July 2 should be challenged on the grounds that they are not Democrats and have not supported the party in the past two years as required by law."

The Negro per se is not the sad and regrettable portion of the picture drawn above. Men submit to government in order to secure personal security. It is therefore extremely important that integrity become the corner stone of government. In the language of the ancient Portia, "Justice is a kingdom's strength." The day when the cancer of hypocrisy enters the portals of government, that is the day when organized society becomes dangerous, not for some people, but for everyone who comes within the influence of such impiety and faithlessness.

Slaughter's Fall Puzzle Big Wigs

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Both Parties' Chiefs Get Report From Mo.

OUR VOTES FACTOR

Sat. 9-21-46

May Be Precedent for Other's Defeat

WASHINGTON—(ANP) — Republican and Democratic leaders here are studying a report on how Kansas City colored voters removed Rep. Roger C. Slaughter (Dem., Mo.), an FEPC foe, from office, during the Aug. 6 primary.

Forwarded here by D. H. Davis Jr., business manager of the Kansas City Call, the report covers voting in four wards and reveals the intention of voters not to return their enemies to Congress.

They recalled that Slaughter remarked: "I sure as hell opposed the bill for fair employment practices commission and I'm proud of the fact that my vote was what killed it."

Their Vote 'Kills' Him

Enos Axtell, Slaughter's opponent, polled 12,168 votes, of which nearly 7,000 were colored votes; while Slaughter polled a mere 2,053 votes in the first four wards.

Warning that colored voters will show the same resentment toward other members of Congress whose records are "bad," Davis termed Slaughter's defeat was "clearly attributed to the vote against him in the Fifth Congressional District."

Precinct Vote Tabulated

"In the first four wards," an article by Lucile Bluford, managing editor of the Call, set forth, "there are 30 precincts which are predominantly occupied by colored persons. These 30 precincts gave Axtell 3,964 votes.

The article continued:

"In addition, thee are 19 precincts which are about evenly divided between white and colored voters. These 19 precincts gave Axtell a total of 4,135. At least half of these 4,135 votes were cast by non-whites.

"Adding 2,067 votes from the 19 mixed precincts to the 3,964 votes received in the solid precincts, the Axtell votes cast by colored citizens go over the 6,000-mark.

Slaughter Vote Negligible

"Then, when the undetermined number of votes cast by colored citizens who work and live in the predominantly white South Side wards are added, along with the votes from the Westport District, the total for Axtell approaches 7,000.

"The vote for Slaughter in the predominantly colored precincts was negligible. The highest number of votes that he received in any precinct which is predominantly non-white was 35.

"In two precincts, the vote for Slaughter was 0. The Call cites these two precincts which did not give Slaughter a single vote as an example of what all other precincts should have done."

45e 1946 New York

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y. Tues. 10-8-46

Broadway 'Premiere': Deputy Mayor Thomas L. J. Corcoran, above, is shown addressing Main Stem theatrical stars who headed a Broadway Registration Parade yesterday from Columbus Circle to City Hall. In the group behind the deputy mayor are Judy Holliday, Gordon Heath, Bruce McFarland and others of several hit shows. —Daily Worker Phot

Collins Charges Intimidation At Harlem Polls

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
Fri. 10-11-46

The charge that Negro registrants are being harassed at registration booths in Harlem was made yesterday by ALP state vice-chairman Charles A. Collins, who is also candidate for New York state senate.

Collins stated that in several multiple polling booths in the 11th assembly district, election workers were sending Negroes to the wrong lines, plying them with questions about their political affiliations, and generally making it difficult for them to register.

He further charged polling places were not displaying their signs prominently.

Collins appealed to the voters of Harlem to upset a 169-year tradition by sending the first Negro to the state senate.

ELECTION NOTES

GOP AND THE NEGRO VOTE

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

By Ray Hansbrough

THE NEGRO VOTE in a number of districts can play a major role in helping to shape the next Congress. During Franklin D. Roosevelt's Presidency, the Negro vote shifted more and more to the Democratic column. Sat. 11-2-46

Since the 1944 National Democratic Convention at Chicago, there has however developed a growing dissatisfaction with the Democratic party among the Negro electorate.

Sections of the Negro press, progressives and labor leaders, have strongly advocated a third party, but in view of the absence of such a party, large sections of the Negro people are wavering on the very vital question of how to vote.

Such a situation foreshadows tendencies that may seriously endanger the election of pro-Roosevelt candidates. Certain sections of the Negro electorate may vote Republican, and others may boycott the polls.

The Republican party has resorted to the vilest demagogy. The Republicans place the blame for all the ills affecting the Negro people on the shoulders of the Truman administration, which they charge with being dominated by the Southern Democrats. The Congressional records prove it was the Republican-polltax-Democratic bloc that defeated legislation for a permament FEPC and for abolition of the poll-tax, and this bloc is responsible for the conspiracy to bring about the meat and food shortage and high prices.

THE RECORD of Thomas E. Dewey, Republican Governor of New York, is a good example of the position of the Republican Party on the Negro question.

1. Dewey sent Lorenzo Reed back to a Florida chain gang. He sent George Burrows back to a Mississippi chain gang.

2. To date, Dewey has failed to make public the list of 1,100 Ku Klux Klan members in the possession of the State Attorney General.

3. Dewey has upheld the whitewashing of policeman Romeika, who killed a Negro GI and a Negro veteran, the Ferguson brothers, at Freeport, L. I., on Feb. 5.

The Negro voters helped to defeat Dewey for the presidency in 1944. The Negro voters must be mobilized to go to the polls on Nov. 5 and help defeat Dewey and all reactionary Republican candidates throughout the country.

IN A NUMBER OF STATES, the Republican Party is running picked Negro candidates, another means of defeating pro-Roosevelt candidates.

In New York's 17th Congressional District the Republicans are running Grant Reynolds, a Negro candidate, against the incumbent Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.

In the 1st Congressional District of Illinois, the Republican Party is running W. E. King, a Negro candidate, against the incumbent Wm L. Dawson.

In the 14th Congressional District of California, the Republican Party is running Frederick M. Roberts, a Negro candidate, against the incumbent, Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas.

The incumbent, Powell of New York, Dawson of Illinois, and Gahagan of California, are all pro-Roosevelt candidates and as such are the target of reactionaries for defeat in the November election.

A strategy conference held in Washington was attended by the Negro candidates Grant, King and Roberts. Here Carroll Reece, the GOP chairman, raised the slogan, "Only Republican votes can break Bilbo-ism in the Congress of the United States."

THE NEGRO MASSES will remember that in the recent lynch trials, held in Tennessee, Reece's home state, Reece did not raise a finger against the lynchers, nor did he come to the aid of the 25 Negroes whom the lynchers attempted to railroad to long prison terms and possible death sentences.

It was recently exposed, at Washington, that Democratic boss Ed. Crump and Senator McKellar of Tennessee, were conspiring with Carrol Reece and Senator Taft of Ohio, to deliver Tennessee to the Republicans in 1948. Taft is a possible Republican candidate for president in 1948. Should this combination capture the government in 1946 or 1948, Bilboism would become the official policy of the government. 11-2-46

A recent report released by the CIO Political Action Committee on the marginal character of the Negro vote in 58 non-Southern Congressional districts shows that "Negro voters hold the margin of victory in 58 non-Southern Congressional districts . . . that the 58 districts are part of 100 marginal areas where the incumbents could have been defeated in 1944 by a switch of five percent or less of the total vote."

In a number of states, the Communist Party has nominated both Negro and white candidates for various state offices. Every effort should be made to roll up a big Communist vote to help defeat the candidates of reaction.

2 Dixie Registrars Fined For Defying U.S. Vote Edict

Chicago Defender
Chicago Jelnes

WASHINGTON, N. C.—A federal jury convicted two white North Carolina vote registrars here last week for refusing to allow qualified Negro citizens to register for primary elections in defiance of the U. S. Department of Justice's recent equal vote-rights edict.

Fined $25 each following conviction were J. H. Brown of Plymouth Township, N. C., and Robert L. Lewis of Lee's Mill Township, N. C. The fines, levied by Federal Judge Don Gilliam, constitute the first known action to be taken in line with U. S. Attorney General Tom Clark's recent order to criminally prosecute persons responsible for denying the right to vote to qualified citizens.

The convictions were regarded by Negroes here as indicative of removal of the last barrier in the fight to secure better educational facilities for Negro children and an equitable share of public funds.

Sat 4-27-46

4-Year-Battle

The convictions last week climaxed a four-year battle by Washington Negroes for their Constitutional right to vote. It began when Miss Doris Bell and the Rev. Joseph Winborne were denied the right to register for the 1942 primaries. When the books were opened for the 1944 registration, three other Negroes—Charles V. Bell, Robert H. Graves and John H. Battle—appeared before Registrar Brown and were told that they would have to comply with the state requirement by reading or writing a portion of the U. S. Constitution, and returned. After to do but the registrar had no copy of the document.

The would-be voters left the polling place, secured a copy of the Constitution, and returned. After satisfying the law, they asked to register. Brown, evidently undecided what the next "white supremacy" move would be, told them to return in three hours. When they came back at the appointed time, they were told by Brown that W. W. White, chairman of the Washington County Board of Elections, had instructed him not to register any Negroes.

All School Teachers

The incident was reported to federal authorities and after a two-year investigation, enough evidence had been secured to prosecute the case.

Sat 4-27-46

All three of the complainants are school teachers. Bell, a North Carolina College graduate, teaches at Plymouth's Washington County High School; Graves is a graduate of Lincoln (Pa.) University and an instructor at Reynolds' High School in Winston-Salem; Battle, a N. C. State Teachers' College alumnus is on the faculty of the Macedonia School.

Denied Registration—Didn't "Explain" The Constitution

Journal-Guide

ORIENTAL, N. C.—The privilege of democracy and the right of citizenship are being denied Negro citizens of this community, the Journal and Guide was advised last week following on the heels of the unsuccessful attempts of eight citizens to register and vote in the Democratic primary election held Saturday, May 25. 6-1-46 Sat.

On both Saturday May 4 and May 11 registrars used techniques to intimidate and embarrass those who appeared at the polls for registration. They were asked to write about ten pages of the constitution which, as might be expected, was not to the satisfaction of the officials. Norfolk, Va.

On the following Saturday the individuals returning for the second attempt to qualify and use the rights due them as citizens were asked to read a paragraph on the Presidential Board of Elections. They then were told to write the paragraph and explain it. As might be expected the explanation was not to the satisfaction of the registrar and he refused to permit registration. 6-1-46 Sat

A protest was discouraged when an onlooker declared his wilingness to testify that the persons did not pass the test and qualify for registration.

No Negroes are on the books in Pamlico County but there is still evidence that other attempts will be made to register and vote in subsequent elections.

Ballot Key To N. C. Struggle

Baltimore

RALEIGH, N. C.—In eastern North Carolina Negro school teachers are being threatened with the loss of their jobs if they attempt to place their names on the voters permanent registration list.

In Durham every device and technique is being used to encourage Negroes to register for the May 25 elections. 5-25-46

These represent the two extremes to be found in the statewide picture of Negro political activity here.

In Nash county with a potential Negro voting strength of 8,000, only 50 Negro token voters are permitted to cast ballots. In sections where Negroes constitute a large portion of the population every effort is made to eliminate their vote. Notable exception is Vance County—15,938 whites, 13,958 Negroes—where the state's strongest NAACP branch has effectively cleared a path to the polls for Negroes.

The southern Negro's sudden and universal recourse to the ballot, noticeable since the war, means that the Negro has abandoned hope of achieving equality under a biracial system and is determined to end segregation and its attendant differentials.

Though this is not a poll tax state, the Negro desiring to vote has been effectively checked either by outright intimidation, or through employment of the literacy clause in the registration law.

There have been numerous cases of highly educated Negroes failing to read or write to the satisfaction of the registrar while the names of illiterate whites were entered upon the permanent registration list. 5-25-46 Sat

Recently, however, the four year fight of a group of school teachers in Washington County to register ended successfully with the conviction of two white registrars by the eastern federal district court.

The case against the poll officials was the first employment by Negroes of Attorney General Tom Clark's order calling for the criminal prosecution through federal courts of any persons charged with interfering with the right of any citizen to exercise his right to vote.

One Of Worst Chicago Ill.

Franklin—17,323 whites, 13,042 Negroes—is regarded by Negroes as one of the worst counties in the state. Three of the seven lynchings that have occurred in North Carolina since World War I took place in this county.

It is typical of the entire eastern section of the state where all but one of the seven lynchings have taken place.

This is the area where 80 per cent of the land is owned by five per cent of the people. Here are found the greatest number of sharecroppers, exploited tenant farmers and underpaid farm laborers. Negroes are not the only victims of the exploitation and persecution that makes them among the most miserable of the state's inhabitants. Poor whites, too, are frequently prevented from voting.

I was told of counties with a potential voting strength of 8,000 to 20,000 where men have been elected to office with only 400 to 500 votes.

Though poor whites are victims of the same disfranchisement, it is only the Negroes in these areas who are fighting for a full exercise of their citizenship privileges.

Negroes, in addition to being denied the right to vote are forced to use outmoded and inadequate school facilities and, for the most part, have no publicly supported library, recreational or health facilities, as do the poor whites.

Feared by the white minority struggling to maintain its stranglehold are Negro teachers. Because of their education and their consciousness of the rights of citizenship, they are regarded as either actual or potential leaders of the effort of Negroes to vote.

In nine counties, Negro teachers have been impressed with the fact that their teaching contracts don't have to be renewed if, in the judgment of local school officials, their conduct and fitness are questionable. 5-25-46

It is impossible to attack the Negro teachers on the basis of their training. Ninety per cent of the Negro teachers in the state are college graduates, and Louis F. Austin, militant editor of the Durham Carolina Times, recently disclosed that Negro teachers as a whole have had more years of training above the elementary grades than whites.

Salaries Equalized

In 1942 by executive order of Gov. J. M. Broughten, the salaries of Negro and white teachers were equalized. Increases are granted on the basis of training and experience, making it possible for Negro teachers to earn more than whites.

Believed to be a subtle effort to reintroduce a differential guaranteeing whites higher pay is the work now being done by the Governor's Commission on Study of Merit Rating System for Teachers.

But even with the intimidation of Negro teachers there is reason to believe that Negroes can no longer be barred from the polls.

Western North Carolina is different enough from the east to be another section of the country altogether. Negroes in some counties are as scarce as they are populous in the east. Because by sheer weight of numbers alone they do not constitute the threat they do in the east, Negroes find fewer barriers to their participation in government in the west.

Youthful John R. Larkin, whose position as consultant on Negro work to the State Board of Public Welfare, requires him to travel throughout North Carolina, has this to say of the western counties:

"Were separation laws a matter of local option, instead of state law, I believe there are numerous communities, maybe even a few counties, where there would be no legal Jim Crow." Chicago Ill.

Negro Vote May Decide Victors In '46, '48 – Ickes

Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON—Negro voters may hold the balance of power in the coming congressional and presidential elections, Harold L. Ickes said here Sunday.

Speaking before a meeting sponsored by the biracial committee for racial democracy, the former Secretary of Interior, declared that no party can hope to win in '46 and '48 without carrying the Negro vote in five Northern states.

Declaring that this balance of power is "as good as a majority," Ickes urged full use of the ballot by Negroes. He also advised no close alignment with either major party in order to make fullest use of the situation.

It is here where Negroes are so scare that the absurdity of the separation law is best seen. Graham County, for example, with only two Negro residents according to the 1940 census, has to maintain a one room, one teacher school at Fontana. Cherokee County has a similar school.

However, equally as ridiculous are certain eastern sections of the state where large numbers of Indians reside. In an effort to prevent what Gov. R. Gregg Cherry calls mongrelization, three separate school systems are maintained.

In Robeson County, for example, there are 34,585 whites, 25,573 Negroes and 16,629 Indians. To educate them there are 26 white schools, 96 Negro schools and 21 Indian schools. Most of the schools are large, brick, consolidated schools, well equipped and served by a fleet of buses. Most of the Negro schools are of the small clapboard, rural variety.

Political activity among Negroes is at its height right now in Durham where the citywide Suffrage Committee is staging the most energetic effort to assure the election of two Negroes, in an effort to prevent the election of two Negroes, Edward and Jackson Counties said that Avant, candidate for county prosecutor and John L. Holloway, chief addressograph operator for the two counties.

In Jackson County where a number of Indians, many of them veterans of World War II, attempted to register, they allege the registrar told them "I am under orders from the election board of Jackson County not to register Indians regardless of qualifications."

In awakening to their own rights as citizens, North Carolina Negroes, it seems, are awakening others in the state.

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Atty. General Bulle

of the 30,000 Negroes I have seen among Durham—North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, who is running for a vacancy on the county board of commissioners.

This week the Steve Youngdeer Post of the American Legion, made up of American Indians, appealed to Governor Cherry, the State Elected, in and regardless of qualifications.

In awakening to their own rights which it has at its height right now in Durham, so far as concerned, in an effort to prevent what Gov. R. Gregg Cherry calls mongrelization, three separate school systems are maintained.

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It is estimated that of the 30,000 Negroes now living in Durham, 5,500 of voting age. Leaders of the drive seemed confident that there were 23,347 in 1940—the registration had reached 5,000 by Saturday, May 11, when the books closed.

The Southern Council of Human Welfare is concentrating, so far as Negroes are concerned, in an effort to help them register for voting, in and around Durham into which it has sent two special field workers, in an effort to assure the election of two Negroes, Atty. Edward and Jackson Counties said that

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Atty. General Bulle

thusiastic registration campaign Negro candidates:

Durham's Voters Show 'Em

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Using the single-shot or en bloc system, colored voters in Durham, N.C., set the town on its ears by an amazing show of strength in last May's Democratic primary elections.

Spearheaded by the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, these voters held the balance of power in electing a member of the State House of Representatives, a Recorder's Court judge, a constable, four of five county commissioners and scared the daylights out of Carl Durham, Congressional candidate who was denied a first primary majority. Sat.

Their own candidate for county commissioner, John L. Holloway, ran seventh in a field of 8 candidates running for 5 places. Voting in the two predominantly colored precincts —Brady's Store and Court House—was overwhelmingly in favor of the DCNA-backed candidates. 6-29-46

The Durham SUN wept editorially that "pressure bloc organization and voting . . . is class voting, selfish and aggressive group voting. It is the subordination of the general good to the factional advantage . . .," intimating that such tactics will only serve to heighten racial tensions and help the revival of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina.

It all depends upon whose ox is being gored. This political awakening in Durham is indicative of what is happening and what is going to happen in many other communities. Votes are power. It is through a wider use of the ballot as well as through the acquisition of greater economic power that we will realize first-class citizenship.

45e 1946 Pennsylvania

ASSERT NEGRO VOTE WILL SWING TO GOP

The Times

Pennsylvania Leaders Declare Race Will Protest 'Bilboism' in All Northern States

New York, N. Y.

By FELIX BELAIR Jr.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 17—Negro voters of Pennsylvania will vote overwhelmingly for Republican candidates in the State and Congressional elections, according to independent Negro leaders here who assert that Negroes in New York and other Northern States will do likewise.

With an estimated 300,000 Negroes eligible to vote in Philadelphia alone, leaders of Negro organizations say a vast majority of the group will desert the Democratic party for the first time in more than a decade. They say the large Republican vote will be in protest against what they term "Bilboism" among the Democratic high command.

Fri. 10-18-46

Other reasons are given by Negro leaders for a shift of voters back to the party of Lincoln and of Booker T. Washington. Paramount among these is the fact that Eleanor Roosevelt no longer has a voice in Democratic party councils and that Franklin D. Roosevelt is no longer a force for uniting minorities behind the New Deal.

Other Factors Described

Still other factors involved in the expected reversion of the Negro vote to the Republican column include what is regarded as an indifferent attitude of the Administration toward a permanent Fair Employment Practices Act and the pre-eminence of so-called "Deep Southerners" in the highest Government circles including those of the White House.

Discussion among Negroes of what they regard as a lack of sympathy on the part of the Truman Administration toward the Negro and his problem gets down to personalities. It is recalled that Mr. Truman himself is a Missourian, a Southern State for purposes of sociological discussion.

Readily mentioned in proof of its alleged lack of sympathy are such Administration stalwarts as James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State; Under-Secretary Will Clayton, George E. Allen, Reconstruction Finance Corporation director and confidant of the President; John W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury, another Southerner, and Maj. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, Presidential military aide, who is from Kansas.

No Sympathy Expected

Without going too deeply into the records or pronouncements of these and other Administration representatives, Negro leaders here contend that from such men and against such a sociological background a sympathetic approach to the aspirations and problems of the Negro is not to be expected.

The Negro leaders here regard this apparent lack of interest in their race as a refinement of the same so-called "Bilboism" against which they are bound and determined to register their protest in the only effective way they can.

There has not always been unanimity of opinion on the method and there are still those who contend that Pennsylvania and other Northern States is not the place to protest against conditions in the South.

But to these arguments the majority always answer that there is no other place in which the Negro protest can be registered if not in the northern States.

In the South, he either is disenfranchised or his vote is nullified, the leaders here assert. Although granting that the best place to remedy conditions in the South is in the Democratic Party, leaders argue that the Negro is deprived of a voice in that forum. The recent reflections of Gov. Eugene Talmadge in Georgia and of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo in Mississippi on the issue of "White Supremacy" and of the withdrawal under pressure of a Negro candidate in Atlanta are cited as failures of the Democratic Party to clean its own house. On all such instances of intolerence and political bigotry Negro leaders are extremely well-informed.

Opinions on Roosevelt

Negro leaders assert they were not under any illusions as to where they stood in the Administrations of President Roosevelt. They contend that with discrimination and segregation generally practiced throughout the armed forces and the Federal Government under Mr. Roosevelt no less than under Mr. Truman it is idle to speak of Mr. Roosevelt as a friend of the Negro.

At the same time their leaders concede that the Negro fared better politically under President Roosevelt than under any of his predecessors. Much of this they attribute to Mr. Roosevelt's emphasis on the coalescence of minority groups for political purposes.

It was largely because of the demonstrated friendship of Mrs. Roosevelt for the Negro, according to leaders, that no effort was made to throw their votes into the Republican column. They say it would have been a fruitless task then but that Mrs. Roosevelt as the First Lady and as private citizen are two different things.

Leaders are reluctant to guess what percentage of the Negro vote will go over to the Republican column next month. They do expect as many to vote Republican as have been voting Democratic and that there will be a minority who will vote for Senator Joseph F. Guffey and the rest of the Democratic ticket just as there were those who remained loyal to the Republican party through all the Roosevelt Administrations.

'Abolish Poll Tax Week' Set

Kansas City, Mo.

March 24-31 Designated By Two Senators

The Call - Friday

WASHINGTON.—Senators Homer Ferguson of Michigan, Republican, and James M. Mead of New York, Democrat, this week jointly called upon the American people to observe "Abolish the Poll Tax Week", March 24-31, in order "by all the powers of free expression...in this great democracy" to guarantee that the federal bill to abolish the poll tax is brought before the United States Senate and passed.

Senators Ferguson and Mead are leaders of the bi-partisan Senate Steering Committee on H. R. 7, the anti poll tax bill.

According to informed sources, the poll-tax section of the Democratic party is making great behind-the-scenes effort to keep the anti-poll tax bill from coming up. The Senators' call for "Abolish the Poll Tax Week" is one answer to such effort.

The joint call touched on the international situation when it opened with: "As Americans we believe that the best and only way to solve the differences that may come betwen us is by the honorable and hallowed way of a free vote. We stand before the world today as pleaders for other nations to settle their differences by this method. Therefore we cannot longer stand for the condition that still exists in seven of our southern states whereby the people are denied a free vote by the archaic and inexcusable poll tax." 3-21-46

The statement went on:

"Twice before when this issue has come before the United States Senate, a filibuster has prevented the Senate from voting on it. Two-thirds of the Senate must concur before a filibuster can be stopped. 3-21-46

"Therefore we call upon the American people to observe the week of March 24 to 31 as "Abolish the Poll Tax Week' and by all the powers of free expression that we have in this great democracy, to call upon the Senators of the United States to vote to free the people in seven of our own states from this blot on our democracy—to restore to them a free franchise so that they may enjoy those great freedoms that are the basis of American citizenship." Signed: Homer Ferguson, James M. Mead.

Washington:

Pittsburg Courier

'End Poll Tax Week' Scheduled

Pittsburg, Pa.

Sat 3-2-46

WASHINGTON—(ANP) — March 24-30 has been designated "Abolish Poll Tax week" by the national executive board of the Anti-Poll Tax Committee which met here last week and decided upon this action to focus attention on the fight to be waged to get the measure before the Senate.

During this week, or eight days, meetings will be held, delegates will visit the Senate, statements will be made, people will be seen and floods of letters will be showered on the Senate to ask that the bill be brought up for action.

Additional material will be furnished the general public on this matter before the action week and organizations which have cooperated in the past are invited to join this effort. Mrs. Catherine Schryver of the committee says that every effort will be made to show the Senate that people want action on this matter at this session of Congress.

TO THE NEXT LEGISLATURE

The News Birmingham, Ala.

This newspaper has had much to say against the restrictive, undemocratic poll tax law which keeps thousands of good Alabamians from voting and encourages the buying of votes of those who can be bought for the price of the $1.50 yearly poll levy. About another fault in our voting laws we have not had nearly enough to say. We refer to the law governing the manner, time and place of registering.

Boards of registrars this past Spring met more often than ever before and more new voters were registered than in any five-month period in many years. Still, however, we are far behind Georgia and a number of other states with respect to making registration easy and convenient. Fri. 11-15-46

For example, the Columbus, Ga., newspapers report that there have been provided in our neighbor city six voter registration booths in convenient parts of town. They are open six days a week until 6 p.m. The purpose is to get as big a registration of voters as possible. Even after these booths close, candidates for registration will be able the year round to apply any day in the week at the courthouse and apply to register.

By contrast to this plan, purpose of the Alabama law seems to be to make it as difficult and inconvenient for a person to register as possible.

The 1947 Legislature should make passage of legislation providing for year-round legislation at courthouses and city halls one of the first orders of new business. Good, progressive government depends upon wide citizen participation in elections. Democracy depends upon the same thing. If democracy in Alabama is to stand and good government is to be something more than a dream, we must have more—many more—voters. One way to get them would be to make registration simple, easy and convenient.—Lee County Bulletin (Auburn).

Poole Demands Stop Poll Tax, In Publication

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Tues. 12-31-46

Its Usefulness Is Lost, Black Belter Declares In Farmers State

Agriculture Commissioner Joe Poole, a Black Belter from Butler County, came out today for repeal of the poll tax on the grounds that it has outlived its usefulness.

"The poll tax has a two-fold purpose," Poole wrote in The Alabama Farmers State. "First, to retard the voting of certain people; and, second, to furnish funds for the school system of Alabama.

"Since the Boswell Amendment was adopted, the first objective . . . has been removed. The second, to supply money for the school system, has dwindled into utter insignificance due to the large cost of the present school program."

Revenue from the $1.50 a year franchise levy is earmarked for education.

The Boswell Amendment, ratified in the Nov. 5 election, raises voting qualifications by requiring registrants to be able to "understand and explain" any section of the federal Constitution. It did away, too, with the old provision which gave the right of ballot to anyone who owned $300 worth of tax-paid property.

Poole continued:

"Now, since all World War I and World War II veterans, as well as everyone else over 45 years of age, are exempt from paying the poll tax, the amount collected from it will be insignificant and since the Boswell Amendment takes care of the voting qualifications, frankly, I do not think it matters if the poll tax is abolished."

Gov.-elect James E. Folsom campaigned on a platform which included poll tax repeal and legislative reapportionment.

Of the latter issue, Poole said in his newspaper article that although the present system of allotting legislative representation is "obviously unfair," no changes should be made which would disturb the balance of power now held by small counties.

Asserting it is difficult to write a "fair and equitable" reapportionment bill, the Agriculture Commissioner said that "if you would go strictly according to population, you would give Jefferson, Montgomery, Mobile, Etowah and several other larger counties an overwhelming majority." Tues. 12-31-46

Dollars Well-spent

Atlanta Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

The example of 52-year-old William Everett of Birmingham, Alabama in paying 24 years back poll-tax totalling $36 in order to become a qualified voter, is indicative of a growing consciousness among Negroes of their personal and individual obligations in the crusade to achieve political equality in the South. Sun 7-24-46

The road to political freedom for Negroes in the South has been long, devious and difficult. It is still hilly and at times precarious. But in spite of the drawbacks and artificial restrictions imposed upon Negroes by southern whites, they cannot escape the fact that there is much they can do to hasten the day when the ballots will be free to all.

That is what William Everett did when he took it upon himself to register, no matter the cost, no long the years. That is what other Negroes must do, in Birmingham in Atlanta in Memphis, and every other place in the South, before he can achieve the freedom about which he is so prone to argue on street corners and so loathe to pay for through intelligent organization, individual initiative and social action. Mr. Everett's $36 is well spent and it is bound to reap a rich harvest if followed to its logical ends.

FREEDOM SHOULD PREVAIL

Last year citizens of Calhoun paid more in poll taxes than ever before in the history of the county.

It is splendid that so many showed that much interest in qualifying to exercise the right of the ballot; it reveals that persons who have been reluctant to vote want to avail themselves of the privilege of voicing their opinion. Birmingham News

However, there is a painful experience. Twenty-eight of those meeting the poll tax requirement paid the maximum of $36, under the cumulative system, for the privilege of exercising the right of the ballot.

That means 28 citizens of Calhoun County are paying $36 for the privilege of voting in one election. Where else in the country would a person of average means pay such tribute to express a choice?

It is unthinkable that Alabama places a penalty on the right of a citizen to exercise a prerogative in a "free" election.

The poll tax, as a prerequisite to voting, is bad enough, but when a citizen has to pay for all past years, up to a maximum of $36, for the privilege of qualifying to vote, it is atrocious. Tues 2-26-46

The tax as a means of gaining access to the polls is a vicious instrument in itself, but when the tax accumulates, because citizens balk at paying it for right to vote, it puts a premium on voting. B'ham., Ala.

Alabama should abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting; we are one of only seven Southern states where its payment is essential to qualify a voter. But if the powers that keep it on the statutes refuse to repeal it, certainly they should do the only sportsmanlike thing of eliminating the vicious, penalizing cumulative clause of the law.

More than the meager 10 to 15 per cent of the people of Alabama should exercise a voice in their government, but they'll never do it as long as it costs many citizens the premium of $36 for the privilege of using a voice that should be free.—Anniston Star.

KEEPING FAITH WITH FREEDOM

Birmingham News

The poll tax is truly an unjust law. Its restrictive features rob many an Alabamian of that right which should be his as a citizen of the United States of America. Under a republican form of government such as ours, those elected to public office are subject to the vote of the people, but how can you have a representative electorate when a prohibitive measure keeps many a person from becoming a qualified voter? B'ham. Ala.

There's a trend to elect World War II veterans to public office in our nation. These men, asked to sacrifice their all in armed conflict, fought against the enemies of our way of life and did their share to keep us free of foreign domination. Now these men should be entrusted to hold office and go against those evils which exist in our government. Tues 2-19-46

In Alabama the World War II veterans have been freed of the poll tax. And having been given this liberty, they should, when elected to the Legislature, be fair-minded enough to liberate their wives and parents of this suffrage act.

Heretofore some Alabamians have shouted about Negro votes every time repeal of the poll tax was mentioned. The recent U. S. Supreme Court ruling giving this minority group the right to cast ballots in state primaries has hushed the cry about the poll tax being the law which blocked the Negroes from voting.

One by one the other Southern states are repealing this law. By electing enough legislators this year pledged to remove the poll tax as a voting measure, the few now-qualified Alabama voters will keep faith with the spirit of freedom.—Cullman Tribune.

Alabama Press

Birmingham News

PAY YOUR POLL TAX, Ala.

Little more than a month remains in which those who have not paid their poll taxes may pay the tax, if they are to be eligible to vote in the all-important Democratic primaries next May. Friday

It is a blot on democracy that Alabama voters are required to pay to vote. Perhaps some day the voters of our state will demand that the poll tax law be thrown into the discard in order that the voting base may be broadened and democracy function more nearly perfectly in Alabama. Until that is done, however, it is important that everyone of voting age pay the tax and be a voter in good standing. 1-4-46

There has not been a time in the modern history of our state that a large electorate was more important than it will be in 1946. For next year elections of great consequence on the future life of Alabama are to be held. We shall be electing a governor and other state officials, congressmen and county officeholders. Those whom we name to office by our ballots will serve during a period of great stress. They will be called upon to determine great questions which will determine whether Alabama will meet the challenge of the postwar years. During the 1947-51 quadrennium, our governor and other elected officials will carry the state forward to great attainments which will enrich the lives of all our people, or they will carry us backwards to economic, social and political poverty.—Lee County Bulletin (Auburn).

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(SNS) — $36 VOTER—William Averett (above), 52, of 1308 Cahaba Street, who paid 24 years back poll tax at $1.50 per year, a total of $36 for the right to vote.

Mr. Averett became interested in voting when he heard that his step-son, James Sampson, honorably discharged from the Navy after seven years service had become a qualified voter.

Back home, Mr. Sampson returned to Parker High to complete his education. One afternoon he was fascinated with a corner discussion of voting by Prof. Henry Williams, Parker teacher. So he went up and registered, having been well instructed in the procedure and mechanics of registration by Mr. Williams. Sat 2-23-46

The exciting story dazzled his step-father, who said he would not be out done. Soe he went to see Mr. Williams about voting, and was given the same helpful instructions. He was registered and paid the life-time poll tax of $36.

When Miss Bessie Sampson, sister of ex-sailor Sampson was honorably separated from the WAC's after 34 months in service, she was told the story, and lost no time becoming a qualified voter.

Two lessons are in the story. One is that veterans can interest their families and friends in voting. The other is that it would be good tax for the registrars to register all qualified citizens alike for voting.

VETERANS AND POLL TAXES

Birmingham News.

To the Editor of The News:

Let not the article go unchallenged which appeared in this column of a recent date.

Truly the writer, Walter L. Phillips, of Talladega, Ala., was misinformed when he asserted: "Capt. H. C. Terrell is trying to get as many as 15,000 Negroes, who have served time in the war, to pay poll tax, with the aid of his associates, although he knows that under the Alabama law veterans are not required to pay poll taxes." ala.

It is regrettable that the writer has misinterpreted the honorable and patriotic efforts of an ex-Army chaplain who was merely trying to get Negro veterans to become registered voters. Wed. 4-3-46

The Rev. Mr. Terrell, who is now the pastor of the Emanuel A. M. E. Church and the chaplain of the Alabama Veterans Association and the chairman of the registration committee of the Jefferson County Veterans Council, affiliated with the Alabama Veterans Association, did not and would not betray his comrades by advocating that they should pay a tax which no veteran is required to pay.

EUGENE H. MURPHY,
Vice President Alabama Veterans Association, 1030 North Fourth Street.

UNMENTIONABLES?

Birmingham News Alabama

Maybe the 1946 Alabama gubernatorial contest is not far enough advanced to expect discussions about two critical controversial issues, reapportionment and repeal of the cumulative poll tax. To most politicians these two measures are treated the way petticoats were when grandmother was a girl—"unmentionables!" Ala 3-6-46

Why should these aspirants for the highest state office be so modest about these two issues? Thousands of Alabamians don't want any blushing from the candidates. They want to know what each of the five, now wishing to be our next governor, will ask the new Legislature to do about reapportionment and poll tax repeal.—Cullman Tribune.

PAY IN POLL TAX SLOW IN COUNTY

Birmingham News 1-10-46

With the deadline only three weeks away, 15,000 or more county residents have yet to make poll tax payments if they expect to cast votes in the May primary election, Tax Collector J. W. Hamilton reported yesterday.

In order to be eligible to cast ballots in the May election, voters must bring their poll tax payment record up to date before Feb. 1.

Mr. Hamilton said yesterday that in about a week he would make a concerted drive for collection of the poll tax by establishing substations at about 25 scattered locations throughout the city and county. The stations are for the convenience of persons who find it difficult to go to the courthouse during the day. Most of the stations will be open during the evenings hours.

A year ago, which was consid-302 on the same date a year ago and $17,- the same date two years ago, the election year, Mr. Ha-

Registration Irregularities To Be Investigated By Grand Jury

Birmingham News Ala. Tues. 3-26-46

DOTHAN, ALA., March 25.—(AP)—An investigation was begun today, Circuit Judge D. C. Hal-

Probe Ordered In Houston's

Montgomery Advertiser Ala.

As the result of a 1944 constitutional amendment, World War II veterans will be eligible to vote on a large scale for the first time in this year's elections.

Poll tax collections totals a year ago were $55,356 and two years ago amounted to $62,059. Collections on Jan. 1 this year amounted to $13,- 998, as compared with $15,262 on

stead, said, of reported voter registration irregularities in Houston County.

Judge Halstead said "40 or 50 or 60" citizens living in Beats 6, 11 and 12 had been registered as recent arrivals in Alabama and only two years' back poll tax paid despite the fact they have lived in the state "several years."

Alabama law requires payment of cumulative poll taxes for every year a voter has lived in the state after reaching the age of 21. No one can register, however, until he has been in Alabama at least two years.

Judge Halstead said the "obvious" purpose of the alleged irregularities was to avoid paying more than two years' back taxes, but he expressed the opinion that some of the registrants themselves might be innocent; that they might have been registered by other persons.

"It looks like an effort on the part of two or more people to use them," he explained. He did not elaborate. Ann. 3-26-46

The jurist said he had summoned the Houston county grand jury to meet April 15 and that meanwhile a state investigator had been sent to Dothan. In Montgomery, Chief N. W. Kimbrough, of the enforcement division of the Department of Public Safety, said the investigator was C. T. Donaldson.

The Right To Vote

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser

A few months ago a woman over 45 years of age who had never voted in her life came into the Calhoun County Courthouse to pay her back poll tax. She paid the maximum of $36, and as she looked at the receipt which proved to her that she was now entitled to vote, she remarked, "Now I feel like somebody, because I can vote. All these years I have been a nobody, but now I'm somebody." Thur. 4-4-46

It should be a matter of disgrace to our State that anyone has to pay $36 for the right to vote, and the poll tax law is one of the evils we must eliminate. But it is interesting to note how many persons were willing this year to pay $36 to vote, and we feel there is a special significance in this woman's spontaneous remark.

The right to vote does make us "somebody." It means that we have a certain power, a voice to say whom we want as the leaders of our government. It is strange indeed that so many people simply do not care to take the trouble to exercise this right, prefer to remain a "nobody," with no voice in their own government.

Next Tuesday, the people of Anniston have a chance to say whom they want to lead their city government for the next four years. The Anniston poll list includes 5,710 names—5,710 out of a population of 40,000. It is too late to do anything about that small proportion of eligible voters. But it is not too late to see that every one of those 5,710 goes to the polls. Thur. 4-4-46

Throughout history, men have fought and died for the right to have a voice in their government. Surely not one of Anniston's eligible voters will be willing to sit at home next Tuesday and ignore the right that so many have considered so precious. It takes only a few minutes and very little effort to vote; it is a very little thing—to be so big.—Anniston Star.

VETERANS AND POLL TAXES

To the Editor of The News: Alabama

Let not the article go unchallenged which appeared in this column of a recent date.

Truly the writer, Walter L. Phillips, of Talladega, Ala., was misinformed when he asserted: "Capt. H. C. Terrell is trying to get as many as 15,000 Negroes, who have served time in the war, to pay poll tax, with the aid of his associates, although he knows that under the Alabama law veterans are not required to pay poll taxes."

It is regrettable that the writer has misinterpreted the honorable and patriotic efforts of an ex-Army chaplain who was merely trying to get Negro veterans to become registered voters. Birmingham News

The Rev. Mr. Terrell, who is now the pastor of the Emanuel A. M. E. Church and the chaplain of the Alabama Veterans Association and the chairman of the registration committee of the Jefferson County Veterans Council, affiliated with the Alabama Veterans Association, did not and would not betray his comrades by advocating that they should pay a tax which no veteran is required to pay.

Wed 4-3-46 EUGENE H. MURPHY,
Vice President Alabama Veterans Association, 1030 North Fourth Street.

THE 10 PER CENT

Birmingham, Ala., News

Reports from this county, as well as all over the state, indicate a record poll tax payment and registration by voters. All of which definitely points to a record vote in Alabama in the coming Democratic primary, a vote well in excess of 300,000. Ann. 4-16-46

This is a good sign. It is heartening news. It is something that has long been needed, not only in this state, but throughout the nation. When the people begin to take such an active interest in their political offices and officials, then we are on the right track. A democracy works only when the people take an active part in their governmental affairs. When the people become apathetic toward their government and its philosophies and personalities, democracy fails to work, in the truest sense.

So this news of increased voter activity throughout the state makes us feel that things are looking up. But, even with this increased registration, our governmental officials are being elected by about 10 per cent of our population. Stop and think about this. Ten per cent! Ridiculous? Shameful? It most certainly is! Think of it—only one out of every 10 people you meet walking down the street or in a store or in your home, are voters, are taking an active part in their government.

A democracy? A government of the people? Yes. A government for the people? Yes. A government by the people? No—a government by 10 per cent of the people!

You own a drug store—you're a druggist. You work in a bank—you're a cashier. You own a farm—you're a farmer. You lay bricks—you're a brick mason. Druggist, cashier, farmer, brickmason—you're a part of your government—or are you? Ann. 4-16-46

If the people of Alabama want good, honest, progressive government they must start looking after their business a good deal better than they have in the past. Then, and only then, can they be absolutely sure of the highest type of government. You say you haven't the time to spare? Neither did the people of Germany, of Italy, of Japan. Do you think you would like to be in their shoes today?

Think it over. The next registration, go down to the courthouse and register. Vote—help run your business—your government—it will pay off big dividends—a free, genuine, workable democracy.

Don't you think it's worth the trouble?—Cleburne News (Heflin).

Effect Of The Poll Tax

Advertiser Fri 5-3-46

The Anniston Star, which considers Alabama's poll tax law "one of the evils we must eliminate," presents a striking example of its effect. Commenting on a municipal election, The Star says Anniston has 40,000 population and a poll list of 5,710.

These are qualified voters, about fourteen per cent of the population. The Bureau of Census reports fifty-five per cent of Alabama's inhabitants of voting age. Scarcely sixteen per cent of the electorate participated in the last Presidential election, only 15,000 more than the number of ballots cast in 1892 when the People's Party was giving Alabama Democrats a hard fight, and when only men voted. Montgomery, Ala.

The Star's comment was occasioned by a woman of forty-five paying $36 poll tax for the privilege of casting her first vote. She had to pay up for every year since her twenty-first birthday. Nearly three-fourths of Anniston's voting population must be a year or more in arrears. Presumably Anniston sentiment stands at least three to one for repeal of the poll tax law.—Louisville (Ky.) Times.

POLL TAX LOCAL OPTION

Birmingham, Ala., News

To the Editor of The News:

Our present liquor control laws provide that each county at its own option may be wet or dry. However, each county, wet or dry, shares in the tax returns from liquor. Now, since the boys who made this law seem to think it fair to have each county share in this revenue, and since it is eminently fair to allow each county to decide by its own votes whether it shall be wet or dry, why not the same system of local option to allow each county to say whether it will charge poll taxes? This would solve the problem of some viewers-with-alarm who are concerned with their own local conditions, but are disregarding the desires of other Alabama citizens.

It would require a constitutional amendment, of course, to set up a law to allow charging of poll taxes by local option, but so will any change in the law on poll taxes. But I believe a plan of this nature would enable each county to solve its own problems in its own way, and no county would be affected by the action of its neighboring county. No honest and sincere legislator could hardly oppose this plan, as it provides for an absolute method of self-determination. Under the terms of this law, each county could alter its poll tax requirements as it saw fit, and when it has deemed it necessary to abolish the tax it could do so. But as long as it felt the need of retaining the poll tax it could do so. And, of course, as under the liquor control law, each county should share in the proceeds of the poll tax collections whether or not it has tax. Shouldn't they? Birmingham, Ala.

The Legislature should and must be reapportioned; a constitutional amendment should and must be passed, giving every county a senator, and the House members reapportioned according to population, with each county having at least one. The governor-designate says he wants to do these things, and it is up to the people of this state to raise the hue and cry to insure its being done. You were with him on election day. Will you be with him when the "chips" are down? I sincerely hope you will.

Ann. 4-23-46 RAYMOND J. ROWELL,
1640 Steiner Avenue.

Aubrey Williams Heads Farm Educational Union

The News Birmingham, Ala.

CLANTON, Ala., Nov. 16—(AP)—Aubrey W. Williams, former NYA administrator, is the new president of the Alabama division of the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America.

Williams, editor of The Southern Farmer, and other officers were elected yesterday at the group's annual meeting. J. B. Marton, of Horton, was named vice president and Orville H. Mastin, of Clanton, was reelected secretary-treasurer.

Retiring President W. L. Sanders, of Clanton, was elected to the board of directors along with L. A. Holloway, of Altoona; J. W. Godfrey, Gadsden; R. M. Foshee, Clanton, and J. I. Mott, Red Level. Sat.

The organization went on record in favor of abolishing Alabama's poll tax, increased pensions to the aged, higher salaries for school teachers and establishment of marketing associations. 11-16-46

Poll Tax In Alabama Debated Over Radio

The News Birmingham, Ala. Wed. 10-23-46

Arguments for and against retention of the poll tax in Alabama were heard last night in the radio forum series, "Democracy at Work," with the opposing positions taken by Judge Walter B. Jones, of the Montgomery Circuit Court, and Neil O. Davis, publisher of the Lee County Bulletin at Auburn.

Disagreeing with his opponent on whether the tax keeps otherwise qualified voters from the polls, as $36, Judge Jones asserted that "general indifference" was responsible for failure to many to pay the poll tax and that "no one in Alabama is so poor that he can't afford to pay ½-cent a day for the privilege of voting."

Alabama's 1944 electorate was only 19 per cent of the potential voters, according to Mr. Davis, who pointed out that North Carolina, a non-poll tax state, turned out 44 per cent of the potential electorate. In depression years, Mr. Davis continued, many persons could not afford to pay the $1.50 annual levy and even now cannot afford to pay the cumulative tax of as much as $36.

* * *

GOULD BEECH, of The Southern Farmer, supported Mr. Davis, while Sam Rice Baker, Montgomery attorney, sided with Judge Jones. Charles N. Feidelson, contributing editor, The Birmingham News, served as moderator for the program, which originated in the Montgomery studios of WSFA and was aired locally over WSGN.

This year, poll tax collections amounted to $546,650, which is appropriated to education and which is vitally needed by the schools, the judge indicated. Mr. Davis answered that the money pays for

only two days of school operation throughout the state, and asserted that repeal would bring about a more representative electorate, which would replace the schools' loss by levying "proper taxes."

* * *

CORRUPTIONS in the form of "receipt buying has been caused by the poll tax in Alabama, Mr. Davis said, warning that "a large body of politically disfranchised people and Communist doctrines," Judge Jones replied that greater corruptions exist in Northern cities where no poll tax is levied.

Mr. Baker argued that the tax is "a rather strong link in a weak chain that must be strengthened to keep Negroes from voting. In reply, Mr. Davis said that 60 per cent of white adults do not vote in the "undemocratic reason" for the tax, he charged, is the fear of political action by "so-called lower-class whites."

Polltax Holdup

Daily worker New York N.Y.
Nov 11-16-46

A total of 371,335 poll taxes were paid in Arkansas for the 1946 elections.

A National Issue

By Ernest Lindley

IN HIS FORMAL STATEMENT last week explaining his position on the poll-tax issue, President Truman said, "While the Federal anti-poll-tax legislation has been pending in Congress, several States have abandoned the poll tax. This is a great step forward and I hope more States will see fit to change their poll-tax laws."

Lindley

Active proponents of the Federal anti-poll-tax bill point out that the President's statement was somewhat rosier than the facts justify. The attempt to get Federal legislation to knock out State poll taxes as prerequisites to voting began in 1939. Before that, Florida and Louisiana had abolished the poll tax by State action. But since that only one State has done so. That is Georgia, under the leadership of the liberal Governor Arnall. Even Arnall might not have succeeded, however, but for a peculiar provision in the Georgia constitution permitting the Governor to suspend any tax for one year. He held the threat to suspend the poll tax over the heads of the Legislature. The results of one election held without a poll tax might not have been pleasing to some of the members if they had voted against repeal of the tax.

IN TENNESSEE the Legislature voted to abolish the poll tax but the State Supreme Court invalidated the action on the ground that it conflicted with the State constitution. So Tennessee still has the poll tax, as do six other States: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

In all seven of these States the poll tax is imbedded in State constitutions. Proponents of Federal action insist, therefore, that as a practical matter there is not much hope of getting rid of the tax in most of those States in the near future by State action. They hold that only Congress can provide a reasonably prompt and effective remedy.

The House has passed anti-poll-tax legislation three times. The Senate has filibustered it twice, and the Southern opponents of Federal action undoubtedly will continue to resort to filibustering whenever the bill comes up, unless they are stopped by cloture.

Some of the supporters of Federal legislation may doubt that it is wise or constitutional. Many of them, like President Truman, who as a Senator not only favored Federal action but voted for cloture, would feel relieved if the seven remaining poll tax States would go ahead and abolish the tax under their own steam. But for the reasons just indicated, the prospects are not favorable for this more comfortable solution.

THERE ARE, however, other ways to work toward the objective sought by the opponents of the poll tax: the broadening of the electorate. One is to increase the number of people who pay the poll tax, which requires not only money but, in some States, quite a bit of red tape. The impending CIO organization drive in the South should, if successful, increase the number of voters who see that their tax is paid and that they are otherwise properly qualified. Supreme Court decisions in recent years have also tended to broaden the electorate, by lifting some of the restrictions on Negro voting.

Federal anti-poll-tax legislation, however, has become a national issue. It is one on which many voters in the 41 States which do not have a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting may turn. For urgent political reasons, therefore, it is becoming increasingly impractical for Democrats in Congress from outside the poll-tax-States to wait for the solution of this problem by State action.

Morse Fails in Attempt

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Parliamentary Ruse Tried by Republican

ONLY 3 PRESENT

Democrats Rushed in to Forestall Action

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — The controversial anti-poll tax bill narrowly escaped getting slipped through the Senate last Thursday while only two Senators were present on the floor.

Only Sen. Wayne Morse (Rep., Ore.) lingered in the chamber to listen to a speech against the British loan proposal by Sen. William Langer (Rep.-N.D.)

Noting the situation, Sen. Morse asked Sen. Langer whether he would yield. Sat

"For what purpose?" asked Sen Langer.

"I wonder if the Senator will yield long enough for the Senate to pass by unanimous consent, House Bill 7 (the anti-poll tax bill), replied Sen. Morse.

"Yes, indeed," said Sen. Langer. "I yield with pleasure. What is the bill about?" 4-27-46

Obtains Floor

"It is the anti-poll tax bill," said Sen. Morse.

"I yield for that purpose," said Sen. Langer.

"I believe we are in position to save the Senate a great deal of time, inasmush as the Senator and I are about the only members of the Senate now present on the floor," said Sen. Morse.

"Mr. President, let the Senator from Oregon make his request," said Sen. Langer.

"I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House Bill 7, an act making unlawful the requirement for the payment of a poll tax prerequisite to voting in a primary or other election for national offices," Sen. Morse stated.

Maguson Stalls

In the chair, Sen. Warren G. Magnuson, (Dem.-Wash.) stalled for time. Democratic Secretary Felton M. Johnson sprinted for Sen. Ernest W. McFarland, (Dem.-Ariz.) who rushed into the Senate cloakroom, tagged passerby and suggested the absence of a quorum. 4-27-46

Sen. Langer refused to yield to Sen. MacFarland for that purpose. Sen. Magnuson explained Sen. Morse's request for unanimous consent to take up the anti-poll tax bill. Sat.

Sen. MacFarland obpected, thus blocking Sen. Morse's maneuver to slip through the measure. For the remainder of the afternoon, Southern Democrats kept a scout on the floor.

Smiled Sen. Morse: "You can't blame a guy for trying."

Says State Has Right To Demand Illegal Levy

Chicago Defender Ill.

Supports Theory Of Gradual Repeal In Southern Regions

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — Liberal forces throughout the country were this week denouncing the shocking "states rights" statement made in regard to poll tax repeal by President Truman at Chicago on Saturday.

Tagged a "peace offering" to Southern Bourbons in Congress by the nation's progressives, the popular interpretation of the utterance here was that the Chief Executive has lost all hope for his legislative program and will not seek reelection in 1948.

The President's analysis of one of the most controversial issues ever tackled by Congress came unexpectedly at a news conference held for Chicago high school journalists. 4-13-46

The question was raised by a nervous, shy little girl whose query escaped most of the reporters regularly assigned to cover the President.

Takes "Gradual Attitude"

While in the Senate Mr. Truman was a proponent of federal repeal of the tax levied in a number of southern states as a prerequisite for voting. On several occasions, when asked about his attitude, he has pointed to his Senate record.

"Do you see any immediate solution of the poll tax in the South?" came the question at Saturday's conference. Sat 4-13-46

No, he did not, the President replied. It is a matter the states will have to work out for themselves. There are a number of southern states, the President went on, that have repealed the poll tax.

He expressed hope that they all will eventually, but that was a matter for them to work out for themselves.

He added that it was also a matter for education.

Southern Democrats have been critical of the Truman administration's stand for permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee and other "New Deal" objectives. Efforts have been under way in party circles to ease the tension by the bitter debate on some of these issues. 4-13-46

Protest Barrage Begins

Speaking at the "Win the Peace" Conference here on Sunday, Clark Foreman of Atlanta, Ga., president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, said Truman's remarks indicate "a most significant reversal of Presidential policy."

Sen. Claude Pepper (D., Fla.) told the conference he intended to press vigorously for early consideration and passage of the bill to abolish the poll tax in federal elections. Sat.

He said, "I do not agree with the statement made Saturday by the President of the United States that it is a matter for the states to work out."

The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax sent the following telegram to President Truman apropos his Chicago speech:

"Distressed at the report that you have succumbed to poll tax influence and repudiated your past pledges and performance in support of federal anti-poll tax though a free vote is the foundation of our democracy and our foreign policy. We would appreciate word direct from you in regard to this."

Cites Balkans Fight

The National Council of Negro Women, through its executive director, Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason of Washington, had this to say:

"To depend upon the states to enact this legislation is to delay indefinitely the right of the people to participate in the governing classes as full citizens.

"It smacks of shameless hypocrisy for the United States Government to express concern as to whether or not democratic processes in the exercise of the ballot exists in the Balkan countries and at the same time to tolerate, excuse, and placate the flagrant denial of the elemental right to vote without impediment for millions of people here at home."

The Poll Tax

Congressional Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Washington, D.C.

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1946

Tues 4-9-46

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

Resolution memorializing Congress to adopt an adequate anti-poll-tax bill

Whereas there exists in a number of the States of this Nation a policy of requiring payment of cumulative poll taxes as a condition to the right of citizens to vote; and

Whereas the vast proportion of the citizens, many millions in number, both white and colored, are prevented from exercising their right of franchise because of poverty; and

Whereas the governments of these several States have done nothing to alleviate this undemocratic situation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts urges the Congress of the United States to adopt an adequate anti-poll-tax law which would remove forever the vicious poll-tax system which has now and for many years deprived millions of our citizens of their constitutional right to vote; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the Presiding Officer of each branch of Congress and to the Members thereof from this Commonwealth.

In house of representatives adopted, March 28, 1946.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE,
Clerk.

In senate, adopted in concurrence, April 8, 1946. Tues 4-9-46

IRVING N. HAYDEN,
Clerk.

A true copy. Attest:

F. W. COOK,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Filibuster On Poll Tax May End Congress Term In Oratory Style

BY FRANCIS J. KELLY

WASHINGTON, June 21—(AP)—A Senate filibuster on the anti-poll tax bill may wind up the 79th Congress next month with a flood of oratory.

Or—if advocates of the free vote leaked out, Southern opponents of the meeting of the measure have their way—the proposed July-to-January congressional vacation may be postponed for a long, long time.

Members of an inter-party steering committee in favor of the bill decided at a secret strategy meeting to call it up as soon as 10 Southern member told a reporter privately, "We have been discuss-

The bill, already approved by the House, would wipe out the poll tax as a voting requirement in federal elections. Seven Southern states have poll tax laws—South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas and Tennessee. Phil. 6-21-46

Phil. 6-21-46 Appropriation bills are out of the way.

But when killing discussion on the Senate floor.

"Our side has not been idle, one

Poll Tax Was Not Designed To Bar Voting By Negroes

State Supreme Court Justice Cites Constitution of 1890; Now Only A Matter of Time Until We Must Face Problem

Cleveland Ohio Enterprise May 30, 1946

Mississippi's poll tax, "notwithstanding the perverted purpose ascribed to it by small politicians and demagogs nowadays in the national Congress, is not designed as a bar to negro voting but has as its principal purpose support of the public school system," said Justice L. A. Smith, Sr., of the Supreme Court, in a recent speech before the Jackson Kiwanis Club.

"Insofar as the poll tax is concerned, it affects both races alike and does prevent some people, both the whites and negroes, from voting."

Discussing the Constitution of 1890, Justice Smith said the real safeguards in Mississippi are two of its provisions dealing with literacy of the citizens and a system of voter registration.

"These are the provisions of the organic law of this great state designed to maintain unsullied the high character of a clean democratic form of government, to prevent selfish and corrupt practices, and to insure the processes of government shall be administered by patriotic men or good purpose and wisdom and excellent character."

Justice Smith explained that the Constitution, which nowhere mentions "race, color or previous condition of servitude" and was upheld by the United States Supreme Court, requires that "every elector shall be able to read any section of the Constitution or be able to understand the same when read to him or give a reasonable interpretation thereof.

"Many now think it may become of real value in the present status of political elections, although it is exceedingly problematical due to advance in the education of all citizens," he said with reference to the literary provision.

Pointing to recent United States Supreme Court decisions in the Texas and Georgia cases in which it was held that negroes were entitled to vote in the Democratic primaries, Justice Smith said "We in Mississippi are confronted with similar events and problems" in view of the state supporting the party promiary election.

"It is only a matter of time until the question will present itself in Mississippi, where negroes in some sections of the state far outnumber the whites. It behooves all of us to ponder the matter.

"The question is, what shall be done about it. To its answer must be brought the highest degree of human experience, character, wisdom and patriotism, aided by the purest impulses of love for our state."

Discussing some of the discriminations permitted by the federal government against the South, such as those dealing with freight rates, and outlining its leniency with defeated nations in World War II, the State Supreme Court justice said:

"The only time the United States has been mean and cruel to a defeated opponent and shown utter disregard for its citizens was when the South surrendered in the Civil War."

Ickes Flays Poll Tax

Journal-Guide

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA)—Given the ballot, the millions disfranchised through the poll-tax in the South would shortly correct and improve their own social, educational, agricultural and industrial conditions, Harold L. Ickes, former Secretary of the Interior, told a dinner-meeting of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at the Statler Hotel here last Wednesday evening.

Attacking the poll tax before a mixed audience of some 600 people, Mr. Ickes charged that "the economic masters of the South seized the opportunity afforded by the dire straits of the Negro to impose a tax on his voting privilege." 6-1-46

"POLITICAL SLAVERY" Sat

Calling this "political slavery" Mr. Ickes said the number of impoverished whites reduced to "ballot-bondage" was twice that of colored people, and added:

"They may be, and were, drafted into the Army; they may be, and were compelled to face the common enemy, and if necessary give up their lives to protect the life, liberty, and happiness of their fellow citizens. But they cannot vote. This is the brand of democracy that we hold up for the curious regard of the world."

Mr. Ickes declared that this country is going to do away with injustices and discriminations despite the Bilbos and the O'Daniels and the Rankins." Continuing he said:

"The day will come—perhaps it is already here—when any decent human being will scorn to seek public office over the prostrate bodies of those of another race.

"It is a foul thing, this keeping the passions of the prejudiced and ignorant stirred to white heat in order to attain public office. It is foul and unclean and if I were a member of a so-called committee to investigate un-American activities I would begin at home. 6-1-46 Sat

"If denial of civil rights to American citizens, denial of the right to enjoy to the full the freedom proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and set forth in the Constitution of the United States does not constitute un-American activities then I do not know the meaning of that term."

CONTRIBUTORS

At the meeting, which was a part of the Southern Conference's program to raise funds to carry on its educational activities in the District of Columbia, more than $9.000 was contributed to bring the total amount raised thus far in the drive to $17,000.

The largest single donation of the evening was made by Mrs. Luke Wilson who gave $2.500.

Dr. and Mrs. Mordecai W. Johnson, Dr. and Mrs. Edwin B. Henderson, Representative Adolph J. Sabath, Democrat, of Illinois, Dr. Millard R. Dean, and Mrs. Edith Porter were among the $100 contributors.

Bilbo Tries To Foul Up Polltax Bill

Daily Worker Wed. 7-31-46

By Federated Press New York, N. Y.

WASHINGTON, July 30.—Stung by mass protests which charged him with a part in the rousing fascist white supremacy groups that only recently killed four Negroes at Monroe, Ga., Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D-Miss) introduced a racist amendment to the pending poll tax repeal bill today. Wed. 7-31-46

Bilbo's amendment, which equaled anything in that line ever done by the Nazi exponents of the same racist theories, heads as follows:

"Hereafter in any state, territory, possession or the District of Columbia the marriage of a white person and a Negro or mulatto, or a person who shall have one sixteenth or more of Negro blood or with a Mongolian or with a person who shall have one sixteenth or more of Mongolian blood shall be unlawful and such marriage shall be void.

"Any person who is party to any such marriage or who knowingly performs a marriage ceremony to which such persons are a part shall upon conviction thereof be punished by a fine of not to exceed $10,000 or by imprisonment of not to exceed ten years."

ponents. Charleston

Senator Morse, Republican, Oregon, told his colleagues "a pure farce" was being enacted.

He said he had no doubt the cloture petition, which he supports, would be beaten.

It was generally understood among senators that proponents of the measure had reached an agreement with Southern opponents that if the senate declines Wednesday to limit debate, action on the bill will be dropped for this session of congress.

Opponents said they are confident they have sufficient votes to defeat the cloture petition, which requires two-thirds approval of those voting to become effective. If it were adopted, senators would be limited to one hour's talk each on the measure. Tues. 7-30-46

Besides Barkley, senators who signed the cloture petition included: Kilgore, Democrat, West Virginia, Elbert Thomas, Democrat, Utah, LaFollette, Progressive, Wisconsin, Tunnell, Democrat, Delaware, Murray, Democrat, Montana, Guffey, Democrat, Pennsylvania, Ferguson, Republican, Michigan, Vandenberg, Republican, Michigan, Taft, Republican, Ohio, Downey, Democrat, California, Wagner, Democrat, New York, Pepper, Democrat Florida, Huffman, Democrat, Ohio, Walsh, Democrat, Massachusetts, MsMahon, Democrat, Connecticut, Lucas Democrat, Illinois, Green, Democrat Rhode Island, Knowland, Republican, California, Wherry, Republican, Nebraska, Capper, Republican, Kansas, Smith, Republican, New Jersey, Magnuson, Democrat, Washington, Mead, Democrat, New York, Mitchell, Democrat, Washington, White Republican, Maine, Aiken, Republican, Vermont, Taylor, Democrat, Idaho.

Anti Poll Tax Bill

Meanwhile an attempt to enact the anti-poll tax bill before Congress quits failed today when the Senate refused to limit debate.

That meant that Southerners could filibuster to prevent a vote on the measure itself, and hence its chances went glimmering. Advertiser

The count was 39 for applying the debate limitation rule, and 33 against, but a two-thirds majority is required. The Senate hasn't invoked the rule in 19 years. Montgomery, Ala.

Majority Leader Barkley (D), Kentucky, told reporters before the roll call:

"Everybody understands that if we can't get cloture (debate curbs) we can's get a vote (on the bill), no matter if we stay in session a month." 8-1-46

Congress tentatively is due to quit Friday. Southern foes could hold the floor that long if necessary as they have demonstrated in past opposition to the legislation which would outlaw the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in Federal elections. Seven Southern States have the tax.

Launch Vote Education Program in Mississippi

Courier

JACKSON, Miss.—(ANP)—A program proposed to teach "vote consciousness" to citizens, many of whom hope to exercise privilege of the franchies for the first time in the forthcoming July 2 Democratic primary here, was launched last week by the Mississippi Progressive Voters' League. 6-1-46

Plans also were announced for raising $20,000 to execute the program, and to finance court action against officials who refuse qualified Negroes the right to register for the primary.

T. W. Wilson, president of the organization, said the league will be affiliated with a national group, and will endeavor to "develop, promote and maintain within the minds of our people a state of vote consciousness."

Wilson said plans include training in the mechanics of voting, and education in citizenship rights as guaranteed by the Constitution.

"We are not trying to break into the Democratic Party," he said and declared that the "white and colored people of Mississippi can settle their own problems without the aid of northerners." 6-1-46

Anti-Poll Tax Bill Up Again

Pitts. Courier

Tuesday - 7-30-46

Washington, July 29.—(AP): The senate agreed today to vote an hour after it meets Wednesday on a petition to limit debate on a bill to outlaw the collection of state poll taxes in federal elections.

The cloture petition, signed by 28 senators, was filed by Democratic Leader Barkley, Kentucky, after he had succeeded in calling before the senate the anti-poll tax bill. The measure always before has provoked a filibuster by Southern op-

This Evening

Birmingham News

SOUTHERNERS IN CONGRESS

Henry Wallace suggested the other day that congressmen who do not stand by their party should be read out of the party. He was aiming, of course, at Southerners who are voting consistently with Republicans against the administration program. Promptly, the gentlemen whose withers had been wrung cried "Purge," referring to President Roosevelt's attempt to get rid of George, of Georgia, and Tydings, of Maryland. Had Roosevelt succeeded, the Democratic party would today be a much more cohesive organization than it is. But that is irrelevant with respect to the issue Wallace had in mind.

For his proposal involves no purge. It has to do with party responsibility and nothing else. If, after a caucus decision, a member fails to toe the mark, he ought to have a very good reason for doing so or take the consequences of being disciplined. It happens that the only excuse Southern congressmen who have gone over to the opposition can produce is that they object to the administration's policies. That may satisfy their private consciences, but it simply does not meet the requirements of our parliamentary system. Unless we can have party integrity, our legislative scheme is bound to bog down. Birmingham, Ala.

That's so obvious that even those Democrats who have been knifing their party cannot deny the principle, however much they may reject it in practice. It is, moreover, a principle which has been used against recalcitrants in the past, particularly by Republicans when they exiled those rambunctious Westerners years ago. It is the principle to which the La Follette-Monroney report on reorganizing Congress gave particular attention. Once a majority of party members makes up its mind on a proposition, individuals should be good soldiers, or what was intended to be a clean-cut issue lapses into confusion and sterility. Southern "dissidents" never cared for Henry Wallace—and their dislike for him has understandably deepened. He may have gone too far in calling so bluntly for their punishment. But, in the circumstances, what else could he urge? It is plain that mere appeals to these gentry have gotten nowhere. Witness the speech which Chairman Hannegan made last week. He dealt with the coalition, declaring that is is "politically irresponsible" because it is seeking to defeat "the will of three-fourths of the people of the nation." When the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, after working so hard to bring the wandering Southern brethren back into the fold, is willing to denounce them in this fashion, he is in effect taking a position alongside Wallace. Mon. 3-25-46

What are these Southern Democrats after? Mr. Hannegan minces no words in charging them with being the mouthpieces of special interests. He ought to know what he is talking about. The question is, how do these men as politicians dare to betray their constituents? That question was answered the other day by a Southern liberal who has become a national figure. He said, in effect, that the will of the people is one thing and the will of special interests is another, and that so long as voters are unorganized or misinformed or inarticulate, the pressure of blocs seeking what they want is certain to prevail. The political power wielded by vested interests is something no officeholder can fail to recognize. Mon. 3-25-46

That is particularly true, he might have added, when everything has been done to keep the electorate small and manageable. So long as the poll tax continues to keep people from voting, so long as registration is made a cumbrous operation, so long as registrars are clothed with virtually unlimited authority to make second-class citizens of applicants for the right to vote, suffrage will belong to a select group much more responsive to "class" considerations than a larger body of voters would be. This explains the violence with which many Southerners in Washington face any proposal to remove the poll tax. Any marked change in the suffrage situation is calculated to make them insecure.

And until such a change comes, they can do as they please, even to the point of frustrating their own administration. For suppose they thereby help to defeat the Democratic party in '46 or '48. At worst, they would lose their committee assignments. But their jobs they would retain. That's not an unfair interpretation of their course. They would rather be wrong, if only they can stay in office, than right, if that involves a disburbance of their tenure. The upshot is that the people of the South, who stand in bitter need of the progressive legislation President Truman is calling for are being deprived of its benefits by the very men who have been chosen to represent them in Congress. Mon. 3-25-46

* * *

Nor is even that the whole story. The South suffers because some of its congressmen have joined the GOP while pretending to be Democrats. But the country as a whole is also hurt. We Southerners are given to wondering why other sections won't let us alone. "Why won't they let run our own affairs? We don't interfere with them." Well, we are interfering with a vengeance when a handful of our representative line up with Republican reactionaries to strangle social and economic measures to improve the national well-being. If these so-called Democrats were backing the administration instead of fighting it, price control, housing, minimum wages, would not be in such a sorry plight.

Alabama Press

Birmingham News

TRUMAN AND POLL TAXES

President Truman has reversed his stand on the poll tax question. Although he makes no bones about the fact that he thinks the tax should be abolished, he says it is a matter for the South to decide for itself.

The Times has always taken the stand that the poll tax is a question for Alabama and Alabamians to decide and decide alone. However, we should remember that not everyone agrees with Mr. Truman on this matter, and for this reason we should not delay too long on abolishing this undemocratic system of collecting taxes upon one's voting privilege.

Georgia has rid herself of this tax and Alabama should do likewise before the North and other sections that do not understand our problems pass an anti-poll tax bill of such a nature that may be entirely contrary to our customs and beliefs. The way to prevent outside action is to act ourselves.—Baldwin Times (Bay Minette) Times 4-18-46

Anti-Poll Tax Passed Unanimously—Almost

The Montgomery Ala. Advertiser

WASHINGTON, April 18—(AP)—The anti-pol ltax bill, target of many a southern filibuster, almost passed the Senate today by unanimous consent with three members present.

Senator Morse (R), Oregon, a sponsor of the legislation, saw his chance when only himself, Senator Langer (R), North Dakota, and Senator Magnuson (D), Washington, who was presiding, were left in the chamber.

Langer was speaking against the proposed British loan. Morse asked him to yield briefly so he could move passage of the anti-poll tax measure by unanimous consent. Fri 4-19-46

At the last moment, Senator McFarland (D), Arizona, dashed in and shouted his objection, ending the parliamentary maneuvering.

Poll-Tax Foe Wins—Almost

Louisville, Ky.

Washington, April 18 (AP)—The antipoll-tax bill, target of many a Southern filibuster, almost passed the Senate today by unanimous consent with three members present.

Senator Morse (R., Ore.) a sponsor of the legislation, saw his chance when only himself, Senator Langer (R., N. D.), and Senator Magnuson (D., Wash.), who was presiding, were left in the chamber.

Langer was speaking against the proposed British loan. Morse asked him to yield briefly so he could move passage of the anti-poll-tax measure by unanimous consent. Fri 4-19-46

At the last moment, Senator McFarland (D., Ariz.) dashed in and shouted his objection, ending the parliamentary maneuvering.

'Truman On The Poll Tax'

Washington Post, D.C.

The Post editorial of April 10, "Truman on the Poll Tax," notes with much self-satisfaction that the President has "swung over to" the contention of *The Post* that Federal legislation to abolish this restriction on the vote is "unconstitutional." It is not clear that the President's off-the-cuff statement to the Chicago high school journalists' press conference represents any such thing.

As a member of the Senate, President Truman cast his vote to break the Southern filibuster which prevented the Senate from acting on the anti-poll-tax bill. As a member of the Senate, President Truman announced his intention of voting for passage of the anti-poll-tax bill—an opportunity which neither he nor any other member of the Senate had because of the success of the Southern filibuster. There is little in the President's Chicago statement to justify *The Post's* assumption that he has changed his "point of view on this issue."

The Post, of course, would like to think that there is. *The Post* in its contention that the anti-poll-tax bill is "unconstitutional" has been a lonely minority—standing against a majority of the House of Representatives, against a majority of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary and against a majority of the Senate itself.

In the face of the overwhelming evidence of Congress' belief in the constitutionality of the bill and its desire to pass it in order to allow the citizens of the Southern States the same right to a free vote that is enjoyed by the people of the rest of the Nation, we can always count on the opposition of Senator Bilbo and *The Post*. Fri 4-12-46

The Post has never failed to support the position of Senator Bilbo in this matter when the bill has come up for action. The Southern bloc dreads more than anything else the passage of the anti-poll-tax bill, because they know that when the majority of the Southern people can vote they will send to Washington men who truly represent their interests rather than men who consistently vote against those interests. In supporting the position of Senator Bilbo on the anti-poll-tax bill, *The Post* opposes the interests of the great majority of the people of the South.

The Post is strong for democracy in Japan; it believes in democracy in Romania; it thinks the Greeks should have free elections umpired by us to make sure they are free. It weeps over the lack of a free electorate in Poland; it beats its breast over the right to vote in Italy, and announces with pride the size of the vote in Germany that we maintain an Army to guarantee. But when it comes to the Southern States—suddenly it goes blind. Why should it be a matter for the Federal Government to guarantee a free vote in Albania, but not in Alabama? Why is the disfranchisement of 10 million American citizens of less moment than the rights of 4 million Chinese?

The Post would be more consistent—and would be more realistic in opposing what *The Post* itself admits is an "obnoxious and undemocratic levy"—if it threw its weight behind the vigorous fight which a bipartisan steering committee led by Senator Claude Pepper of Florida is making to allow a majority of the Senate to express itself on the anti-poll-tax bill now.

MRS. KATHERINE SHRYVER,
Executive secretary, National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.
Washington.

Shocking to every advocate of true democracy was the act of Mr. Truman in washing his hands of the poll tax in his recent Chicago address. During his term as Senator he openly favored legislation to kill this unconstitutional practice, and has advocated its death since becoming President.

This sudden about-face most certainly calls for a more understanding statement than that issued at Chicago. Less than 40 per cent of his major proposals to Congress have been approved, and none has been enacted in the exact form he asked. This should not prove deterring. Many of these proposals relate directly to the constitutional rights of Americans.

The Federal anti-poll-tax bill is to be found in this group. This fact has been admitted by the President in his previous stand in the matter. To depend on poll-tax States to abolish this system through ballot does not make sense when one realizes that the limited number of voters in these States greatly favor the poll tax as their only means of keeping reactionaries in power. Fri 4-12-46

The Poll Tax and the UNO

Richmond Times Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch,

The pernicious poll tax is now a greater menace than heretofore, as its wicked flouting of our United States Constitution is no longer merely a matter of concern within the United States, but instead it has been, and is, a prolific breeder of suspicion. If democracy is but a name to mouth politically in any portion of our nation, can we expect to retain the respect and confidence of the UNO? Times Dispatch

We have insisted on "free" elections in other nations and we must come with "clean hands." Sun.

Even the wildest claims for "State rights" cannot class a citizen's vote as other than a Federal right rooted in United States citizenship and therefore not subject to limitation by either the action of any State or by Congress. Both, however, are bound to see that each citizen is protected in casting an untrammeled vote. 4-14-46

Otherwise, the Nazi seed are being nurtured and sprouting under disregard of the foundation principles of democracy, and are disrupting the unity of the UNO.

No legislation at this time exceeds the importance of enactment of the poll tax bill at once.

Richmond, Va. E. V. PEASE
Fond du Lac, Wis.

M. S. SAMPSON.
Washington.

Let the President and the people express our concern firmly exercise of the ballot in the Balkans and other countries.
When this end is achieved we can not wash their hands of the fight, without hypocrisy or self-condemnation and urge democratic process in the

Sen. Pepper Of Fla. Calls For End Of Dixie Poll Tax

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON—Senator Claude Pepper (D. Fla.) this week demanded passage of the anti-poll tax bill now up for consideration in Congress.

The Dixie liberal, who is opposed to a permanent fair employment practice committee, declared that the poll tax was a denial of the democratic rights of white and Negro citizens.

Appealing to the American people over a nationwide radio hookup to urge their Senators to support the anti-poll tax bill, Senator Pepper referred to the costly war for freedom and said "we must overcome every obstacle to the enjoyment of that freedom."

Asks People's Support

He ended his address by appealing to the people to let their senators know they wanted them to support the bill to abolish the poll tax. Sat 3-30-46

Among other southerners to urge passage of anti-poll tax legislation here last week was Barry Bingham, publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal, recently discharged from the Navy.

In a statement to Jennings Perry, editor of the Nashville Tennesseean and leader of the fight against the poll tax, Mr. Bingham said:

"Of course, we will face another filibuster but I believe the time has come when the American public must decide whether it will allow a minority group in Congress to stifle legislation.

"The issue is even more important, I believe, than the immediate abolition of the poll tax, but I think this cause is the strongest one on which to make a fight against the filibuster rule."

See Early Fight

The National Committee to abolish the Poll Tax is pressing for early action by the Senate on the anti-poll tax bill. Already passed by the House, the bill has been on the Senate calendar since last October.

Remaining as one of the chief opponents of the poll-tax bill will be the professional southerner, John Rankin. When the bill came up six years ago, it was introduced by Congressman Lee Geyer of California. Congressman Geyer died before the bill came before the House for debate, much to the regret of the bill's supporters.

At that time, Geyer in an address to the House said on August 22, "When we are talking these days about reaching down into the eight southern states and taking those young men and putting them into uniform, let us first give them a little democracy for which they can fight. There are about 3,500,000 colored people without the vote and seven million white people without the vote in these southern states.

I hope my colleagues on my right (referring to the Democrats) will do something to clean this thing up that exists in our own democratic one party states."

Rankin Rants

In reply Rankin said, "This bill will never become a law as all well-informed members of the House know. But I am getting tired of having a few members rise on this floor and make these misleading statements without regard to the facts or the feelings of the rest of the membership.

"They are constantly telling the country that only a few thousand voters go to the polls in Mississippi or in other southern states and then pointing out the number of their representatives in the House, or try to leave the impression that only a few people are permitted to participate in selecting their members of congress or other officials.

"Now as a matter of fact, in those states where there is only one party as is the case in Mississippi, and practically all other southern states, our battles are settled in the primaries, and there is no opposing vote in the general election. Therefore, the vote in the general election is very light."

On the same date an article from the New York Post was inserted in the Congressional Record which said: Sat 3-30-46

"In 1938 when the last vote for new congressmen was counted, it was estimated that one representative from the city of Chicago received 28,000 more votes than all the 32 congressmen rfom the eight poll tax states put together."

The fight dragged through several months in 1940 and 1941 the bill finally being killed in the Senate. The Senate committee holding hearings on the bill included Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Tom Connally of Texas, Murdock of Utah, George W. Norris of Nebraska and Warren Austin of Vermont.

All except George W. Norris are still in the Senate and it is more than probable that any bill on the poll tax would come before this group again.

Legislative Candidates Of Jefferson County Favor Poll Tax Change

Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala.

Continued From Page 1

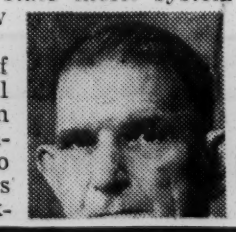
The answers given by the candidates follow:

* * *

ARTHUR C. HALBERT, 2400 St Charles Avenue, contractor.

FAVORS:

Retention of state merit system with some few changes.



Retention of county civil service system with modifications so as to fit special cases involving ex-service men.

ARTHUR HALBERT

Immediate repeal of the 1945 anti - federal housing acts.

Limiting cumulative features of the poll tax to years.

Legislative reapportionment.

Retention of county option liquor law.

Repeal of the Bradford act; modify unemployment compensation act and place labor under an experienced labor head.

Earmarking of educational funds; 60 per cent of income tax proceeds to be used for teacher salaries, balance for reducing state ad valorem taxes.

Legislation to aid the veteran of World Wars I or II in every way possible. Wed 4-17-46

* * *

W. O. HARE, JR., 2517 West Twenty-Fourth Street; World War II veteran; attorney.

FAVORS:

Retention of state merit system.

Retention of county merit system (but with some amendments, such as more efficient examination and quicker replacement of men under civil service.)

Repeal of 1945 anti-federal low cost housing acts.

W. O. HARE, JR.

Submission of the poll tax question to a referendum (and will follow the instruction given by it.)

Reapportionment of the Legislature as directed by the constitution.

Retaining the present liquor law as it is, for the present.

Establishment of a labor department that will function satisfactorily both to labor and industry.

Amendments improving the social security laws of Alabama.

A minimum school teacher salary of $175 a month, with nine month school term and pay for 12 months.

Use of income tax revenue for betterment of schools and teachers in Alabama; highway construction, to beautify the state generally and for the reduction of property taxes as indicated by the people in the election last Fall.

OPPOSES:

Any new taxes.

* * *

FRANK M. JAMES, 7718 Eighth Court, South; World War II veteran; attorney.

FAVORS:

Retention of state and county merit systems.

Repeal of 1945 anti-federal low cost housing acts.

Repeal of the cumulative feature of the poll tax law with a reasonable lump sum settlement of cumulative amounts due to date, not exceeding possibly three years taxes.

FRANK M. JONES

Legislative reapportionment.

Retention of the county option liquor control system (with strict enforcement and adquate protection to dry counties; provided, however, should it be shown by petition or other acceptable evidence that a majority of the state's voters desire a referendum, it would be my duty as a Democrat to give it to them).

Curtailment of expenses or, as a last resort, an increase in the sales tax to replace revenues should state and county governments lose revenues now derived from the legal sale of alcoholic beverages.

Use of income tax revenues (1) to reduce ad valorem taxes; (2) to assist education, and (3) to assist public welfare or for veterans assistance.

In addition, he says:

Legislation is needed relating to labor, taxation and education but I am not competent at this time to comment on it without further study and consideration. I will keep an open mind and give just and fair consideration to all proposed legislation and give an opportunity to all persons interested to be heard before deciding for or against.

* * *

WALLACE C. JOHNS, JR., 1408 Fourteenth Avenue, South; World War II veteran; mortician.

FAVORS:

Retention of the state merit system.

Retention of the county civil service system with amendments in favor of the people working under it.

Repeal of the 1945 anti-federal housing acts. (Also will work to get the state to aid the local and federal governments in veteran housing.)

WALLACE JOHNS, JR.

Retention of the poll tax but with reinstatement of tax delinquents on payment of two years back tax.

Legislative reapportionment.

Retention of the local option liquor control system.

Legislation aiding education in Jefferson County and the state.

Earmarking of a favorable percentage of the income tax revenue for education.

OPPOSES:

Any new taxes.

Also, he says:

I believe in the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively and you may be assured that I will support no legislation which will have the effect of abridging that right.

Also: Our debt of gratitude to the returning veteran can never be fully repaid. I pledge to them every supporting legislation. In addition, I will meet all state and county problems fairly and intelligently as they arise from time to time.

* * *

ALEXANDER W. JONES, 1117 South 33rd Street; World War II veteran; attorney.

FAVORS:

Retention of state merit system with certain changes to permit an incoming governor to appoint his own staff and key members of his administrative department to prevent any friction between the incoming governor and executive members of his staff and department.

ALEXANDER JONES

Retention of the county civil service system.

Repeal of the 1945 anti-federal housing acts with the proviso that all federal housing be actually used as it was originally intended, that is, for low cost houses, and that the law be complied with strictly.

Retention of the poll tax, but elimination of the cumulative feature in excess of three years.

Legislative reapportionment so as to give an equitable representation to all counties.

Retention of the county option liquor control system.

Year around pay to teachers, with higher salaries commensurate with their invaluable work.

Use of at least 50 per cent of income tax revenues to support education. Wed 4-17-46

Eliminate sales tax tokens and substitute a graduated sales tax which would give to the state the same amount of revenue, but eliminate the expense and trouble of handling tokens.

Additional legislation to prevent loan sharks from taking advantage of the workman and enable legitimate loan companies to receive a sufficient return on their money under the legal rate of interest.

A $5,000 homestead exemption from state ad valorem taxes.

Assistance to veterans in acquiring homes and help World War II veterans reestablish themselves by exempting them from state income tax on the first $5,000 for a period of five years.

Also, he says he knows of no method of replacing revenue which state and local governments now receive through legal sale of alcoholic beverages.

Church Aid On Poll Tax Fight Sought

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON—(ANP) —The executive secretary of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, Mrs. Katherine Shryver has sent out nation-wide appeals to the churches asking their financial help in the fight to abolish the poll tax. 4-27-46

She pointed out that your skin decide what civil liberties one enjoys? Why does the color of aries from America who are carrying the Christian message find it embarrassing when prospective converts ask: "Why do some people have to pay to vote in your organization and other semi-church groups taking a stand for the national board and proud," declared Mrs. Shryver, "now, our great need is financial help." Other "For the cooperation from the church people, we are grateful. Christian Advocate, "It is the supreme business of the Christian preacher to cry out against sin, and if sin appears in politics and economics, then the minister of Jesus Christ has no alternative. He must attack it."

Sat.

Methodist Women Praised Few Churches Donate

Quoting Mrs. O. G. Robinson, executive secretary of the Women's Christian Service division, Methodist, who described the Washington Bureau, Fraternal Council, Negro Church-abolish the poll tax fight, there questions are being raised with Council of Church women, was named by the bill include the committee secretary a sone of the nations from conferences or ministers in that body. United Conference of the Women. 4-27-46 Dr. William H. Jernagin, executive board. Mrs. Shryver concluded the interview with a quotation from the

4-27-46

Barkley Told to Get Busy on Polltax Bill

The Worker New York N.Y.

CIVIC LEADERS DECRY FAILURE OF SENATE TO SCHEDULE ACTION

The Worker Washington Bureau

1-20-46

WASHINGTON.—Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley has been urged by 14 prominent Americans to bring up the anti-poll tax bill for action by the Senate at the beginning of the present session.

The demand was made in a letter which pointed out that six months have passed since the House adopted HR-7 by an overwhelming majority. 1-20-46

"It is undisputed that a vast majority of the American people are determined to return a free vote to 10 million American citizens now disfranchised by a wholly artificial condition of voting which defies the U. S. Constitution. Yet, to our disappointment, the second session of the 79th Congress has begun and there is no Senate action on the bill even scheduled," the letter said. 1-20-46

The letter is signed by Harry Emerson Fosdick; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; Bishop J. A. Gregg; A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; Nathan Cowan, legislative director, CIO; Leon Green, dean of the Northwestern University law school; Charles H. Houston; Chas. W. Anderson, Kentucky assemblyman; Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; James Patton, president of the Farmers Union; Jenny Perry, editor Nashville Tennessean; Will Alexander and Virginia Foster Dun of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

This Evening

By Charles N. Feidelson

VIRGINIA'S EXAMPLE

Retiring Gov. Darden, of Virginia, included in his final message to the General Assembly the following declaration: "The poll tax should be eliminated as a prerequisite to voting. The right to vote should not be conditional upon the payment of a sum of money. In a free society the ballot should rest in the hands of all persons of demonstrated competence who evidence an attachment to, and an interest in, the welfare of the state." The argument against the poll tax could scarcely have been stated more succinctly, and its logic applies to the State of Alabama as much as it applies to the State of Virginia. 1-17-46

We could also learn something from Virginia with reference to preparing for changes in qualifications and registration for voting. A commission has been at work, studying the problem and filing a report which the Legislature will use as the basis for action. Instead of the procedure in Alabama, under which reforms are to be initiated by politicians who know what they want, Virginia has chosen a much more enlightened approach, which involves an objective facing up to the question of poll tax repeal and registration. We have preferred to let distortion and prejudice have their way. To our Legislature, the poll tax is sacred, and a system of registration which lends itself to discrimination can be improved only by being made more iniquitous.

The result is that Alabamians will be voting on the so-called Boswell amendment, which undertakes to localize qualifications for the right to vote. That is to say, each board of registrars will in effect have to consult merely its own sense of discretion to determine whether it will permit an applicant to qualify. That is not, of course, sound practice or fair play, but what are such considerations to people who shout "white supremacy" when what they are after is minority rule? Things being what they are, it is to be taken for granted that the Boswell amendment will be approved, but that prospect only makes the whole situation more lamentable for a functioning democracy in Alabama. For this we must be grateful to our Legislature, a fact which brings to mind a letter which Benjamin Franklin wrote in 1784. "It is wonderful how preposterously the affairs of this world are managed," he observed. "We assemble parliaments and councils to have the benefit of their collected wisdom, but we necessarily have, at the same time, the inconvenience of their collected passions, prejudices and private interests. By the help of these, artful men overpower their wisdom, and dupe its possessors; and if we may judge by the acts, arrests, edicts all the world over . . . an assembly of great men is the greatest fool upon earth."

POLL TAX IS DOOMED

Present indications are that Alabama and Mississippi soon may be left alone as the only two states in the Union that will continue to operate on a basis of minority control, as it seems that all other states in the Union soon may have done away with the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

Commissions now are sitting in both Virginia and South Carolina for the purpose of making drastic revisions in their state constitutions, with particular attention being given to the poll tax, which has had the effect of disfranchising so many voters in both states.

Another question being given consideration in South Carolina is the election of the state superintendent of education. It is proposed to have this changed so that this constitutional officer may be elected by the State Board of Education and allowed to succeed himself when satisfactory service is rendered.

The latter also is a reform greatly needed in Alabama, as it has the effect of taking the schools out of politics and makes for greater efficiency wherever it is tried. Let us follow Georgia, Virginia and South Carolina, therefore, and revise our own organic law in accordance with the age in which we live.—Anniston Star. 1-17-46

Poll Tax Congressmen Bottle Up Progress

Courier-Journal

FOR those who are accustomed to thinking of the poll tax as exclusively a Southern problem, there is evidence of its really serious national importance in a recent release by the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax. Only seven States still cling to the device of charging a voter for his franchise, but the representatives of those States maintain a strangle hold on the legislative processes of the nation. Louisville, Ky.

Senators and Congressmen elected under the poll tax system have an easier time staying in their seats through the years, since such constricted elections are more readily controlled by machine tactics. The Congressional rule of seniority then elevates these men to the top positions on important committees, where they often act as effective blocks against the passage of any progressive legislation. 1-17-46

Of 18 major Senate committees, seven have chairmen who were elected under the poll tax. Nine of the 19 chairmen of major House committees are poll tax beneficiaries. Look at the Senate list: Appropriations (GLASS); District of Columbia (BILBO); Finance (GEORGE); Foreign Relations (CONNALLY); Immigration (RUSSELL); Post Offices and Post Roads (McKELLAR); Rules (BYRD). Thursday

The story is the same in the House. Moreover, the vice chairmen (ranking members) of 10 of these 19 House committees and eight of the 18 Senate committees serve by benefit of the poll tax. President TRUMAN spoke earnestly of the power Congressional committees wield in his address of January 3: "It is the committees which hold up action on bills. Indeed it is not even the whole committee. Often a bare majority—a handful of men—can prevent a vote by the whole Congress on measures of major policy."

Such power exerted by men who represent only a small minority of the citizens of their own States works to the disadvantage of the nation at large. The Senate Appropriations Committee, for instance, is ruled by a Senator, now a perpetual absentee, whose State sent only 388,000 people to the polls in the Presidential campaign of 1944. This is a smaller number than the total polled by many a Congressman in an urban district, and it represents but 22 per cent of the eligible voters of Virginia.

Only half a million voters, 28 per cent of the electorate, participated in the 1944 election in Tennessee, which perennially returns McKELLAR to the Senate. In South Carolina, only 10 per cent of the voters took part in the last Presidential election.

Political control by the representatives of these States is not fair to Kentucky, which gets 55 per cent of its electorate to the polls, or to the other States which range up to 71 per cent. Senator BARKLEY and Senator STANFILL could serve the interests of their State by helping to bring the bill to abolish the poll tax in Federal elections to the floor of Congress, where it has sufficient pledged strength to pass. It has long suffered the fate of many other important measures, bottling up in committee, with poll tax representatives keeping their fingers firmly on the cork.

The Poll Tax

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

The poll tax affects adversely about 10,000,000 people in our land—about 6,000,000 white and 4,000,000 colored. Of these it is fair to assume the majority, by reason of homestead and other exemptions, pay no direct tax for the government whose benefits they enjoy.

In most States the cost is $1 or $1.50 a year. (This is less than the present cost of a pint of the cheapest diluted whisky advertised on the market.) If a man doesn't care to fork out the cash, there is usually provision made for him to do its equivalent on some public work, like the roads. Or he can provide a son or other substitute. If he doesn't care to do any of those, nobody persecutes him or insults him. He merely puts himself in the class with some 10,000,000 other people, who, having paid, are too lazy or indifferent to get out and vote. (In the election last Fall, out of 3,000,000 Virginians, your paper recorded about 105,000 who voted.) Richmond Va.

If it were a question of money only, the issue would be trivial. It amounts to less than a third of the tax returns expected from the horse-race pari-mutuels, if the proposed law is passed. It concerns also what they call the "ideology" of government. If government is a thing that just is, like the air we breathe, or like the manna that fell from heaven into the wilderness, a lot of the raving is quite in order. But if it is the product of the money and sweat of people, who created it and maintain it, then it seems fair that only those who put their ante on the barrel head shall have a hand in the game. Tri 3-1-46

ROBB WHITE, JR.

Woodberry Forest.

Birmingham Age-Herald

Deploring the South Carolina Legislature's refusal to let the people vote on a proposed state repeal of the poll tax, Editor William A. Townes, of The Spartanburg Herald, points out truly that "there are Southern states without the poll tax, and there is little evidence that the fact contributes one way or another to political results." In The Roanoke (Va.) Times, Editor H. Powell Chapman comments on what he calls South Carolina's mistake. Editor H. Powell Chapman hopes the bad example will not deter Virginia's Legislature from taking retiring Gov. Darden's fine advice against poll taxes in the Old Dominion. "The people of Virginia favor repeal," he declares, "and unquestionably will state action," the former governor said. He said it was time for Southerners to prove that "States rights" are all wedded to the theory of education, decent living conditions and better health standards as pressing problems to be met by the South.

Gal-3-31-46

End Poll Tax, Ex-Governor Of Texas Urges Dixie

Chicago

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — Former Governor of Texas, James C. Allred last Friday night called upon the South to take immediate steps to abolish the poll tax by state action.

This would bring more voters to the polls, he pointed out.

Allred, who is now a federal district judge, listed a higher standard of education, decent living conditions and better health standards as pressing problems to be met by the South.

Allred said the attorneys general of 15 Southern states that, if the states abolish the poll tax, then Southern Senators will not have to filibuster to kill a similar federal law. He said the proposed federal anti-poll tax law was unconstitutional.

"We are all wedded to the theory that the rights and happiness of the people can best be secured through

Poll Tax Bloc Holds Reins on Committees

Southerners Have Key Posts on Bottlenecks In Congress

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5.—President Truman's charge that Congressional committees are the choke points for vital legislation is clearly demonstrated in the fact that 16 of the 37 most important groups in Congress are headed by Southern poll-tax reactionaries.

Although in some instances, it is not the chairman, but a handful of these reactionaries responsible for holding up specific measures mentioned by the President, his challenge to most of the committee leaders is inescapable.

In commenting on this, Mrs. Katherine Shryver, executive secretary of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll-Tax declared:

"The President calls attention to this situation, although we wish he had had the courage to point out how the poll-tax system, flourishing at home on disfranchisement of the majority of the people, flourishes in Congress and deprives all Americans of needed legislation."

Since seniority determined the chairmanship of the groups, Southern Democrats naturally fall heir to the top committee jobs, while their party is in power, largely because they are consistently re-elected by a small machine-controlled electorate. They have managed to stay in Congress longer than most.

"President Truman put his finger on the fact about Congress that delivers that body into the hands of poll-taxers," Mrs. Shryver asserted.

In addition to the predominance of poll-taxers holding down committee chairmanships, 18 of their fraternity are vice-chairmen of the major committees.

Moreover solid blocs of Southerners, such as the group on the House Rules Committee which Truman cited for holding up the permanent FEPC bill, are in complete control of the votes.

Ex-Texas Gov. Poll Tax Foe

Journal & Courier Lafayette, Ind.

Sat 3-30-46

Action By States Would Eliminate Need For Filibuster

By NNPA NEWS SERVICE

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Southern leaders were urged last week by former Governor James C. Allred of Texas to take immediate steps to abolish the poll tax by State action as a move to bring more voters to the polls.

Allred told the attorneys general of thirteen Southern States on Friday night that, if the states abolish the poll tax, then southern senators will not have to filibuster to kill a similar Federal law. He said the proposed Federal anti-poll tax law was unconstitutional.

RIGHTS ACHIEVED THRU STATES

"We are all wedded to the theory that the rights and happiness of the people can best be secured through State action," the former governor said. He said it was time for Southerners to prove that "states rights" is more than a political phrase.

Allred, who is now a Federal District judge, listed a higher standard of education, decent living conditions, and better health standards as pressing problems to be met by the South.

"We in the South have said that we know how to deal with the racial problem and that we resent outside interference," he stated. "Is it not high time that we begin to demonstrate through real Southern leadership that we can deal best with that problem?"

Truman's Poll Tax Talk May Indicate Policy Turnabout

Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser

Mon. Apr. 8, 1946

WASHINGTON, April 7—(AP)—President Truman's Chicago statement that southern states must work out poll tax problems for themselves was interpreted by a southern speaker at a meeting here today as indicating the President has lost hope for his legislative program and will not seek re-election in 1948.

Clark Foreman of Atlanta, Ga., president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, presiding over this morning's session of a three-day "win the peace" meeting, said the Truman remark indicated "a most significant reversal of presidential policy." 4-8-46

He said a federal poll tax repeal bill has been passed three times by the House and approved by a Senate Committee, and that Senator Pepper (D), Florida, expects to bring it up for floor action in the near future.

Foreman recalled that Mr. Truman voted for poll tax repeal as a senator and said he had been expected to back its passage now. For him to make such a statement at this particular time, Foreman said, "can only mean he does not intend to run in 1948 because he can't get any of his program through Congress as long as poll taxers dominate both houses . . . He must have finally made up his mind he is a failure, cannot be president and will not run for re-election," the speaker said.

The "win the peace" meeting, which claimed a registration of 712 delegates representing organizations in 27 states, adopted resolutions opposing compulsory military service and indefinite extension of the draft. Another resolution urged an end to production and storage of atomic bombs, and placing atomic materials and processes under civilian and international control.

Criticism of former President Herbert Hoover, by speakers at yesterday's sessions of the meeting, were followed today by passage of a resolution condemning his assignment to investigate European food shortages and demanding his recall. 4-8-46

Another resolution called on the United States to support Poland's position before the United Nations Council in opposition to the Franco regime in Spain and demanded the application of blockade tactics against the Franco government.

An omnibus resolution on "Imperialism" called on the United States to take a lead in freeing colonies and opposed grants of materials or loans "by the United States to any other nation until sufficient guarantees have been given that these materials and funds will not be used for the exploitation and oppression of colonial peoples."

New Drive to End Poll Tax

Daily Worker

Mon.

WASHINGTON, March 24.—A new drive to bring HR 7, the bill to abolish the polltax, to the floor of the Senate was launched by Sen. Claude H. Pepper (D-Fla) with a broadcast over ABC last Tuesday.

The bill, which was passed by the House last Summer, would eliminate the polltax from both primaries and general elections for Congressional and Presidential elections.

Unless the Senators can be persuaded to take up the bill within the next several weeks, its chances of passage during this session are dim. 3-25-46

Meanwhile, Reps. Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY) and Vito Mancantonio (ALP-NY) have received assurances from Republican Leader Joe Martin that Republicans will support House action of a permanent FEPC "any calendar Wednesday."

Mon.

This involves taking advantage of parliamentary rules which permits a committee chairman to bring up any bill upon which his body has acted.

Congressional Action To Repeal Poll Tax Is Advocated By Patrick

Birmingham Ala. News

Mon. 3-25-46

WASHINGTON, March 25—(AP)—Rep. Patrick (D., Ala.), advocating congressional repeal, yesterday described the poll tax as "fundamentally wrong" and not democratic."

Patrick debated the poll tax issue with Rep. Whitten (D., Miss.) on a Washington radio program.

Whitten defended the tax as one which all citizens are required to pay in Mississippi and said that only failure to pay by a certain date disqualified one from voting.

Patrick held that the poll tax kept down the number of votes in the seven Southern states still retaining it, while Whitten argued that general election figures should not be used for comparison "since we have only one party down there and only in primaries do we have contests." Mon. 3-25-46

Whitten took issue with Patrick's view that the poll tax perpetuates "courthouse gangs," saying a citizen interested enough to pay his poll tax could not "be bought." Patrick criticized the Tennessee Supreme Court for throwing out legislative repeal of the poll tax in that state, but Whitten answered: "It found the law unconstitutional, but some people haven't got time to bother about constitutions which are a little stronger than legislation."

Repeal Of Poll Tax Up To States, Truman Says Unexpectedly

Birmingham Ala. News

CHICAGO, April 8—(AP)—In what appeared to be a peace offering to militant Southern Democrats in Congress, President Truman Saturday disclosed the view that repeal of the poll tax must be left up to the states. Mon 4-8-46

His pronouncement—one of the most controversial issues ever tackled by Congress—came unexpectedly at a news conference he held for Chicago high school journalists.

The question was raised by a nervous, shy little girl, whose query escaped most of the reporters regularly assigned to cover the president.

Mr. Truman, a proponent of federal repeal of the tax levied in a number of Southern states as a prerequisite for voting, while a member of the Senate, has on several occasions pointed to his Senate record when asked about his attitude.

* * *

"DO YOU SEE ANY IMMEDIATE SOLUTIONS OF THE POLL TAX in the South?" came the question.

No, he did not, the president replied. That is a matter they will have to work out for themselves.

There are a number of Southern states, the president went on, that have repealed the poll tax.

'He expressed hope they all will eventually. But that is a matter for them-selves, Mr. Truman continued.

He added that it also was a matter for education. Southern Democrats have been critical of the Truman administration's stand for a permanent FEPC and other "New Deal" objectives.

Efforts have been under way in party circles to ease the tension created by the bitter debate on some of these issues.

The president also told the widely-eyed, thrilled youngsters that he would help the cause of peace, he hopes.

Biggest laugh of the teen-agers' news conference came when one asked the president what he thought of women in Congress. Mr. Truman said he thought they were fine.

The Plain Dealer-Kansas City, Ka.

Fri. 1. "Senator Fulbright is said to have 'surprised' his University of Chicago audience Tuesday night by saying that the poll tax was not an issue of 'fundamental importance.' The surprise was unwarranted. Mr. Fulbright revealed long ago that his liberalism stops short of supporting any reform which would loosen the restrictions on voting by Southern poor whites and Negroes. In Senator Fulbright's home state of Arkansas only 19 per cent of those who, save for the poll tax, would have been qualified electors, voted in the presidential election of 1940 as compared to 57 per cent of qualified electors in Arizona, 80 per cent in Colorado and 82 per cent in Illinois. In the six other poll-tax states, recent voting percentages were even lower than in Arkansas. Because of the small active electorates in the poll-tax states, reactionary politicians are returned to Congress repeatedly, and by virtue of seniority eventually become powerful chairmen of committees. The poll tax is responsible. The job for the rest of the country is to defeat a coming filibuster and pass the anti-poll tax bill when it reaches the Senate in the next few weeks." (Chicago Sun, February 23, -946). 3-29-46

ANSWERING ONE YOUNG READER QUESTION, Mr. Truman said the youth of the United States could look forward to a safe future in their hands. Mon 4-8-46

It Does Not Have to Be The Same Old Routine

The Courier Journal
Louisville Ky.

ONCE again they are trying to get a vote in the Senate on the bill outlawing the poll tax. The faith and dogged purpose of its supporters deserve the reward they hope for. But everything depends on the honesty of the effort, and there is plenty of room for skepticism about that.

Year after year the process is repeated. In the House, where debate is limited, the bill passes easily. Then it goes to the Senate, where the august gentlemen can talk, if they wish, till the cows come home. Supported by this tradition, the Southern Democrats, practically the only defenders of the poll tax, move into the practised routine of their filibuster. This goes on until everybody gives up and the bill at last is withdrawn.

Just before this is done, there usually comes a punctilious agreement to vote on suspension of the old Senate rule of discussion unrestricted by time, space or content, and on fixing limits. This limitation is called cloture, but nobody ever does it. There are times when we feel that nobody ever expects to do it, and that the gentlemen merely make gestures, like a ritual. Tue. 7-30-46

Senator BARKLEY, as majority leader, says a vote on cloture on the anti-poll tax bill will be called tomorrow afternoon. We devoutly hope for the best of intentions, aware that nothing will prevent the bill's passage except another successful maneuver in marathon talking that will block it from the test.

The Southern senators know this, too, and so they talk or threaten to talk, which sometimes works just as well. The disturbing part of the thing is that other senators know it as well, and still they vote for jealous tradition and against cloture and the democratic way of doing things, by a free and decisive vote and may the best man win.

Failure to Limit Senate Debate Kills Anti-Poll Tax Bill

The News and Courier
Charleston, S.C.
Thurs. 8-1-46

Washington, July 31.—(AP): An attempt to enact the anti-poll tax bill before congress quits failed today when the senate refused to limit debate.

That meant that Southerners could filibuster to prevent a vote on the measure itself, and hence its chances went glimmering.

The count was 39 for applying the debate limitation rule, and 33 against, but a two-thirds majority is required. The senate hasn't invoked the rule in 19 years.

Majority Leader Barkley, Democrat, Kentucky, told reporters before the roll call:

"Everybody understands that if we can't get cloture (debate curbs) we can't get a vote (on the bill), no matter if we stay in session a month."

Congress tentatively is due to quit Friday. Southern foes could hold the floor that long if necessary as they have demonstrated in past opposition to the legislation which would outlaw the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in federal elections. Seven Southern states have the tax. 7-1-46

The senate's vote was taken generally as the bill's last gasp in this session although no formal agreement had been made to drop it. The house previously passed it.

In the two days of sessions preceding the cloture vote, only two speeches had been made on the bill, both of them brief ones by Senator Mead, Democrat, New York.

Five minutes before the showdown roll call, he got the floor to plead that the senate be given a chance to vote on the measure.

"While we fight for democracy elsewhere, there are over 10,000,000 voteless citizens in the United States," he declared.

"I appeal to my colleagues to give us this opportunity to express ourselves on the merits of the bill. I believe that, given an opportunity, the senate will approve this measure."

POLL-TAX CLOSURE IS DEFEATED, 39-33

Times, New York N.Y.

Senate Action Is Viewed as Ending Chances for the Bill at This Congress

Thurs. 8-1-46

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 31 — The Senate again shunted aside the Anti Poll-Tax Bill today, apparently blocking finally in another Congress the seven-year fight to write it into law.

By a vote of 39 to 33, far short of the two-thirds majority required, it refused to adopt a closure motion sponsored by Senator Barkley, the majority leader. To cope with a possible filibuster by Southern Democrats, Mr. Barkley filed his closure petition Monday as he called up the poll-tax measure for consideration.

The test vote came today after only two brief speeches had been made on the bill, both of them by Senator Mead, Democrat, of New York. Senator Mead spoke last night, just before the closure move was brought to a vote.

Voting for the limitation of debate to one hour for each member and for the blocking of an all-out filibuster were twenty-three Democrats, fifteen Republicans and the Progressive.

Voting against closure were twenty-six Democrats, nineteen of whom represent Southern States, and seven Republicans, these being from New Hampshire, Connecticut, Maine, Oklahoma, Colorado and South Dakota. Siding in the defeat of closure were Democrats from Rhode Island, Idaho, Arizona, Nevada, Maryland and Montana.

This was the twenty-fifth time the Senate had taken a closure vote since the procedure went into effect in 1917. It was the twenty-first time that closure move was defeated and the third defeat when anti-poll tax legislation was at issue. Thurs. 8-1-46

Representative Marcantonio, American Labor party, of New Yrok, author of the measure under test today, a measure which the House passed last year, termed the Senate proceedings "a demagogic move."

"It did not fool anyone, least of all the Negro people who are seeking the right of full franchise in the South," he declared.

When the poll tax measure was called up Monday it was conceded generally in the Senate that, at this stage of the adjournment rush, a filibuster could block a vote or it with comparatively little effort. Adjournment of Congress has been set tentatively for Friday and the House already had adopted the adjournment resolution.

Few expected the closure motion to win. On Nov. 23, 1942, the Senate rejected a closure move by 37 to 41 when anti-poll tax legislation was the issue. The last previous poll tax closure test, on May 15, 1944, resulted in vote of 36 to 44.

This time, after much turnover in Senate personnel, the closure vote was a majority plus two.

The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, through its executive secretary, Mrs. Katherine Schryver, termed the defeat of closure "a tragic defeat for the cause of free and democratic elections throughout the world."

Pictures Two "Victories"

Thurs. 8-1-46

The committee, however, saw two "victories" in the situation.

The first, Mrs. Shryver said, was that the bill succeeded in reaching the Senate floor, and the second that for the first time a majority of those participating in the test voted for closure on the issue.

Dr. Clark Foreman of Atlanta, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, said:

"Democracy at home suffered another defeat. Although a majority of 39 to 33 voted in favor of closure, the necessary two-thirds to prevent a filibuster was missing and the bill was doomed for this session. Thurs. 8-1-46

"Despite the justifiable indignation over the horrible lynchings which have recently occurred in the South, when the opportunity came to enfranchise by Federal action the 10,000,000 people who would put a stop to lynching, Senators on both the Democratic and Republican side did not respond."

The Poll Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

The Congressional Record

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 30 (legislative day of Monday, July 29), 1946

Washington, D.C.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Poll Tax Bill Again," from the Columbia State of July 24 last.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows: 7-30-46

POLL TAX BILL AGAIN

Once more the poll tax bill rears its head in the Senate. It is again on the calendar of the Upper Chamber. And Democratic Leader BARKLEY has said that he will call up the bill before Congress adjourns.

The State regretted that the Kearse bill, which passed the South Carolina Senate but failed in the house, was not passed. We see no sound reason why the poll tax should not be repealed. And we believe the people of South Carolina would be glad to see it wiped out, since it is of no value but a decided irritant. However, there is a right way and a wrong way to do a thing, and the right way to repeal the poll tax is by State action, not Federal. Therefore, while we favored action by our State assembly looking toward repeal, we are just as opposed to any action by Congress telling us what to do. And for the very simple reason that the Federal Constitution gives to each State the right to set its own voting requisites, and it is none of the business of Congress what the voting requisites are in South Carolina or any other State.

Legislation favoring repeal was passed by the National House of Representatives where southern Democrats were outvoted and had no recourse. But in the Senate it is different and while it is regretted that it will be necessary to invoke filibuster again, that is what will be done if Senator BARKLEY insists on testing the bill on its merits.

If Congress wished to submit an amendment to the Constitution to the people of the United States, there would not be the objection to it that there is to direct legislation seeking to force abandonment of the poll tax by the seven States which still have it, for it would be an orderly procedure.

As a matter of fact, the poll tax keeps no one from voting in South Carolina who really wishes to vote. It is only $1, is not paid by women, and by men only between certain age limits. But there is a principle involved when Congress tries to dictate voting requisites to States in violation of the Constitution. And that is the point.

The Anti-Poll Tax Bill Almost Passes the Senate

Norfolk Va. Journal & Guide Sat. 4-27-46

BUT for the dramatic appearance of a fourth member who dashed in at the last moment to voice his objection, the highly controversial anti-poll tax bill would have passed the Senate last week by unanimous consent.

With Senator WARREN MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington, an implacable foe of the poll tax presiding, the neat parliamentary maneuver was attempted while only two other members of the Senate were present: MORSE, Republican, of Oregon, and LANGER, Republican. of North Dakota.

This three-man minority, in a practical demonstration of minority rule in reverse, thus almost succeeded where the entire Senate has failed many times within the past several years because of the filibustering tactics of a few of their colleagues who retain their Senate berths year after year through the beneficence of the price tag on the ballot.

And this same selfish bloc has been quick to charge that the action of Senator MORSE in interrupting an anti-British loan speech by Senator LANGER so that he could move passage of the anti-poll tax measure by unanimous consent, was nothing more than a cheap parliamentary trick, and that the dramatic last-minute appearance of Senator MCFARLAND, Democrat, of Arizona, to block the move, was in the nature of an act of God. Sat 4-27-46

But when it comes down to cheap parliamentary maneuvers there is none more despicable than the filibuster when used in the manner, and for the purpose for which it has been employed by this group. Besides, what's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Poll Tax Bill Goes Down For 3rd Defeat in Senate

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 8-10-46

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The sham battle for enactment of an anti-poll tax law resulted in a defeat for the proponents of the legislation last Wednesday when a motion for cloture was beaten by a vote of 39 to 33—nine votes short of the two-thirds required to limit Senate debate. The vote came after only two short speeches had been made on the bill, both by Senator James M. Mead, Democrat, of New York, in behalf of cloture.

Just before the vote was taken Senator Mead made it clear that a vote for cloture was a vote for the bill, while a vote against cloture was a vote against the bill.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECT

Speaking on the preceding night, Senator Mead declared it was time to act on anti-poll tax legislation "because we are endeavoring to interest the Nations of the world in our democratic principle of government."

Passage of the anti-poll tax bill, Senator Mead said, would extend suffrage to 10,000,000 people—7,000,000 white and 3,000,000 colored—and would stimulate interest in Government and make for better citizenship.

Voting for limitation of debate to one hour for each member were twenty-three Democrats, fifteen Republicans and one Progressive. Voting against cloture were twenty-six Democrats, nineteen of whom represent Southern States, and seven Republicans, these being from New Hampshire, Connecticut, Maine, Oklahoma, Colorado and South Dakota.

This was the twenty-fifth time the Senate has voted on cloture since the rule was adopted in 1917. It was the twenty-first time a cloture motion was defeated and the third defeat when anti-poll tax legislation was at issue.

FILED FOR CLOTURE

In accordance with a pledge he had made to get an anti-poll tax amendment to the Tidelands Oil Bill tabled, Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, the Majority leader, called up the Anti-Poll Tax bill on July 29 and immediately filed a petition for cloture.

Supporters of the Anti-Poll Tax bill, including many of the twenty-eight who signed the cloture petition, charged that Barkley had made a "deal" with Southern Senators that if cloture was defeated the measure would be laid aside and no new effort made to adopt it before Congress adjourned Friday.

Following is the vote by which the Senate last Wednesday rejected a move to limit debate on the Anti-Poll Tax bill (a two-thirds vote of the Senators present and voting would have been required for adoption):

FOR THE MOTION—(39)

Democrats For—(23)

Barkley (Ky.)	Murdock (Utah)
Chavez (N. Mex.)	Murray (Mont.)
Downey (Calif.)	Myers (Pa.)
Green (R. I.)	O'Mahoney (Wyo.)
Guffey (Pa.)	Pepper (Fla.)
Huffman (Ohio)	Taylor (Idaho)
Johnson (Colo.)	Thomas (Okla.)
Kilgore (W. Va.)	Thomas (Utah)
Magnuson (Wash.)	Tunnell (Del.)
Mead (N. Y.)	Wagner (N. Y.)
Mitchell (Wash.)	Walsh (Mass.)

Republicans For—(15)

Austin (Vt.)	Moore (Ore.)
Ball (Minn.)	Reed (Kan.)
Capper (Kan.)	Smith (N. J.)
Cordon (Ore.)	Taft (Ohio)
Donnell (Mo.)	Vandenberg (Mich.)
Ferguson (Mich.)	Wherry (Neb.)
Knowland (Calif.)	Wiley (Wis.)
Langer (N. Dak.)	

Progressive For—(1)

LaFollette (Wis.)

AGAINST THE MOTION—(33)

Democrats Against—(26)

Andrews (Fla.)	George (Ga.)
Bilbo (Miss.)	Gerry (R. I.)
Burch (Va.)	Gossett (Idaho)
Byrd (Va.)	Hayden (Ariz.)
Connally (Tex.)	Hill (Ala.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Hoey (N. C.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Johnston (S. C.)
Maybank (S. C.)	Overton (La.)
McCarran (Nev.)	Radcliffe (Md.)
McClellan (Ark.)	Russell (Ga.)
McFarland (Ariz.)	Stewart (Tenn.)
McKellar (Tenn.)	Swift (Ala.)
O'Daniel (Tex.)	Wheeler (Mont.)

Republicans Against—(7)

Bridges (N. H.)	Moore (Okla.)
Gurney (S. Dak.)	White (N. J.)
Hart (Conn.)	Young (N. Dak.)
Millikin (Colo.)	

The following pairs (on a two to one basis) were announced:

Revercomb (W. Va.) Republican, and Broks (Ill.) Republican, for, and Robertson (W. Va.) Republican, against.

Willis (Ind.) Republican, and Wilson (Iowa) Republican, for, and Bushfield (S. Dak.) Republican, against.

Aiken (Vt.) Republican, and Lucas (Ill.) Democrat, for, and Carville (Nev.) Democrat, against.

Tobey (N. H.) Republican, and Briggs (Mo.) Democrat, for, and Bailey (N. C.) Democrat, against.

Not voting, but announced in favor of the motion—Hickenlooper (Iowa) Republican.

Not voting, but announced opposed to the motion—Ellender (La.) Democrat.

Urges Poll Tax

Constitution, Atlanta Ga.

Editor Constitution: Thousands voted for Talmadge this time who had never supported him before, because Gov. Arnall in his mad rush for notoriety and publicity saw fit to get the General Assembly to abolish the poll tax and change the age limit permitting teen-age citizens to vote. This very act put the Negro question in the campaign as an issue. We would not have been troubled with this under the old law requiring $1 to be paid at the age of 21 and paid each year until the age of 60 had been reached, all of this going into the fund for common schools of the State. A vast majority of the voters feel just as I do, that under the old law the Negro would not care to keep his poll tax paid for the privilege of voting. Fri. 8-2-46

The in-coming administration's first act should be to abolish or repeal this pet piece of Gov. Arnall's so-called good and wise government legislation. This within itself would solve the question to a very large extent.

T. L. HAWKINS.

Tennille.

(Editor's Note: It was at Mr. Talmadge's own suggestion that the move was furthered to eliminate the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in Georgia. Moreover, judging from the result of the recent election, he seems to have known what he was doing.)

45e 1946

Poll Tax (Mississippi)

MISSISSIPPI KEEPS POLL TAX FOR VETS

Gettysburg Pa. 2-9-46

JACKSON, Miss.—(ANP)—The Mississippi House of Representatives last week refused to pass a bill waiving poll tax restrictions so that veterans of World War II might vote, tax free, in the 1946 and 1947 primaries.

45e 1946

Poll Tax (South Carolina)

What S.C. Really Fears

Afro-American

The South Carolina House of Representatives recently rejected a Senate-approved resolution to repeal the poll tax. The vote was 69 to 40. Baltimore, Md.

Delegates said that they wanted to keep the poll tax because its repeal would mean the possibility of racial trouble in low-country counties which have large colored populations. 1-26-46

What the delegates really meant was that if the poll tax were repealed, then, for the first time, counties like Calhoun (colored population, 11,867; white, 4,351) and Beaufort colored population, 14,781; white, 7,255) would have enough colored votes to elect county officers and even delegates to the State Legislature.

In the final analysis, therefore, "trouble" in South Carolina means the possibility of electing a qualified colored person to a political office.

Atlanta Daily World Ga.

Opposition Sees Attempt To 'Ram Down Throat'

1-20-46

Fears Two-Party System If Negro Gains Ballot

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (NNPA) — The South Carolina House last Tuesday defeated a bill which would have abolished the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in this state. The vote was 69 to 40.

Opposition to the repeal measure was led by Representative Calhoun Thomas, who charged that abolition of the levy would serve "to ram the Negro down our throats."

He told the House that, "through the medium of the poll tax and adroit maneuvering of election officials, we have kept the Negro from voting in our county of Beaufort."

Ga.

TRYING TO VOTE

1-20-46

"The Negroes are now trying to vote, and I live in the black belt of the state where they dominate two to one. I have seen Negro postmasters in my county, and I have seen Negro constables—and I am only 42 years of age.

"I know South Carolina has been ridiculed throughout the nation for its poll tax on general elections," Calhoun continued. "But if we make it too easy for the Negro to vote, we are going to have a two-party system.

"We have got to keep the Democratic party all-powerful. The poll tax doesn't keep us from voting. We all vote in the Democratic primary. The poll tax repeal bill would serve to ram the Negro down our throats, and we want to keep the white people in the saddle where they belong."

URGE REPEAL

Representatives Lewis Wallace, of York, and J. Claude Fort of Cherokee urged passage of the repeal bill

"I want to rid my state of this stigma, "said Wallace, "this thing that denies a man-white or colored —the right to vote.

"A number of incompetent people have held positions representing South Carolina in Washington by waving this flag of racial prejudice before the people back home, by stating they are protecting the state against federal pro-Negro legislation."

Fort predicted the federal government would abolish the poll tax through congressional action and that South Carolina should repeal the vote levy before the federal government steps in.

S.C. Defeats Bill To End Polltax

Daily Worker 1-16-46

New York, N.Y.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Jan. 15 (UP). —The South Carolina House today defeated a bill which would have abolished the polltax as a prerequisite for voting in this state. The vote was 69 to 40. 1-16-46

Opposition to the repeal measure was led by Rep. Calhoun Thomas who charged that abolition of the levy would serve "to ram the Negro down our throats."

One Good Voice

PM N.Y.N.Y. 2-5-46

Rep. J. Claude Fort spoke well, but in vain at the last debate in South Carolina's House of Representatives on a measure to bring the poll tax question to a public vote. "If we took the lead now, it would be a great thing for South Carolina and the nation," he said. P.S.—the measure was killed.

South Carolina Decides To Retain the Poll Tax

The Louisville Courier Journal Louisville, Ky.

FREQUENTLY the politicians of the South contend that the poll tax is not a device beloved by them as an instrument to curtail or prevent the use of the ballot by Negroes. Tacit admission that the poll tax *is* favored just for that purpose is made in the remark of Representative CALHOUN THOMAS of the South Carolina Legislature, the lower house of which last week defeated a poll tax repeal bill by a vote of 69 to 40.

Representative THOMAS opposed the bill because abolition of the levy would "ram the Negro down our throats." Clearly he thinks that the poll tax keeps the Negroes from the polls (and from being rammed down "our" throats). Sat. 2.2.46

Mr. THOMAS was at least frank. He added: "Through the medium of the poll tax *and adroit maneuvering* of election officials, we have kept the Negro from voting in our county of Beaufort."

Mr. THOMAS wants to avoid the two party system in his state, he revealed, keep the Democratic party all-powerful, and "keep the white people in the saddle . . ."

Mr. THOMAS ought to be told that the poll tax disfranchises twice as many white men and women as it does Negroes. On second thought, perhaps he knows that. Word, then, ought to be spread among the disfranchised whites. When they know, the day when the death knell of the poll tax sounds will be advanced.

There are two or three encouraging aspects of the South Carolina situation.

First, of course, is the mere introduction of a bill in the legislature to outlaw the poll tax.

Another is the size of the vote; forty South Carolina legislators are sufficiently sick and tired of the poll tax to have voted for its repeal.

Still another encouraging development is the kind of thinking shown by some of the advocates of repeal. One, Representative LEWIS WALLACE of York, said: "I want to rid my state of this stigma, this thing that denies a man—white or colored—the right to vote." Another outspoken repeal advocate was Representative J. CLAUDE FORT of Cherokee. May their tribe increase! Sat. 2.2.46

Finally, white members of a branch of the Southern Regional Council (successor to the Southern Interracial Commission) in South Carolina have agreed to accompany each would-be Negro voter to the polls in the next election and to jot down pertinent facts necessary to permit them to give first-hand testimony when the barriers to voting are tested in the courts.

It is things like this which keep the Negro and his liberal friends of other races from a surfeit of deepest despondency.

The Bandwagon

Through the medium of the poll tax and adroit maneuvering of election officials, we have kept the Negro from voting in our county of Beaufort," he [Representative Calhoun Thomas of Beaufort County, S. C.] said. . . . "I know South Carolina has been ridiculed throughout the nation for its poll tax on general elections," Calhoun continued. "But if we make it too easy for the Negro to vote, we are going to have a two-party system. We have got to keep the Democratic Party all-powerful."

—*From the Mobile* Register. 2-4-46

South Carolina Legislature Kills Bill to End Poll Tax

Pittsburgh Courier Pa.

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(NNPA)—The South Carolina House last week defeated a bill which would have abolished the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in this State by a vote of 69 to 40. Opposition to the repeal measure was led by Representative Calhoun Thomas, who charged that abolition of the levy would serve "to ram the Negro down our throats."

He told the House that "through the medium of the poll tax and adroit maneuvering of election officials, we have kept the Negro from voting in our county of Beaufort.

FEAR NEGRO VOTE

"The Negroes are now trying to vote, and I live in the Black Belt of the State where they dominate two to one. I have seen Negro postmasters in my county, and I have seen Negro constables—and I am only 42 years of age.

"I know South Carolina has been ridiculed throughout the Nation for its poll tax on general elections," Calhoun continued. "But if we make it too easy for the Negro to vote, we are going to have a two-party system.

"We have got to keep the Democratic Party all-powerful. The poll tax doesn't keep us from voting. We all vote in the Democratic primary. The poll tax repeal bill would serve only to ram the Negro down our throats, and we want to keep the white people in the saddle where they belong."

Representatives Lewis Wallace of York and J. Claude Fort of Cherokee urged passage of the repeal bill.

HITS REACTIONARIES

"I want to rid my State of this stigma," said Wallace, "this thing that denies a man—white or colored—the right to vote.

"A number of incompetent people have held positions representing South Carolint in Washington by waving this flag of racial prejudice before the people back home, by stating they are protecting the State against Federal pro-Negro legislation."

Fort predicted the Federal Government would abolish the poll tax through Congressional action and that South Carolina should repeal the vote levy before the Federal Government steps in.

South Carolina House Defeats State Anti-Poll Tax Bill

Chicago Defender Ill.

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (NNPA) — The South Carolina House last Tuesday defeated a bill which would have abolished the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in this state. The vote was 69 to 40.

Opposition to the repeal measure was led by Rep. Calhoun Thomas, who charged that abolition of the levy would serve "to ram the Negro down our throats." Calhoun continued. "But if we make it too easy for the Negro to vote, we are going to have a two-party system.

He told the House that, "through the medium of the poll tax and adroit maneuvering of election officials, we have kept the Negro from voting in our county at Beaufort. Sun 1-26-46

Whites In Saddle

"The Negroes are now trying to vote, and I live in the black belt of the state where they dominate two to one. I have seen Negro postmasters in my county, and I have seen Negro constables—and I am only 42 years of age.

"I know South Carolina has been ridiculed throughout the nation for its poll tax on general elections," Calhoun continued. "But if we make it too easy for the Negro to vote, we are going to have a two-party system.

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Pleads For Passage

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"A number of incompetent people have held positions representing South Carolina in Washington by waving this flag of racial prejudice before the people back home, by stating they are protecting the state against federal pro-Negro legislation."

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Substitute for Poll Tax

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.
Wed, 10-16-46

Repeal of the poll tax would be agreeable to The News and Courier if for it as a qualification for registering and voting should be substituted that the candidate for the suffrage present a receipt for direct taxes amounting to $50 paid six months before election day. Were voting confined to persons who have a little stake in public affairs, who pay $50 in the aggregate in taxes to the state, county, municipal and federal governments, objection to colored persons voting would be removed. There is no objection to persons voting because they are not white. In the state are hundreds of thousands of colored persons and tens of thousands of white persons no more competent to vote intelligently than they are to play bridge with ordinary skill, and government is never safe when the balance of power in elections is in the hands of improvident, ignorant, lazy persons who can be herded to the polls by rascally politicians. That, the Americans will soon or late discover if, in the mean time, democracy shall not subject the country to a communist dictator and make slaves of all the people. In eastern Europe is a great country where slavery prevails, and it is not called by its name. In the United States is an enlarging element in the population eager to be well nourished, well clad and well housed slaves.

Court Refuses to Rule On Tennessee Poll Tax

Cpr. Courier-Journal

Special to The New York Times and The Courier-Journal.

Washington, Dec. 23.—A Tennessee voter's appeal for a ruling on the constitutionality of his State's poll tax was denied today by the Supreme Court. Tues. 12-24-46

J. D. Johnson of Green County, Tennessee, had sought from the high court a review of his suit against collection of the tax, which he asserted should be declared invalid as a prerequisite to voting. Louisville, Ky.

Truman On The Poll Tax

Birmingham Age-Herald

BY ERNEST K. LINDLEY

Special Age-Herald Washington Correspondent

In his formal statement last week explaining his position on the poll tax issue, President Truman said: "While the federal anti-poll tax legislation has been pending in Congress, several states have abandoned the poll tax. This is a great step forward and I hope more states will see fit to change their poll tax laws."

Active proponents of the federal anti-poll tax bill point out that the president's statement was somewhat rosier than the facts justify. The attempt to get federal legislation to knock out state poll taxes as prerequisites to voting began in 1939. Before that, Florida and Louisiana had abolished the poll tax by state action. But since then only one state has done so. That is Georgia, under the leadership of the liberal Gov. Arnall. Even Arnall might not have succeeded, however, but for a peculiar provision in the Georgia constitution permitting the governor to suspend any tax for one year. He held the threat to suspend the poll tax over the heads of the Legislature. The results of one election held without a poll tax might not have been pleasing to some of the members if they had voted against repeal of the tax. Thursday

In Tennessee the Legislature voted to abolish the poll tax, but the state Supreme Court invalidated the action on the ground that it conflicted with the state constitution. So Tennessee still has the poll tax, as do six other states: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

In all seven of these states the poll tax is imbedded in state constitutions. Proponents of federal action insist, therefore, that as a practical matter there is not much hope of getting rid of the tax in most of these states in the near future by state action. They hold that only Congress can provide a reasonably prompt and effective remedy. 4-18-46

The House has passed anti-poll tax legislation three times. The Senate has filibustered it twice, and the Southern opponents of federal action undoubtedly will continue to resort to filibustering whenever the bill comes up, unless they are stopped by cloture.

Some of the supporters of federal legislation may doubt that it is wise or constitutional. Many of them, like President Truman, who as a senator not only favored federal action but voted for cloture, would feel relieved if the seven remaining poll tax states would go ahead and abolish the tax under their own steam. But for the reasons just indicated, the prospects are not favorable for this more comfortable solution. 4-18-46

There are, however, other ways to work toward the objective sought by the opponents of the poll tax: the broadening of the electorate. One is to increase the number of people who pay the poll tax, which requires not only money, but, in some state, quite a bit of red tape. The impending CIO organization drive in the South should, if successful, increase the number of voters who see that their tax is paid and that they are otherwise properly qualified. Supreme Court decisions in recent years have also tended to broaden the electorate, by lifting some of the restrictions on Negro voting.

Federal anti-poll tax legislation, however, has become a national issue. It is one on which many voters in the 41 states which do not have the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting may turn. For urgent political reasons, therefore, it is becoming increasingly impractical for Democrats in Congress from outside the poll tax states to wait for the solution of this problem by state action. 4-18-46

Truman Retreats on the Poll Tax

Abe American Baltimore, Md.

CHICAGO — Retreating from his previous position as advocating Federal repeal of the poll tax, President Truman, Saturday, mollified Southern Democrats by revealing that he felt that repeal of those laws should be left up to the States. Sat 4-13-46

The reversal of the President's views on this issue came at a news conference held for high school journalists, in answer to the question, "Do you see any immediate solutions for the poll tax in the South?"

Sees No Solution

Mr. Truman, who, when a Senator voted for Federal repeal of the laws several times, answered, "No, I do not. That is a matter they will have to work out for themselves." Sat 4-13-46

The President, in what appeared to be a peace offering to militant Southern Democrats in Congress, went on to point out that there were a number of Southern States which have repealed the poll tax, matter they (the States) will have to work out for themselves. Wed 4-10-46

We do not know what has happened to change the President's point of view on this issue. But his present stand finds solid defense in the nature of our Federal system. It would be impossible to bring every problem to Washington for solution, especially problems that are entrusted to the States by the Constitution, without destroying our dual pattern of governmental authority. In deference to this fact we suggest that the antipoll-tax movement now turn the full force of its influence upon the recalcitrant handful of States which perpetuate this obnoxious and undemocratic levy.

Truman On The Poll Tax

Washington Post, D.C.

For a number of years *The Post* has maintained that the proper approach to the poll-tax problem in the South is pressure on the States to eliminate this relic of post-Reconstruction days. Naturally, therefore, it is gratifying to note that President Truman has swung over to this position. In the Senate Mr. Truman supported the Federal poll-tax repeal bill which we have always believed to be unconsitutional. Since he has been in the White House he has pointed to his voting record when asked for comment on antipoll-tax legislation. But in his press conference for Chicago high school journalists he clearly replied to a poll-tax question that that is a reasonably prompt and effective remedy.

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Some of the supporters of Federal legislation may doubt that it is wise or constitutional. Many of them, like President Truman, who as a Senator not only favored Federal action but voted for cloture, would feel relieved if the seven remaining poll-tax States would go ahead and abolish the tax under their own steam. But for the reasons just indicated, the prospects are not favorable for this more comfortable solution.

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Mr. Truman and the Poll Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Congressional Record

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 17 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 5), 1946

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Mr. Truman and the Poll Tax," by Ernest Lindley, from the Washington Post of Monday, April 15 last.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows: 4-17-46

A NATIONAL ISSUE

(By Ernest Lindley)

MR. TRUMAN AND THE POLL TAX

In his formal statement las week explaining his position on the poll-tax issue, President Truman said, "While the Federal anti-poll-tax legislation has been pending in Congress, several States have abandoned the poll tax. This is a great step forward and I hope more States will see fit to change their poll-tax laws." Washington, D.C.

Active proponents of the Federal anti-poll-tax bill point out that the President's statement was somewhat rosier than the facts justify. The attempt to get Federal legislation to knock out State poll taxes as prerequisites to voting began in 1939. Before that, Florida and Louisiana had abolished the poll tax by State action. But since that only one State has done so. That is Georgia under the leadership of the liberal Governor Arnall. Even Arnall might not have succeeded, however, but for a peculiar provision in the Georgia constitution permitting the Governor to suspend any tax for 1 year. He held the threat to suspend the poll tax over the heads of the legislature. The results of one election held without a poll tax might not have been pleasing to some of the members if they had voted against repeal of the tax.

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In all seven of these States the poll tax is imbedded in State constitutions. Proponents of Federal action insist, therefore, that as a practical matter there is not much hope of getting rid of the tax in most of those States in the near future by State action. They hold that only Congress can provide a

Truman Backs Poll Tax Laws

N.Y. Times New York, N.Y.

President Truman emphasized at his press conference yesterday that "I am in favor of both Federal and State action on anti-poll tax legislation, FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission) and similar legislation."

Asked to clarify his statement at a Chicago press conference in favor of State action, he stressed his continued support for the Federal anti-poll tax bill.

He pointed out, however, that there was no contradiction between the two and said: Fri 4-12-46

"While the Federal anti-poll tax legislation has been pending in Congress, several States have abandoned the poll tax. This is a great step forward and I hope more states will see fit to change their poll tax laws."

Poll Tax (Virginia)

This Evening

News

VIRGINIA'S EXAMPLE

Retiring Gov. Darden, of Virginia, included in his final message to the General Assembly the following declaration: "The poll tax should be eliminated as a prerequisite to voting. The right to vote should not be conditional upon the payment of a sum of money. In a free society the ballot should rest in the hands of all persons of demonstrated competence who evidence an attachment to, and an interest in, the welfare of the state." The argument against the poll tax could scarcely have been stated more succinctly, and its logic applies to the State of Alabama as much as it applies to the State of Virginia.

We could also learn something from Virginia with reference to preparing for changes in qualifications and registration for voting. A commission has been at work studying the problem and filing a report which the Legislature will use as the basis for action. Instead of the procedure in Alabama, under which reforms are to be initiated by politicians who know what they want, Virginia has chosen a much more enlightened approach, which involves an objective facing up to the question of poll tax repeal and registration. We have preferred to let distortion and prejudice have their way. To our Legislature, the poll tax is sacred, and a system of registration which lends itself to discrimination can be improved only by being made more iniquitous.

The result is that Alabamians will be voting on the so-called Boswell amendment, which undertakes to localize qualifications for the right to vote. That is to say, each board of registrars will in effect have to consult merely its own sense of discretion to determine whether it will permit an applicant to qualify. That is not, of course, sound practice or fair play, but what are such considerations to people who shout "white supremacy" when what they are after is minority rule? Things being what they are, it is to be taken for granted that the Boswell amendment will be approved, but that prospect only makes the whole situation more lamentable for a functioning democracy in Alabama. For this we must be grateful to our Legislature, a fact which brings to mind a letter which Benjamin Franklin wrote in 1784. "It is wonderful how preposterously the affairs of this world are managed," he observed. "We assemble parliaments and councils to have the benefit of their collected wisdom, but we necessarily have, at the same time, the inconvenience of their collected passions, prejudices and private interests. By the help of these, artful men overpower their wisdom, and dupe its possessors; and if we may judge by the acts, arrests, edicts all the world over . . . an assembly of great men is the greatest fool upon earth."

THE UPPER SOUTH

New York Times

Electoral Reforms in Virginia Wait on Future Votes

Sun. 3-10-46

By VIRGINIA DABNEY

RICHMOND, March 9—Abolition of the poll tax and tightening of the laws against fraud are essential parts of the suffrage-reform program just adopted overwhelmingly by both branches of the Virginia Legislature. Since much of the program requires constitutional amendments, these essential parts will have to be approved by another Legislature and by the people before it becomes effective.

A small minority of the Legislature contends that provisions for annual registration and a central electoral board will give the dominant political "machine" a firmer grip than the poll tax does now, but this is not the prevailing view. Three different methods of registering annually are provided, one of them being the mere process of having voted the preceding year.

Admittedly it may be beaten either by the next Legislature or by the people. The fact that the Legislature voted by huge majorities to submit it to the electorate could be due to the Democratic party's commitment to let the people vote on the issue. Many who voted to submit say they will work against repeal in the election. Most of the leaders in the party organization, dominated by Senator Harry F. Byrd, have either been silent or have a record of opposition to poll-tax repeal.

News Notes: Kentucky's TVA "ripper bill," which passed the State Senate, 24 to 14, was beaten in the House, 60 to 31. It was sponsored by the Kentucky Utilities Company. . . . Gun-totin' Kentucky feudists had a setback when the Legislature made carrying a concealed deadly weapon a felony, with one to five years' imprisonment as the penalty.

Veterans Report Vote Registration Denied

The Journal and Guide Norfolk Va.

(Reprinted from Last Week's Late Edition)

NORFOLK — It is reported that a number of colored veterans of World War II who have not paid their poll tax for 1943, are being refused voting registration by officials in the registrar's office here. This alleged refusal, it is stated, may lead to a petition to the court to rule on the matter.

The Virginia General Assembly at a special session last year passed an act exempting all veterans of the recent war from payment of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting.

TURNED AWAY Sat. 3-23-46

The widely-circulated reports state that the local rigistrar's office is turning away veterans who entered the services in 1944 without having paid the 1943 tax.

It was learned this week, that upon the request by interested citizens for an explanation of the matter, Thomas J. Nottingham, city registrar and James M. Wolcitt, chairman of the city electoral board, agreed that the refusal is based upon their interpretation of provisions of the statute.

However, Mr. Wolcott, it is reported, stated that he would immediately apply to Attorney General Abram Staples for a ruling on the point.

Up until Thursday morning of this week, however, such a ruling was still being awaited.

Mr. Nottingham, in a telephone conversation to the Journal and Guide, claimed that no veterans, to his knowledge, were being denied their lawful right to register. He did not amplify this statement.

MR. STAPLES' LETTER

It is known that Mr. Staples, in a letter containing an unofficial opinion, received here a few days ago, construed the law literally, and held a view that the statute exempted from payment of the poll tax all veterans in active service during the war years of 1942, 1943, 1944, or any part of those years. 3-23-46

The war voters act was the general assembly's response to the growing demand in the state for the repeal of the poll tax as a basis for voting for all citizens. While liberal elements in the state were putting the pressure on members of the legislature for the poll tax repeal, Democratic party officials, who were opposed to the poll tax repeal, affected a compromise with the passage of the act permitting veterans to vote without payment of the poll tax.

Why Virginia Sleeps

Times Dispatch Richmond Va.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Your April 14 editorial dealing with the political apathy of voters in Virginia is highly praiseworthy and instructive. It should be the awakening call to all those who have been lulled into slumber by political sirens who worked and planned for this tragic state of affairs. 4-19-46

Two things in this involved situation are highly responsible for the present lack of political interest—demagogy and the poll tax. To build a self-perpetuating political machine politicians some years back skillfully maneuvered the people into a one-party system and built their platform on race-baiting and hatred. The best qualified candidate was he who could best keep back the rising tide of color and Romanism. The results were the establishing of a ruling class or family in the State and the restriction of other political aspirants. Some ballots in Virginia have consistently carried the names of certain candidates for years. The common voter wonders what's the use of paying a tax and going to the polls to vote for the same people each time.

The undemocratic, disfranchising poll tax glorified by demagogues contributes its share of evil. An annual tax of $1.50 amounts to a great deal in a few years. Despite the fact servicemen and women were exempt by Federal law from the poll tax while on active duty, it seems very likely that all back taxes accrued during that period must be paid by these veterans before they again can vote! Tim 4-19-46

And what about the thousands of Negroes kept away from the polls by the wily tactics of registrars who insist upon enforcing the grandfather clause, property claim and Constitution interpretation by the applicant? I knew of two Negro voters in Appomattox County both now deceased. There are other sections where Negroes vote freely, of course.

Georgia sued for a progressive platform, abolished the poll tax, abandoned the white primary, and the number of her voters doubled. Why cannot Virginia, that used to be first among the States, at least follow some good examples and cease to be among the least and the last?

F. H. A.

Harper's Ferry, W. Va.

rent control attorney, and former member of the Virginia House of Delegates, has announced his candidacy for City Council.

A campaign committee and manager for Mr. Ashe is expected to be announced soon. His sponsors are optimistic about the chances of his election, which will be enhanced, they assert, if there is more than one ticket in the field.

NEW ATTACK ON POLL TAX

Times Dispatch Richmond Va.

The pressure against poll tax laws has appeared in a sensational new form this week in a brief filed in the U. S. Supreme Court by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The court is urged to hear a poll tax suit to the Constitution Virginia's representation should be reduced as long as her citizens are hindered from voting by the state. The brief supports an Henry L. Saunders of poll-tax laws. Sat 4-27-46

The ACLU told the Supreme Court that Virginia's representation should be reduced as long as her citizens are hindered from voting by the state poll-tax laws, according to a report released Wednesday by B. Gray Tunstall, city treasurer. Of this number 4,377 are colored, and 22,509 white.

While this does not mean that this number will vote in the Councilmanic election on June 11, it is an indication of the approximate number that may be qualified to cast their ballots at that time. Equally a smaller number vote in the election than the number qualified to vote, and because the payment of the poll tax does not qualify unless one is registered, quite a number of the poll tax payers are not qualified.

The entrance of Victor J. Ashe in the Councilmanic race is expected to stimulate voting among Negro citizens. The positions which will have to be filled in the June election are now held by Mayor James W. Reed, Richard W. Ruffin and C. E. Wright, neither of whom has as yet indicated his desire for re-election. However, George G. Martin Jr., former OPA

Appeal for review by Henry L. Saunders of Ashland, Va., contending that according

4,377 Race Poll Tax Payers Revealed Here

Journal and Guide Norfolk Va.

NORFOLK—A total of 26,886 Norfolk citizens paid their poll tax by Dec. 11, 1945, according to a report released Wednesday by B. Gray Tunstall, city treasurer. Of this number 4,377 are colored, and 22,509 white.

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Congress' ruling in the apportionment act of 1941 that Virginia is entitled to nine representatives evidently meant that she is only entitled to nine representatives if the right to vote is not illegally curtailed. If the court agrees to hear the case and rules for Saunders, representation in all the poll-tax states will be reduced until the tax is lifted as a condition of voting.

The ACLU brief, signed by Osmond K. Fraenkel and John F. Finerty, of New York City, both constitutional lawyers, says: "It is basically fallacious to treat the Congressional Apportionment act of 1941 either as providing for a minimum total of 435 representatives for the nation or for a minimum apportionment to the State of Virginia of nine representatives. On the contrary, both should be recognized as maximum figures, subject to such reduction as may be required by the Fourteenth Amendment," providing that representation shall be reduced in proportion as the right to vote is abridged.

The brief holds that this is the only interpretation of the Congressional act which squares with the Constitution, and must therefore be what Congress intended. "Such a construction, moreover, has the advantage that should an offending state remove any illegal disenfranchisement, such state would automatically be restored to the number of representatives originally apportioned by Congress."

Saunders' appeal reaches the Supreme Court in the form of a $20,000 damage suit against the Secretary of State for Virginia for refusing to certify him as a candidate for Congressman-at-large in the election of November, 1944. Through his attorney, Moss Plunkett of Roanoke, Va., Saunders is maintaining that under the 14th Amendment Virginia is not entitled to nine representatives who now run in nine districts, and therefore ought to run a reduced number of candidates-at-large. The lower federal courts ruled against him on the ground that representation is not a matter for the courts, but a "political question" up to Congress itself.

We do not believe the Supreme Court can possibly rule in favor of Saunders, but this case well illustrates the constant agitation which may be expected against the poll tax. Sat 4-27-46

No informed observer believes the poll tax can survive much longer. A federal government committed to extension of the ballot has many potent weapons against state restrictions, as Texas and Georgia have found out recently. The time is not far away when Alabamians must face this problem squarely.

Lawyer Sues Virginia On Arbitrary Poll Tax

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 7-27-46

ARLINGTON, Va.— (NNPA) — Charging that the "unconstitutional" poll tax will deprive approximately 50,000,000 citizens of the right to vote for him, Lawrence Michael, Virginia Republican candidate for Congress, this week filed suit in federal court against Gov. William M. Tuck and 32 other state officials.

Michael, running from the eighth congressional district, has announced his intentions to carry the suit to the Supreme Court of the United States if the suit is lost in the lower courts.

Charging that the sections of the Virginia constitution are "arbitrary," "unconstitutional," and "unreasonable" and violate the Fifteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, Michael disclosed a seven-page petition tracing the illegal history of the poll tax in Virginia. A copy of the petition was sent to Atty. Gen. Tom C. Clark.

Cites History

Asserting that as a prerequisite to Virginia's re-entry into the Union following the Civil War, Congress embodied a clause in the state constitution (Underwood constitution of 1867) safe-guarding the civil and political rights of all citizens, Michael quoted the original clause:

"No amendment of revision shall be made which shall deny or any way impair the right of suffrage or any civil or political right that is conferred by this constitution except for causes which apply to all persons and classes without distinction."

Re-Write Constitution

However, in 1901, Michael added, a Constitutional Convention under the authority of the constitution of 1867, was called in Richmond to "amend and rewrite" the very constitution that served as the basis upon which Virginia is today a sovereign state.

Referring to the records of the convention, Michael avers that convention records contain a statement by the late Sen. Carter Glass to the effect that his only aim in coming to the convention had been to "disqualify 135,000 colored Republicans."

The congressional candidate asked the court to correct this violation of the Fifteenth Amendment and to restrain the commissioners of revenue of his district from assessing any poll tax and to correct their books to show that previous poll tax collections were void.

Va. Poll Tax Suit Dismissed

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

RICHMOND—(NNPA)—A suit filed by Lawrence H. Michael, Republican candidate for Congress, to enjoin the collection of the Virginia poll tax in the Eighth District, was dismissed here on Sept. 30 by Federal District Judge Sterling Hutcheson.

The order to sustain the motion for dismissal was returned by Judge Hutcheson after a lengthy hearing. After the announcement, John L. Green, attorney for Michael, candidate from the Eighth Virginia District, filed notice of his intention to appeal the decision. Sat. 10-12-46

Respondents in the suit included Governor Tuck, Attorney General A. P. Staples and the commissioners and treasurers of the 15 counties and cities in the Eighth District. The Governor and the Attorney General were represented by Walter Rogers of the Attorney General's office.

Court Lacked Authority

The State sought dismissal of the suit on the grounds that the district court lacked the authority to nullify a poll tax provision in the State Constitution and that the suit was one which would enjoin the collection of State revenue.

Green's arguments, built, in a large part, around the records of the State Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902, showed, he contended, that the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting was unconstitutional and that its primary purpose was aimed at disfranchising colored people.

In sustaining the motion for dismissal, Judge Hutcheson remarked that as he saw it, the primary question in the matter was "the validity of the payment of the poll tax as a prerequisite of the right to vote."

45e 1946

Rockefeller Foundation Grant for Study of Voting in the South, by the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama.

Voting In The South

Birmingham News

No region in the United States is so much talked about with respect to voting as is the South. Now, under a $40,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, a two-year study of voting processes in the South is to be made. We should learn much about our region from it.

2-2-46

But—lest some head too promptly for the stump—we hasten to point out that the University of Alabama Bureau of Public Administration is to make the investigation. An objective, scientific report is being planned. A Southwide advisory commission of from nine to 15 men will be appointed soon by Dr. Raymond R. Paty, university president, who made the announcement.

We know that, in the South, we have far too many persons who, eligible to vote, rarely get around to casting ballots. Why? We hope to learn the answer. And we know that the poll tax keeps many from voting—how many? What is the specific effect of the poll tax on individuals? Again, we hope to get definite answers from this university survey.

2-2-46

The people of the South should be grateful for the Rockefeller grant, which will be administered by our own University of Alabama. The bureau of public administration at the Capstone, through this project, will be enabled on a sizable scale to serve the people, and this is its good object.

45e 1946

South

600,000 Negro Votes in South

PM New York, N.Y.

Sun.

By Associated Press

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 30. — Negro registered voting strength in the South was estimated at 600,000 as speakers before the Southern Conference for Human Welfare urged liberals to help more Negroes become voting allies against "Southern reactionaries." The estimate was made by Palmer Weber, CIO-PAC research director.

Mrs. Virginia Beecher, executive secretary of the Conference's committee for Virginia, estimated that 10,000 Negroes voted in Virginia's 1945 Democratic primary as against "a potential of 150,000 Negro votes in Virginia that would smother the Byrd machine."

12-1-46

Percy Greene, Negro editor of Jackson, Miss., nominated " for a distinguished service citation" the 2000 Negroes who voted in the Mississippi Democratic primary.

The Menace is Real

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

The aim of the leaders in the Society for the Advancement of the Colored people, their ally the C.I.O.-PAC, a politically powerful party, and their advisers among the "intellectuals", is the ultimate absorption of the negroes in the United States by the white race. Mon. 7-1-46

It is the last thing that any of them have the courage to admit.

It is the last thing that any of them would have the courage to deny.

Miscegenation received a great setback by the abolition of slavery. For race separation in the United States, Abraham Lincoln accomplished more than any other man that has lived. It is to the shame of the Southern whites that on many a plantation mulattoes were bred. The News and Courier is not seeking to defend or excuse it.

The great fact is that since the negroes were emancipated, separation of races has steadily widened in the South. The association between negroes and white people has been less and less as the years have passed. Residential separation of the two races is observable everywhere. In few cities has it been more noticeable than in Charleston, South Carolina. What is characteristic of the life in Charleston marks the life in all Southern cities, towns, villages.

These are the facts that concern and alarm "intellectuals", in Northern cities. They explain the agitation that they carry on, the money for propaganda that they spend. They cannot deny their ultimate aim. To deny it would be to ruin their scheming. They would hope to gain their object gradually, by devious and cunning ways, and especially they hope to make advances by attracting some of the Southern whites and contracting with them.

Of these Southern whites, one element is composed of honest "highbrows" who deceive themselves that they perform a holy service to humanity by teaming up with the negro and white combination operating out of New York and Washington.

Another element is scalawag raw material. There is much of it. If the negroes in this state for example shall acquire the habit of voting in numbers (nothing is in the way of it) there will be low fellows to go into partnership with them to get offices and divide offices with them—as there were in the state between 1867 and 1877. This material now is more abundant, in 10 or 20 times the ratio that it was in those years, for the simple reason that the public offices are now 10, 20 or 40 times as many as they were in the "Reconstruction period."

The News and Courier tells, it warns, the white people of the South that the integrity of their race is menaced now more than it has been in 70 years. A movement under direction of men of ability and large resources to destroy it is afoot.

New Orleans, La. Times-Picayune Sept. 8, 1946

ISSUE ON NEGRO VOTING PONDERED

Mississippi Studies South Carolina Laws

(The Associated Press)

Jackson, Miss., Sept. 7.—South Carolina's election laws, designed to prevent Negroes from voting and to obviate any possibility of federal intervention, were under scrutiny of state officials here this past week as predictions were made no special session of the Mississippi Legislature to change election laws will be called to convene prior to November 20.

For South Carolinians two years ago did just what Mississippi leaders have been planning—putting the primary elections into the hands of the party and making parties sole judges of qualifications—and yet a few Negroes are voting in South Carolina.

But what worries state officials is a threat of a federal court action to force the Democratic party to open its doors to Negroes in the Palmetto State.

Actually fewer than 3000 Negroes were estimated by election officials to have participated in the 1944 general elections, when 95,000 South Carolinians cast ballots and less than a score of Negroes have succeeded in getting their names on Democratic party books. But that few has the state officials wondering if their plans to make Negro voting impossible in Democratic primaries and ineffective in general elections will do the work.

The thing Mississippi officials are watching is to see whether James M. Hinton, chairman of the South Carolina chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will carry out his repeatedly announced plans to bring a federal suit to gain admittance into the Democratic party for Negroes.

S. C. Democrats Bar Registration

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Say Laws Don't Apply to Lily-White Group

Sat. 7-27-46

COLUMBIA, S.C. — (ANP) — South Carolina Democrats, last week, continued to ignore appeals of colored citizens to register for the primary to be held Aug. 13.

They contend that their "preferential" primary is not a part of the State's election machinery, and that Federal laws and court rulings do not apply locally.

South Carolina abolished all laws governing or affecting the Democratic primary or party organization in 1944, when the Supreme Court ruled that colored persons might participate in the Texas Democratic primary.

Party Untouchable

The South Carolina Democratic party, according to a special rules committee, is a "private, voluntary association of individuals, mutually acceptable to one another."

State party rules stipulate that "white Democrats" only are eligible and the primary is going to be conducted in accordance with that rule, Tom B. Pearce, State Democratic chairman, declared.

Undaunted, the South Carolina chapter of the NAACP and the Progressive Democratic Party are organizing and directing attempts of colored citizens to register for the coming election.

45e 1946

South Carolina

County Bond Issue Defeated

News & Courier

Some 10 per cent of Charleston county's 25,000 registered voters turned out yesterday to administer a thumping defeat to the $895,000 county bond issue sponsored by State Senator O. T. Wallace.

Three of the four propositions appearing on the ballot were defeated in the county precincts and city dwellers simply added to the majorities. Rural voters found favor in the county police short wave system: defeated the abattoir and a public building at Folly beach by large majorities and rejected the $750,000 road and bridge item by 18 votes. Charleston, S.C.

There were 2,445 ballots cast at 43 polling places. In the city's 24 precincts 1,657 ballots were returned and in the 19 county precincts, 788 ballots were cast.

Sharpest defeats were registered on the abattoir and the Folly Beach building. For the latter item 1,784 votes were cast against to 630 for. The county abattoir lost 1,763 to 655.

The highway project lost 1,592 to 804; while the police radio was 827 voters to 1,557 against.

Totals on the propositions by city and county precincts follow:

Highways: county, 373 for, 391 against; city, 431 for, 1,201 against.

Abattoir: county, 307 for, 474 against; city, 348 for, 1,289 against.

Folly Beach building: county, 313 for, 465 against; city, 317 for, 1,319 against.

Police radio: county, 408 for, 360 against; city, 419 for, 1,197 against.

The returns in the special election were tabulated in the office of Coroner John P. DeVeaux, secretary of the election commission. They are unofficial until the commission meets as a board of canvass to declare the result of the election. Totals are expected to change little from the preliminary figures. The vote will be canvassed next Tuesday. Wed 6-19-46

The four propositions won in the following county and ward boxes:

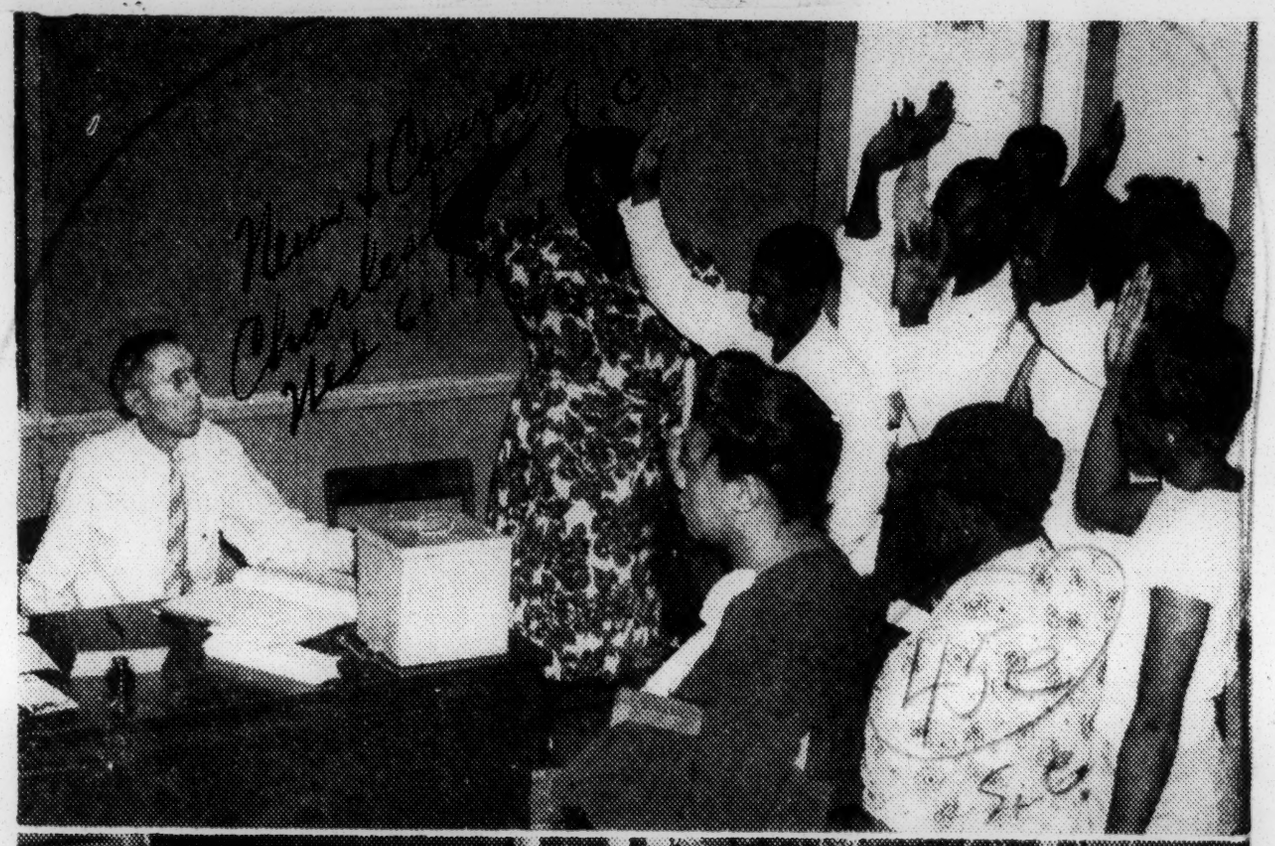
Highways: John's island, Meggett, James island, Wadmalaw island, North Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's parish, Warren's Crossroad; Ward 3, Box 1, 5-2, 7-2, 9-1, 9-2, 11-1, 11-2.

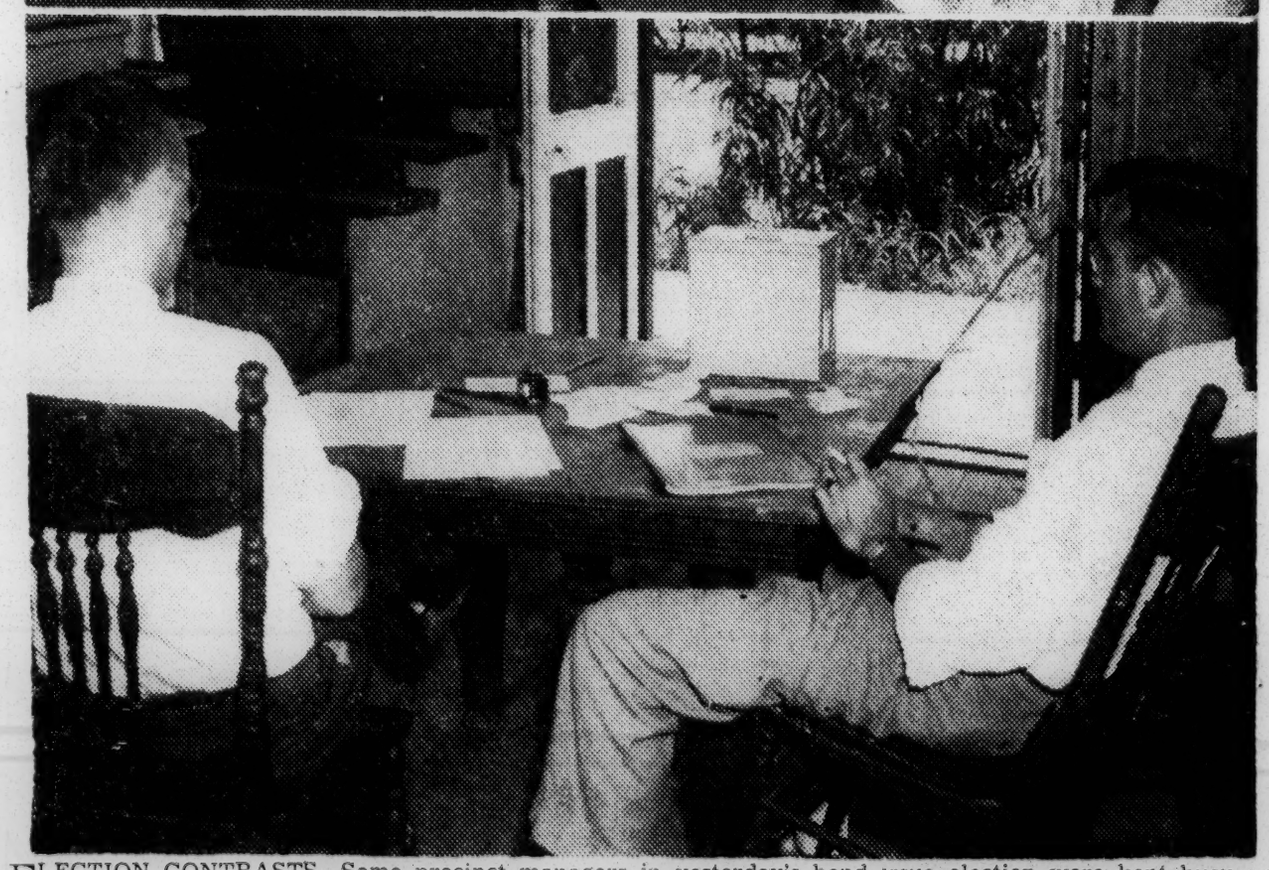
Abattoir: Meggett, James island, North Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's parish, Warren's Crossroad; Ward 3, Box 1, 5-2, 7-2, 9-2, 11-2.

Folly Beach building: John's island, Meggett, James island, North Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's parish, Warren's Crossroad; Ward 3, Box 1, 5-2, 9-1, 9-2.

Police radio: Midland Park, John's island, Meggett, James island, Wadmalaw island, St. Andrew's parish, North Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's parish, Warren's Crossroad, Edisto island; Ward 3, Box 1, 5-2, 7-2, 9-2, 11-1, 11-2.

An estimated 238 negroes voted in the election. There were 100 reported in county precincts. North Charleston counted 35 and St. Philip's and St. Michael's parish, 65.





ELECTION CONTRASTS—Some precinct managers in yesterday's bond issue election were kept busy and some were not. The top picture shows D. W. Aldous in St. Philip's and St. Michael's parish (navy yard section) swearing a group of voters. Negroes came in large groups to the voting place. In contrast, is the scene below, at Ward 1, shortly before noon. No city work was carried in the bond issue. The managers shown are William W. Humphries and Randell C. Stoney. (Staff Photos by Holcombe.)

In both precincts all items carried.

In the city some 138 were reported. The largest number, 65, were in Ward 12, Box 1. None of the propositions carried in this box. In Ward 11, Box 1, 19 out of 24 votes counted were cast by negroes, it was said. The highway item and the police radio carried in this precinct. In Ward 9, Box 1, one-third of the 36 ballots were said to have been cast by negroes. Here the highway and Folly Beach building carried.

The largest total of ballots was returned from Ward 2, Box 2, where 181 were counted. Next was St. Philip's and St. Michael's parish with 176.

Besides the $750,000 highway item, the borrowing plans amounted to $100,000 for the abattoir; $25,000 for the building at Folly Beach, which would have housed a local police lockup, first aid and comfort stations, and $20,000 for the police radio.

Bond issue legislation grew out of a public hearing last January when nearly 30 persons from communities around the city appeared to tell the legislative delegation their wishes on public improvements. One of the noisiest delegations came from Ferndale, but only a total of 34 votes were cast above North Charleston. Not a single project carried in Ladson, which returned six ballots and only the police radio won in Midland Park, by two votes.

Most of the demands for improvements had come for drainage of low areas but the issue's enabling act made no mention of drainage in its project authorizations. Wed

Last night, Senator Wallace declined to comment on the election.

Political implications were immediately read into the results. Opinion was divided whether the outcome spelled loss of support to Senator Wallace, who seeks reelection this year. Another note was struck when a caller to the newspaper blamed Mayor E. Edward Wehman, Jr., for the defeat and said it sounded his political doom.

It is viewed as significant, however, that voters in the county, where the money would have been spent, defeated three propositions and gave a slender majority to one. None of the borrowed funds would have been spent in the city, yet the city vote merely ratified and extended the county majorities on three propositions and reversed the fourth. 6-19-46

The county police at present make use of the city police radio station WCPD.

S. C. Negroes Use Up All Blanks; Board Closes Business

Black-Shefield

RIDGELAND, S. C. — (ANP) —The Hampton county registration board here was wholly unprepared for the number of application for voting certificates here Monday and had to close up after only a few hours of work. There simply weren't any more certificates to issue. Sat 6-15-46

More than 100 Negroes, members of the Progressive Democratic party, were waiting when the board opened, the largest group ever to apply in the history of this small county. The board didn't try to discourage or reject them. There wasn't a single rejection. But certificate forms soon ran out and the board apologetically explained to the approximate remaining persons that it was in a dilemma. The procedure has been for members of the board to sign enough certificates in advance to take care of estimated registrants. None remained; but next month, if the applicants would only be sympathetic, an adequate supply would be available.

As the group trekked away a clerk cheerily "now all you be sure to come back next month."

Hampton county has 10,095 Negroes and 7,370 whites.

Beaufort Enrollees Turned Away

Sat 6-15-46

BEAUFORT, S. C. — Leaders at Bethlehem here June 17 Lodge, tempting to enroll were turned away by members of C. P. the Democratic Party, announced this week.

Dr. M. P. Kennedy, county chairman of the Progressive Democratic Party, Felix Powell, Captain A. F. Woodbury, chairman of the Citizens' Committee, Theodore H. Bauwhelt, head of the Masonic order made up the delegation. Affidavits are to be sent to PDP headquarters, Dr. Kennedy said. Wed Memphis Dem.

Negroes Urged To Attempt To Vote

Joined people, has urged the Negroes who enrolled in Columbia for the Democratic primary tomorrow to present themselves at the wards in an effort to vote.

J. M. Hinton, president of the state chapter of the National Association for Advancement of Co-

RULES FOR A 'LILY-WHITE' PRIMARY

TO THE VOTERS OF THE NINTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT — Charleston and Berkeley Counties:

If you desire to vote in the forthcoming Democratic primary, you must enroll on your club or precinct books. You only have until JUNE 25TH, 1946, to qualify for the Democratic primary to be held this August.

Enrollment for the Democratic primary and registration for the general election are separate and distinct. Even though you are registered for the general election, you must still enroll at this time on your Democratic club or precinct books in order to vote in the Democratic primary this August.

Previous enrollment on your Democratic club or precinct books is void and non-effective. You must enroll anew at this time.

Registration for the general election does not entitle you to vote in the Democratic primary. Be sure that you are enrolled for the Democratic primary.

The general qualifications to vote in the Democratic primary are:

1. White. Males and females—18 years old before November 5th, 1946.
2. Residence in State—2 years by November 5th, 1946.
   Residence in County—6 months by November 5th, 1946.
   Residence in Ward or Precinct—60 days by November 5th, 1946.
3. Club Books are now open for enrollment daily (except Sunday) between the hours of 9:00 a. m. to 2:00 p. m. and 6:00 p. m. to 9:00 p. m. Go to your Club or Precinct Clerk and enroll NOW!
4. Club Books will close on JUNE 25th, 1946. If you have not enrolled by that date, you will not be eligible to vote in the Democratic primary.
5. Enrollment for the Democratic Primary does not require the payment of a Poll Tax or any other assessment, nor is any property certificate required. All you have to do is to ENROLL.

AS A CANDIDATE FOR SOLICITOR OF THE NINTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, I URGE EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU TO PROTECT YOUR FRANCHISE—ENROLL NOW IN ORDER THAT YOU MAY VOTE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY IN AUGUST. YOUR SUPPORT AND VOTE WILL BE SINCERELY APPRECIATED.

Respectfully Yours,

GEDNEY M. HOWE, JR.

YOUR DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR SOLICITOR OF THE NINTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT—(Charleston and Berkeley Counties).

In South Carolina — where the Democratic primary is equivalent to the election — you can't vote effectively unless you are white. Here is the evidence in black and white. This officially-sponsored ad in a Charleston paper sets forth the rules. Heading item No. 1 is the single word "white." Minimum age of 18 recently set by State Democratic Committee is to make certain of corraling as many white voters as possible if the current battle to retain white primary is lost by die-hards.

In South Carolina

Deny Vote To Negroes In Primary

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 8-24-46

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Eleven Negroes are known to have voted last week in South Carolina's State-wide Democratic primaries although new party rules limit balloting to white citizens. Names of Negroes had been purged from the books "in keeping with orders."

Ten of the thirteen Negroes enrolled in Spartanburg succeeded in voting. No explanation was given.

A colored woman, mistaken for white, voted here in Ward 3, but seven other Negroes, including James M. Hinton, NAACP State president, were turned away when they sought to cast ballots.

VOTE IN ARKANSAS

At the same time, primary elections were being held in Arkansas, but no issue was made of Negroes voting.

Several other South Carolina cities reported Negroes attempted to vote, but were turned away.

Hinton said a suit would be filed in Federal Court within a week against the State Democratic Party. The Courier

The suit, when filed, is expected to involve only denials in Columbia. It is doubted that similar action will be taken in Spartanburg, since some Negroes did vote. However, it was learned this week party officials plan to void the Negro votes.

Interest is focused on the outcome of the court action, which will decide whether or not a State can legally take action to put itself outside the scope of Federal regulations relative to voting. Following the U. S. Supreme Court ruling in the Texas primary case in 1944, South Carolina, in a special legislative session, repealed all laws governing the primary and has since operated the primary as "private clubs." Pittsburgh, Pa.

No attempt of violence was reported when Negroes attempted to vote. Sat. 8-24-46

Hinton and his group were told by Richland County Democratic Chairman John I. Rice: "You boys know your names have been purged from the books in keeping with orders."

Negroes Want US to Force Primary Door

By the Associated Press

Negroes "who are qualified electors" will attempt to vote in the state Democratic primary August 13, the South Carolina Conference of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, wrote the United States department of justice yesterday and "federal intervention to safeguard" their "constitutional rights" was asked.

James M. Hinton, state NAACP president, told the justice department in a letter that when "Negroes presented themselves" for enrolment for the primary they "were denied, or given the run-around." (State Democratic party rules prescribe that only "white Democrats" are eligible for enrolment).

"The primary in South Carolina has been, and still is, the real election, since nomination in the primary is tantamount to election," Hinton's letter said, "and the denial of this constitutional right to Negroes leaves them bereft of the exercise of franchise. . . .

"The South Carolina State Conference of NAACP is requesting action from the department of justice to assure all Negroes who present themselves for voting that right and privilege.

"We are asking for federal intervention to safeguard the constitutional rights of qualified Negro electors."

Hinton wrote that "members of the United States house of representatives are to be chosen" in the primary "and Negroes wish to have a voice in the selection, as well as a voice in selecting the governor . . . ."

Negro Ballot Issue Is Sent To Washington

United States District Attorney Claud N. Sapp said today that he had referred the matter of Negro vote denial in Columbia to the United States department of justice.

Mr. Sapp said he had asked the justice department for advice on the matter.

Attorney General Tom Clark announced recently that Negroes would be aided in their campaign to vote in primaries and general elections.

The protest against the denial of the right to enrol on the club books occurred recently in two city wards in which affidavits were made and referred to Mr. Sapp as district attorney.

No word has yet been received from Washington, D. C., since the refusals were brought to attention of federal authorities.

Despite the protests, John I. Rice, county party chairman, said the "party rules still stand" and has authorized enrolment secretaries to "continue to refuse to allow unauthorized persons to place their names upon the books."

Johnston Denies Pearson's Charge On Negro Voting

The News and Courier Charleston, S. C. Sun. 7-7-46

(By a Special Correspondent)

Washington, July 6: Tipped off in advance that Columnist Drew Pearson was taking him over the coals Sunday morning for his attitude on negro voting, Senator Olin D. Johnston tonight issued a reply simultaneous with publication of the Pearson column.

Pearson said that in Mr. Roosevelt's first term as president, Mr. Johnston was governor of South Carolina and "made the unprecedented move of permitting negroes to contribute funds to the Democratic state committee." "With pathos in voice," continued Pearson, "the then governor of South Carolina used to tell visitors how these fine colored folks stood in line to contribute 25 cents or a dollar to Democratic campaigns.

"Some of them can spare only 10 cents," Johnston told this columnist. "But we don't care how much it is, as long as it's a fair Democratic party. Just the same it's a fine thing." Pearson went on to say that it is time means to rid our nation of this scandal monger and character destroyer.

Mr. Johnston-Smith campaigns for the negro's sympathetic friend, so far as voting is concerned. Even President Roosevelt had occasion to call Pearson a liar. It seems to me that we should find some means to rid our nation of this scandal monger and character destroyer.

Negro Voting In The South

The News, Birmingham, Ala.

By Stewart Alsop

WASHINGTON, Sept. 18—In Georgia, for the first time, the Negroes voted in really important numbers this year—80,000 seems the best estimate of the Negro vote. Elsewhere, they have voted in greater numbers than ever before. The result—the Southerners of every political stripe are agreed that one follows on the other—has been that in most states with an important Negro minority the movement to disenfranchise the Negro once and for all has been greatly strengthened. This movement exists not only in Talmadge's Georgia or Bilbo's Mississippi. It also exists in the liberal oasis, Alabama, where the racial issue was not raised in this year's political contest. That is the measure of the depth of feeling on the racial issue in the deep South.

Georgia and Mississippi, if the plans of the Bilbo and Talmadge political camps succeed, intend to imitate the example of South Carolina. The Supreme Court decision, which confirmed the right of Negro citizens to vote in the Democratic primaries, was based on the state laws of Texas. South Carolina has in effect by-passed the decision merely by repealing all its state laws dealing with the primary. The primary thus becomes a private affair, extra-legal—much as if every person with red hair or the name of Smith banded together to nominate a candidate—and in South Carolina the primary has been exclusively white. A move is on foot to test the constitutionality of this device before the Supreme Court, but in the meantime the Talmadgites and the Bilboites are for it.

Wed. 9-18-46

* * *

IN ALABAMA another device has been proposed to accomplish the same end. It is called the Boswell amendment, and the citizens of Alabama will either approve or reject it this November. There is no doubt in anyone's mind as to its purpose; its sponsors have stated frankly that it is designed to keep the Negroes from voting. The vote would be restricted to those who can "understand and explain" the constitution. As pointed out by Col. Richard Rives, of Montgomery, one of the leaders of the liberal Hill-Sparkman camp in Alabama politics, Justice Felix Frankfurter would undoubtedly be obliged in all conscience to disenfranchise Justice Hugo Black under the terms of the amendment, and vice versa. The uses which an unscrupulous machine politician of the stripe of Huey Long, could make of this kind of regulation not only against Negroes, but against whites of the opposite political camp, are all too obvious.

The amendment has the approval of the powerful Democratic Executive Committee, and at the moment the betting is that it will be approved. Yet the degree of opposition to the kind of "solution" of the racial issue offered by the Boswell amendment is often underestimated outside the South.

There is in fact a powerful party in almost every Southern state of those who believe sincerely that that qualified Negroes should be given the vote. Sometimes this is a mere pious and public wish, but more often it is sincere. Yet all these men are gradualists. They would slowly work the Negroes into the existing political system, in such a way that a bloc Negro vote, the nightmare of all white Southerners, should be avoided.

* * *

MORAL JUDGMENT to one side, it is important to realize that this is about the position on the racial issue held by the great majority of those men who are leading the fight against Bilboism in the South. It is politically important to the rest of the country, both that strong opposition to Bilboism exists, and that the leaders of this opposition are all gradualists. For nothing can be more obvious than that, whether Northern idealists like it or not, Bilboism will be beaten, if it is beaten at all, by Southerners.

Such men believe, rightly or wrongly, that if the South is given time it will eventually reach a point where the Negroes can achieve political and economic equality with the whites. But it is unrealistic to blink the fact that social segregation is still a firmly rooted part of the whole Southern cultural pattern. Even Southern CIO leaders will tell you that it will be generations before Jim Crow is eliminated. It may surprise many Northerners to find that in the CIO itself a mild form of Jim Crow is practiced. There is complete voting and economic equality between whites and Negroes in a union, but at a meeting the whites will sit on one side of the hall, and the Negroes on the other. If a union social function is scheduled, there is one for the whites and one for the Negroes, and they take place under separate roofs.

The CIO in fact practices what the Southern gradualists preach: political and economic equality and social segregation. That such a compromise is unsatisfactory in a democracy goes without saying. But it is fatuous to imagine that more can be achieved in the measurable future. And any Southerner, CIO leaders included, will tell you that ever this will not happen overnight. It will take a long long time.—©.

Jennings Perry

PM New York, N.Y.

The Inside Outsiders

Thurs. 10-31-46

This year, on election day, November 5, while the rest of the nation is trooping to the polls, the 300,000 adult Americans who reside in our fair capital city of Washington will have a chance to go through the same motions.

It is a chance they have, in exasperation, given themselves. Since their election won't count, the whole thing is rather pathetic. It is like the children playing tea party with colored water in the nursery while the family has the real stuff downstairs.

Perry

To mark the difference, the Washingtonians are calling their election a plebiscite—a "foreign" term of loose meaning here. The questions on the ballot will be:

¶ "Do you want the right to vote for officials of your own city government in the District of Columbia?

¶ "Do you want the right to vote for President of the United States and for members of Congress from the District of Columbia?"

It is silly to ask such questions, it would seem, of Americans suckled on the belief that taxation without representation is evil. But the constitutional ban against the suffrage in the capital is one of those reservations about democracy of which unfortunately our nation always has been capable.

It is intended that the plebiscite will help along the proposed Sumners - Capper amendment that would allow Washingtonians to vote for representation in Congress. It will do no harm, the Washingtonians have thought, to show Congress at the same time that the people would rather choose their own municipal officers than have government-by-Bilbo thrust upon them.

I hope they are right. I think I know how they feel. As one of those who have been working for years to clear the right to vote of millions in the South whose suffrage has been taxed I have an honest sympathy for political neuters anywhere. Without the suffrage they are dispossessed of the prime substance of citizenship. They have no part in *vox dei*. I have seen these people of Washington often. They are strangely like the rest of us. Because of their near and constant exposure to government-in-the-making, they are if anything, I suspect, better qualified than the rest of us to cast an intelligent vote. The taxi-drivers are, as everybody knows.

With a relatively high literacy, these Washingtonians must have been reading somewhere (possibly in the hand-written Constitution of the United States) that the vote is a *right*. Living within earshot of the halls of Congress, they certainly have been hearing for over a century about the "preciousness" of the ballot. If what they have read and have been told for so long has given them ideas, they really can't be blamed.

I don't know that our lords of the U. S. Senate, wh. have callously juggled the plight of the South's voteless for the past decade, will be more inclined to accede to the plaint of the voteless Washingtonians. A typical answer would be that the Washingtonians are barred from voting only by their "indifference" or their "laziness": That they would maintain "voting residences" elsewhere if it mattered to them. This would be of the same sophistry that insists the poll tax is no obstacle, that the Southerners would pay and vote "if they want to."

I admire the people of Washington for what they are trying to do. With their help the last great battle of the American Revolution yet may be won.

Voting Is Quiet In the South's 'Trouble Spots'

James-Dispatch, Richmond, Va.

Total Vote Is Low Due To Lack of Issues

Wed. 11-6-46

ATLANTA, Nov. 5—(UP)—Fears that election disorders might break out in some areas of Tennessee and Arkansas, where Army veterans opposed local machines, turned out to be groundless today as the South formally elected Democratic candidates to office.

Only in scattered races was there any doubt about the outcome. One was the congressional race in Georgia's Fifth District (Atlanta), where Incumbent Representative Helen Douglas Mankin waged a strong write-in campaign against Democratic Candidate James C. Davis.

Threats of violence had been raised in Polk County, Tenn., which adjoins McMinn, site of Athens, Tenn., where war veterans violently overthrew the Burch Biggs political machine last August.

Veterans Back GOP

The Biggs machine also controls Polk County, and a veterans group backed a Republican ticket there against the Democrats.

Other veterans had organized to oust local machines in Crockett County, Tenn., and in several Arkansas counties.

In Alabama, voters balloted on an amendment to the State constitution which would change a requirement that voters be able to read and write any section of the United States Constitution to one requiring them to "understand" any section.

The amendment was aimed at Negroes, who have been permitted to vote in Alabama Democratic primaries because of Supreme Court rulings.

James E. Folsom, who was elected Governor of Alabama in today's election, opposed the amendment, along with some church and civic groups.

In Georgia, Eugene Talmadge, who won nomination on a white supremacy platform, was formally elected Governor. He is pledged to bar Negro voting. In Mississippi, Senator Theodore G. Bilbo was returned to office without Republican opposition.

Because of lack of issues and lack of Republican candidates in many races, voting generally was light throughout the South.

Oppose Reaction at Every Level

The Afro-American, Baltimore, Md.

Va., Ga. Studies Show United Liberalism

Sat. 9-14-46

POLITICIANS QUAKE

Ga. 'Bosses' Discuss Appeasement Policies

RICHMOND, Va. — That non-white citizens make up by far the largest single group interested in political changes for the benefit of labor and the masses was revealed by a study of votes cast in the latest elections in Georgia and Virginia.

This year, when for the first time colored citizens of those States voted in appreciable numbers, they are credited with supporting liberal candidates in every primary election.

It was the vote of the non-white citizens of Georgia which gave James V. Carmichael a majority of the popular vote over Eugene Talmadge; and in Virginia, they voted overwhelmingly for Martin A. Hutchinson, who opposed Sen. Harry F. Byrd.

Politicans Fear Vote

Fear of the potential liberal colored vote has reached such proportions in Chatham County, Ga. that municipal politicians are said to be considering letting the city primary in December go by default.

The action would be based on the hope that the Talmadge administration, which is to take office in January, will be successful in restoring the "white primary" for Georgia.

Consider Making Concessions

So interested are white politicians in controlling the potential colored vote in the South that in some municipalities, they are considering opening police, fire and public works departments to colored employees, it was revealed.

This is particularly true in Savannah, Ga. (Chatham County), where the colored vote has been exceptionally well-organized and highly effective thus far.

Vote Barriers Watched

These maneuverings are watched, however, with the background of the manipulations of the potential vote. Of the 60,000 colored men of the city, a block organization was thrown into action during the last primary that turned out most of the potential vote. Of the 60,000 were colored. Led by the professional

aries like Senator Bilbo and Governor-elect Talmadge throttle their exercise of the right to vote, their aid can be depended upon in defeating the conservative rings and machines in local politics.

Survey Shows Negro Vote Growing Strong In South

Defender Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 9-14-46

By ENOC P. WATERS JR.
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

Challenging possibilities of a Negro-Progressive alliance to unseat entrenched Dixie bourbonism, came into sharp focuse this week as pre-election primaries came to an end with a survey showing the Negro voter had established an all-time record for successfully crashing the traditional lily-white southern primary.

However, although thousands of black voters cut a deep swath into antiquated political bias, thousands more were kept from the polls by ingenious trickery and outright intimidation, defying the two-year old Supreme Court decision opening the primaries to disfranchised Negroes. The battle is not yet won—it has just had a successful beginning.

Though some states quietly complied with the ruling handed down in the now famous Texas primary case which is applicable throughout the South, others have and still are resisting.

Opposition Local

In some states like Oklahoma and Louisiana, Negroes were voting in the Democratic primaries even before the Supreme Court ruling of April 1944. In others such as Virginia, North Carolina, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, while the state central Democratic committees offered no resistance, there was local opposition to Negroes voting, offered principally by registrars who quickly developed techniques to discourage Negroes.

South Carolina and Arkansas resorted to legislative action to circumvent the Supreme Court decision. In the former, all laws relating to the primary were wiped off the statute books, and the Democratic party became a private club for membership in which only whites were eligible. The legality of this device is to be tested in a case, the groundwork for which has already been laid by the state NAACP.

In Arkansas, the state and federal primaries were divorced and Negroes barred from participation in the former. The Arkansas Supreme Court recently placed its stamp of approval on this technique. However, the fight against it will be taken to the United States Supreme Court.

In Florida state Democratic bosses discussed ways and means of keeping Negroes from voting when they met at Jacksonville last spring, but took no formal action.

Heaviest Negro vote cast to date was in Georgia and Texas. In each more than 100,000 Negroes exercised their franchises. But even in these two states there were local instances of Negroes being barred.

In sections of Tennessee, Oklahoma and Kentucky there is considerable Republican strength and one of the biggest quandries of Negro voters is whether to flock to one or the other of the parties or to split their strength between them.

In the face of pre-election threats against Negro voters and the legion of techniques employed to discourage them, the showing made throughout the South by Negroes in the several primaries is not only encouraging, but is indicative of a courage that many felt the southern Negro lacked.

Coalition Beginning

In states like Texas and Georgia where Negro voters made a great show of strength there are the beginnings of a coalition between progressive white Democrats and Negro Democrats. A continuation of this trend could conceivably lead to the upset of entrenched reactionaries.

The fate of Negro candidates for various offices, many of whom were premature since the Negro vote had not been solidified and the voters themselves were not experienced was generally unfortunate.

Except for victories in all-Negro, or mostly Negro precincts Negro candidates were beaten. According to available records no Negroes were elected to positions or posts of any importance that they had not held before. However on the basis of experience gained in some campaigns, particularly the strong councilmanic race of Victor Ashe in Norfolk, it is believed that Negroes might be able to be more successful later on.

Perhaps the most hopeful sign is that in many places Negroes are maintaining their interest in registering and voting even during the lull between primaries.

On a broader scale the whole South has been benefitted by the political activity of Negroes. Everywhere that Negroes voted, more whites qualified and cast ballots.

Negro Voting Strength Cited At Conference

Times-Dispatch Richmond, Va.
Sun. 12-1-46

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 30—(AP)—Negro registered voting strength in the South was estimated at 600,000 as speakers before the Southern Conference for Human Welfare urged liberals to help more Negroes become voting allies against "Southern reactionaries."

Th 600,000 estimate was made in a speech by Palmer Weber, director of research for CIO-PAC, who declared, "this year for the first time young Negroes broke through in large numbers to use the ballot."

Mrs. Virginia Beecher, executive secretary of the conference's committee for Virginia, estimated that 10,000 Negroes voted in the 1945 Democratic primary in that State. She asserted there was "a potential of 150,000 Negro votes in Virginia that would smother the Byrd machine."

'Task Cited'

The first task of liberals is to eliminate the "fear complex" that keeps Negroes away from the polls, declared Percy Greene, Negro editor of Jackson, Miss. He said a national civil rights statute was needed.

"About 2,000 Negroes voted in the last Democratic primary, the first such vote in Mississippi in 70 years," Greene asserted. "They voted after a campaign that was one of the most violent, vicious, vulgar and unchristian in all the history of Mississippi. I nominate those 2,000 for a distinguished service citation. Their example undoubtedly had its effect on thousands of others in other States."

He said Senator Bilbo (D-Miss.) had opened the 1946 campaign two years in advance with a speech at a joint session of the Legislature in which "he asked that the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man be eliminated from the pulpit and that any white man who preached it should be run out of Mississippi."

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Southern Hospitality

Will The Negroes Vote?

Washington Post D.C.

IN LESS THAN a month the CIO begins its all-out campaign to sign up the unorganized white and Negro workers of the South, and thus to break the power of the reactionaries in the Democratic Party's Southern wing. It is really the thought of this campaign which is making the Southerners in Congress foam with public rage against Postmaster General Robert Hannegan, who has officially blessed the CIO plan. In the long view, moreover, the CIO campaign may well prove the most significant political event of our time. For it will test the stability of the South's peculiar political setup. And this setup has been a central fact in American politics for about 70 years.

Wed. 4-10-46

The CIO aim is a million and a quarter new members in the South in the next 10 months, mainly in the textile, lumber, turpentine and steel industries. CIO strategists believe that they enjoy a peculiar advantage at present, when they have established an 18½ per cent wage increase as Administration policy. The effect of the campaign on the low-wage areas of the Southern economy could be immensely important. It is nevertheless more important still that the frankly avowed CIO aim is franchise for the Negro in the parts of the South where no Negro has previously voted.

IT IS A mistake to assume that extension of the franchise to the Negro is entirely novel in the South. Negro voting had a share, for example, in the CIO effort to defeat Representative Martin Dies, which is already known to be the model of the present CIO campaign. The job on Dies was done by James Carey, who has been a member of the National CIO staff ever since Communist factions drove him from his Electrical Workers' Union. Carey went out to Dies' Texas district, found that the Negroes and poorer white workers were not voting, and encouraged them to do so, partly by paying a good many poll taxes with CIO funds. Paying the poll tax and registering to vote was required of all members by the Oil Workers Union which is strong in the district.

Thus when Dies went to Texas to file for election, he found that he could not survive the fire that had been built under him. He announced his retirement from Congress with a loud blast against "Communists"—which is one thing that Carey, who hates Communists almost as much as Dies, quite certainly is not. Carey, who will play a considerable part in the larger campaign now in prospect, has said that CIO's idea is "ultimately to take the profit out of discrimination."

THE SAME METHODS which beat Dies will be used in the new campaign. Workers will be organized. They will be urged to pay their poll taxes and where necessary given financial aid in doing so. And they will be required to register and vote. As far as the Negroes are concerned, the CIO campaign will, of course, be greatly assisted by the Supreme Court decisions outlawing white primaries and spelling out the voting equality guaranteed under the fifteenth amendment of the Constitution.

These Supreme Court decisions may be expected to bear fruit long before the CIO campaign, which is starting too late to influence many primaries this year. In Texas, Alabama and Florida, the ballot boxes have already been officially opened to the Negroes. In Georgia, Negro votes are reported to have helped Representative Helen Mankin in her recent Atlanta fight against 17 other contestants. Negroes have voted in Kentucky, Virginia, Oklahoma, North Carolina and Tennessee. In fact, white primaries and white elections will only be maintained this year in Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina.

In some of these States Negroes voted before in special areas. In all of them, during the immediate future, Negro voting will undoubtedly be much rarer, more local and more sporadic than white voting. But it is important that eight States which formerly had white primaries now have primaries in which some Negroes will vote.

ALL THIS DRIVES Southern Democrats of the type of Representative John Rankin of Mississippi into a sort of incoherent frenzy.

4-10-46

"It's a Communist plot," he said, when asked about the CIO organizing campaign. "That's what I know about it. They'll be down there buying elections. They'll be trying to give the Nigger a vote. No Nigger will ever run against me. Of course, we slipped up once. We let them beat Martin Dies and Joe Sarnes. We're all asleep at the switch. They're takin' over the country; we got to stop them if we want this country."

There was more than a trace of evident fear in Rankin's remarks, which were delivered in a tone half way between a yelp and a bellow. Every sensible Southerner joins every Northerner who does not belong to the lunatic right in regarding Representative Rankin as one of the least appetizing figures in American politics. But although he speaks with hysteria, what he says has some meaning.

It has meaning for a very simple reason. If the CIO campaign is successful, the days of Rankins are numbered in most parts of the South. But if it fails, it will confirm the power of the Rankins and their kin in many areas, and it will make them a lot worse. In short, the CIO runs the risk of inflaming the very condition it desires to cure. It is an immense gamble.

Political Stirring In The Deep South

Norfolk Va.

AS A RESULT of the ban on traditional "white" primaries, colored citizens during the past six weeks, for the first time in the deep South since Reconstruction, either prepared to or exercised their political franchise in primaries.

Sat 4-13-46

At least 32,000 colored voters participated on a state-wide basis in Florida; an undetermined number, with veterans swelling the ranks cast their ballots in Alabama; and in Fulton County, Georgia, where heretofore no more than 5,000 had voted, the local All-Citizens Registration Committee spearheaded a drive, the results of which showed nearly 25,000 persons registered to vote in the 1946 state primary and general elections. In other sections of Georgia also, colored citizens took advantage of their newly won privilege to appear at the polls.

Evidently then, a political stirring is gradually getting underway in the deep South. This is good. The movement stems primarily from the desire of the more consciously democratic citizenry to comply with the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Texas case, which held that Negroes could not be barred from primaries because of race or color; and the determination of an that span of time, America's one-tenth has proven that it has achieved more maturity, that it is loyal, dependable, courageous, and a valuable segment of the national citizenry—that in spite of the innumerably imposed hardships and handicaps.

It is a far cry from the days of the "carpet bagger" to the present. In the reported resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia, Florida, and Tennessee, among other states.

Fully aware of the Negro's right to full citizenship is the intelligent America now striving to make the Four Freedoms a beacon for a confused world on the brink of disaster. Hence it is not believed that an enlightened people, regardless of race, will stand by passively and permit any organization whose unsavory record bespeaks an American brand of the Nazi Gestapo, to upset domestic accord by an attempt to deprive any minority of its legally sanctioned rights on these shores.

A noteworthy example of the forthright action taken in Dixie to combat the KKK was made during the past week in Atlanta, when the Georgia Legislative Council, a labor organization, demanded immediate action by the Treasury Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to crush the renewed activity of the Ku Klux Klan. This move is probably exemplary of a considerable cross-section of the national sentiment. Sat. 8-25-46

The Negro in the deep South, in spite of this dissonant note in national relationships is exercising the political franchise. This is being done calmly and judiciously. He will continue to do so in increasing numbers through organization and able leadership. All of which portends in post-war America, political representation more conscious of its obligations to all of the people in state and national affairs.

Bristol, Va., Herald-Courier
July 29, 1946

PAC SEES LARGER DIXIE NEGRO VOTE

NASHVILLE, Tenn., July 19. (AP) — Organization of labor politically and negro voting may be the leven which will make the south politically progressive, according to Henry Lee Moon of Detroit, assistant to the chairman of the CIO-PAC.

The impact of the CIO's organizing campaign, together with that of the AFL, in the south "will inevitably be reflected in political activity," Moon said yesterday, speaking before the Institute of Race Relations as it neared the end of a three-week session at Fisk University.

The south, he said, already is more progressive than in the past, as is evidenced by removal of the poll tax in some states, increasing negro voting, enfranchisement of 18-year-olds in one state and labor union growth.

Jennings Perry, associate editor of the Nashville Tennessean, asserted that voting is a right and not a privilege, and "is the sole protector of every other liberty in a democracy."

Birmingham, Ala., News
Sept. 18 1946

Negro Voting In The South

WASHINGTON, Sept. 18—In Georgia, for the first time, the Negroes voted in really important numbers this year—80,000 seems the best estimate of the Negro vote. Elsewhere, they have voted in greater numbers than ever before. The result—the Southerners of every political stripe are agreed that one follows on the other—has been that in most states with an important Negro minority the movement to disenfranchise the Negro once and for all has been greatly strengthened. This movement exists not only in Talmadge's Georgia or Bilbo's Mississippi. It also exists in the liberal oasis, Alabama, where the racial issue was not raised in this year's political contest. That is the measure of the depth of feeling on the racial issue in the deep South.

Georgia and Mississippi, if the plans of the Bilbo and Talmadge political camps succeed, intend to imitate the example of South Carolina. The Supreme Court decision, which confirmed the right of Negro citizens to vote in the Democratic primaries, was based on the state laws of Texas. South Carolina has in effect by-passed the decision merely by repealing all its state laws dealing with the primary. The primary thus becomes a private affair, extra-legal—much as if every person with red hair or the name of Smith banded together to nominate a candidate—and in South Carolina the primary has been exclusively white. A move is on foot to test the constitutionality of this device before the Supreme Court, but in the meantime the Talmadgites and the Bilboites are for it.

* * *

IN ALABAMA another device has been proposed to accomplish the same end. It is called the Boswell amendment, and the citizens of Alabama will either approve or reject it this November. There is no doubt in anyone's mind as to its purpose; its sponsors have stated frankly that it is designed to keep the Negroes from voting. The vote would be restricted to those who can "understand and explain" the constitution. As pointed out by Col. Richard Rives, of Montgomery, one of the leaders of the liberal Hill-Sparkman camp in Alabama politics, Justice Felix Frankfurter would undoubtedly be obliged in all conscience to disenfranchise Justice Hugo Black under the terms of the amendment, and vice versa. The uses which an unscrupulous machine politician, of the stripe of Huey Long, could make of this kind of regulation not only against Negroes, but against whites of the opposite political camp, are all too obvious.

The amendment has the approval of the powerful Democratic Executive Committee, and at the moment the betting is that it will be approved. Yet the degree of opposition to the kind of "solution" of the racial issue offered by the Boswell amendment is often underestimated outside the South.

There is in fact a powerful party in almost every Southern state of those who believe sincerely that that qualified Negroes should be given the vote. Sometimes this is a mere pious and public wish, but more often it is sincere. Yet all these men are gradualists. They would slowly work the Negroes into the existing political system, in such a way that a bloc Negro vote, the nightmare of all white Southerners, should be avoided.

* * *

MORAL JUDGMENT to one side, it is important to realize that this is about the position on the racial issue held by the great majority of those men who are leading the fight against Bilboism in the South. It is politically important to the rest of the country, both that strong opposition to Bilboism exists, and that the leaders of this opposition are all gradualists. For nothing can be more obvious than that, whether Northern idealists like it or not, Bilboism will be beaten, if it is beaten at all, by Southerners.

Such men believe, rightly or wrongly, that if the South is given time it will eventually reach a point where the Negroes can achieve political and economic equality with the whites. But it is unrealistic to blink the fact that social segregation is still a firmly rooted part of the whole Southern cultural pattern. Even Southern CIO leaders will tell you that it will be generations before Jim Crow is eliminated. It may surprise many Northerners to find that in the CIO itself a mild form of Jim Crow is practiced. There is complete voting and economic equality between whites and Negroes in a union, but at a meeting the whites will sit on one side of the hall, and the Negroes on the other. If a union social function is scheduled, there is one for the whites and one for the Negroes, and they take place under separate roofs.

The CIO in fact practices what the Southern gradualists preach: political and economic equality, and social segregation. That such a compromise is unsatisfactory in a democracy goes without saying. But it is fatuous to imagine that more can be achieved in the measurable future. And any Southerner, CIO leaders included, will tell you that even this will not happen overnight. It will take a long, long time.—©.

BILL MAULDIN'S CARTOON

The Constitution
Atlanta Ga.
Tues. 9-10-46

DEMOCRACY: government by the people collectively by elected representatives. (Webster's)

Dixie Attempts New Schemes to Bar Negro Vote

The Argus
St. Louis, Mo.
Fri. 9-13-46

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (ANP) — Various schemes have been adopted in southern states to circumvent decisions of the United States Supreme court prohibiting election officials in the South from barring Negroes from the Democratic primaries, it was disclosed last week by a review of events in several localities by Negro leaders here and in other sections of the south.

More Negroes voted in this year's primaries in the south than ever before. In the Democratic primary in Georgia alone, about 100,000 Negroes cast their vote. Georgia Democrats resorted mostly to intimidation to prevent Negroes from voting.

In Arkansas strategists of the Democratic party engineered the separation of the party primary from federal elections. Recently the Arkansas Supreme court held that this law was valid.

Democratic leaders in Alabama have relied mostly on a drastic poll tax requirement for voting to hold down the number of Negro voters. The vote of Negro veterans who didn't have to pay the poll tax helped to swell the number of Negroes at the poll.

A big battle is one in South Carolina between Negro voters led by the Progressive Democratic party and white Democrats. It appears that the strategy of Negro Democratic leaders is to make cause with progressive white Democrats and liberal white voters including union members so as to gain sufficient strength through the unity of these groups to control party politics in the state.

White Democrats in South Carolina have always feared the Negro vote, not because any number of them vote, but because of the heavy Negro population. The same fear exists in Mississippi.

Tennessee and North Carolina have had less reasons to fear the Negro vote even though payment of the poll tax for voting is not required in the latter state. In both states Negroes vote on pretty much the same motives as the whites. 9-13-46

Negroes voted for the first time in Florida last spring, although the state does not require payment of the poll tax in order to vote. Other voting restrictions prohibited Negroes from voting in the past. These restrictions were no doubt followed to discourage Negroes from voting since the state has a large Negro population.

THE DEEP SOUTH SPEAKS

BY ROBERT DURR

(For the NNPA News Service)

Tribune

VOTING IN THE SOUTH

colored people are conscious of the fact that acquisition and intelligent use of the ballot is one of the most important means of achieving political emancipation.

I ran across an old sweetheart of mine recently and, as we reminisced over school days, I asked her why she refused to marry me when I popped the question and assured her that I would wait until we both had graduated and were well on our way to success in life. Her reply was, "You took 'no' for an answer."

Millions of returning veterans and others of our group in the deep South are seeking the ballot and they are not taking no for an answer. The significance of this is reflected by what happened in Birmingham recently.

A group of fifty colored veterans sought to become registered voters and were turned down. They reported their experiences to a group of citizens known as the United Registration Council.

This group decided to turn the light of pitiless publicity upon the refusal to register these qualified veterans and others by spreading the truth in paid full-page advertisements in the two local daily newspapers and the two local leading weekly newspapers, with a combined circuation of upward of a quarter million readers. The advertisement read:

"QUALIFIED TO VOTE BUT DENIED CHANCE

"Every registration period held by the Jefferson County Board of Registrars witnesses the mass rejection of Negro citizens as voters. This is especially true of Negro veterans. Twenty-one such veterans who were rejected without good cause on January 23 have appealed to the Circuit Court. Their cases are set for June 24.

"Scores more were refused June 3 They have protested in vain. Open letters to Governor Sparks in newspapers have brought no relief. Letters to editors and editorial comment have not eased the situation. The appeal is now directly up to the people of Jefferson County and the State of Alabama.

"The issue is clear-cut: Registration practices are not the same for white and Negro veterans. No white veterans are known to have been refused. Seldom are any Negro veterans registered. Washington, D.C.

"The Negro veterans are not asking for special favors. They seek to exercise their citizenship right by registering on the basis of their qualifications—on the same basis of their former white comrades in arms.

"WHAT THE LAW PROVIDES: Alabama law requires that an applicant be the possessor of $300 worth of taxable property or be able to read or write any section of the United States Constitution in the English language, in order to register as a voter. Trib. 7-2-4

"Every veteran with an honorable discharge presents evidence of measuring up to Army literacy requirements. The honorable discharge therefore, should be strong and satisfactory evidence in his favor.

"This is properly the case with regard to white veterans, who are registered automatically upon presenting their discharges and demonstrating the further proof of their literacy which is involved in filling in the oath of application.

"It is not true of Negro veterans. Among those who have been rejected are those with high school and college training, some who own property and operate successful business concerns; others who were non-coms and commissioned officers in the service.

"PRACTICES AND TACTICS: The following recital of facts is based on countless experiences of Negro veterans at the office of the Jefferson County Board:

"With his application form filled in correctly, his honorable discharge papers in hand, the veteran appears before the board. He may be asked such questions as:

" 'What kind of government have we?'

" 'How is a congressman elected?'

" 'What must a political party do to win'

"Or he may be asked to read and explain or interpret a section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the Board. This done, he is likely to be told, " 'If you are registered you will hear from us. We are taking your application under advisement.'

"Usually that is the last word the veteran receives from the Board.

"Or, he may be rejected on the spot—without explanation. Trib. 7-2-46

"A fair proportion of the seats in the office of the Board of Registrars is not provided for Negro applicants to complete their application forms. In addition, about one Negro is admitted to the office of the registrars to every 10 white. And this is a most generous estimate.

"YOU SHOULD KNOW THE TRUTH: It is an unseemly commentary on our political institutions when men and women who fought for their country cannot vote in their country. It is an irony which America can ill afford, that the hateful ideologies which these vote rejectees helped to put down abroad are erected against them at the office of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars.

"We do not believe our white comrades know of these injustices. We do not believe the citizens who demonstrated the vitality of our political institutions by voting in such large numbers in the recent elections will any longer tolerate the systematic and pernicious flouting of the established law by the Board of Registrars.

"We believe the public will come to our rescue where the governor of this state and local officials have not. Washington

"WHAT CITIZENS CAN DO ABOUT IT. Citizens can speak for fair registration practices. They can speak out against public servants who deny registration to any citizen because of bias or for personal or arbitrary reasons. They can insist that the board of registrars perform its duties according to law—one law for all people. D. C.

"You, as an Alabamian, proud of our state and its democratic destiny, are asked to:

"1. Call for an investigation of the registration practices alleged by Negro war veterans and other citizens of color.

"2. Ask the governor, on the basis of established evidence, to replace the present board with officials who respect the law of the state they are paid to serve.

"3. Observe for yourself the practices of the board at the courthouse on June 17 and from June 24 through July 5 registration days.

"Unless democracy works for all, it works for none. Fair voter registration practices is an indispensable factor in improved race relations. Men who face bullets overseas deserve ballots at home.

"You, the citizens of Jefferson County and Alabama who love democracy enough to support it, can change this condition. You are asked to act now, to make your voices heard as the sovereign rulers of this state."

Democratic Primaries And the Negro Voter

SOUTHERN STATES, which since Reconstruction days have used "grandfather clauses," white primaries or other means to prevent Negroes from voting, are casting about now to circumvent the United States supreme court ruling in the Texas case.

We regret to see that a movement has been initiated in Florida for this purpose. Alabama is preparing to vote on a state constitutional amendment in November to keep the Negro from the polls.

To understand the means to which some political leaders are turning to accomplish this end, it is necessary to know that the federal court held that as long as the state government regulates and finances a primary, that primary must be open to Negroes who properly qualify as voters.

Florida and Alabama are taking different courses toward the same objective. In Florida Sen. John E. Mathews of Duval county has prepared a lengthy pamphlet in which he contends that CIO Communists are seeking to control the Negro vote and that the Negro can exercise the balance of power in Democratic primaries. To maintain the white purity of the party, he urges passage of a law to divorce the primaries from the state government. South Carolina has done this successfully, he says.

On the other hand, Alabama is considering an amendment which would require prospective voters to be able "to understand and explain" the United States Constitution to a board of registrars before they can be registered as voters. The registrars in each county would be appointed by the governor, state auditor and state commissioner of agriculture. Appeals could be taken from this board to a jury without giving security for costs or without hiring a lawyer. The proposed amendment also would repeal an old provision giving the right of registration to anyone with property worth as much as $300.

Theoretically, the Alabama proposal is a good one. It would apply equally to illiterate whites as to Negroes and should raise the quality of intelligence of the electorate. If it could be fairly enforced, we would favor it even though the supreme court never had ruled in the Texas case, for we believe electors should know something of the principles of their republican government before they are allowed to vote. But what about its enforcement? Is anyone gullible enough to believe that the board, or even the juries, would be unbiased in their decisions? And these decisions might be against a white man who they considered "radical" as well as against a Negro.

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son, attorney general, served as chairman of a committee of legislators and outstanding citizens from all parts of the state to consider this question and to make recommendations to the legislature of 1945. The final upshot was that no recommendation was made, at least in the name of the committee, and matters were allowed to take their course. Negroes have been allowed to register as Democrats and to vote in the primaries with no untoward effects that we have seen.

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Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

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Associated Press Staff Writer

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45e 1946

S. C. Negroes Prepare To Vote In Democratic Primaries

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP)—Preparation to vote in the Democratic primaries in this state was expressed here last week by 150 delegates to a state-wide meeting of the South Carolina Progressive Democratic party.

A fiery keynote speech was delivered by A. J. Clement, Charleston insurance man, on the efforts of white Democrats to block Negro voters in the primaries. He called the action of the recent state Democratic convention as "defiance and utter disdain of the highest court of the land" in denouncing their plots to deny suffrage right to Negroes.

Clements ridiculed the white democrats' anti-Negro stand by saying they "dared to fool themselves into a false state of security by adoption of some ram-shackled, bombastic and redundant porridge of words as to who is a 'Democrat.'" The word Democrat was defined in a resolution adopted by the delegates to the state convention, which would, according to Clement, bar all Negroes and "80 per cent of the white people of the state."

The insurance man's speech was highlighted when he said:

"We are not going to give anyone trouble," but "if presenting ourselves brings trouble, then let trouble come."

A determination to seek legal recourse for those who are denied the right to vote in the primaries was expressed by J. M. Hinton, president of the local branch of the NAACP, who remarked that "the NAACP is sure that the eight old tired men will liberate the Negroes in South Carolina as they did in Texas, Georgia and Florida.

Thirteen resolutions were adopted as the party platform, including enactment of federal laws to make officers found guilty of participating in mob actions guilty of insurrection against the federal government, re-allocation of the number of congressmen in states "which circumvent" free voting of all citizens, immediate court action against boards of registration "suspected of deliberately" restricting Negro registration and inclusion of "competent colored citizens" on grounds charged with projects "of interest of all citizens."

Clement was elected executive secretary. Other officers elected were John H. McCray, editor of The Lighthouse and Informer, chairman of the party; John H. Green, Charleston, first vice chairman; the Rev. B. F. Sumpter of Union, second vice chairman.

Frightened Whites Admit Negro Voters

LAKE CITY, S. C.—(ANP)—Frightened white Democrats opened city primary books to Negroes here two weeks ago when they learned Negroes had qualified to vote in the subsequent general election at a ratio of almost four to one white person.

City Democratic officials had maintained a discourteous attitude to Negroes who asked for enrolment. When they learned Negroes planned to put forth their own ticket in the general election and had nearly four votes to each one the whites could muster, Democratic officials quickly relaxed and opened their rolls, explaining "We Democrats must stick together."

South Carolina Cuts Voting Age For Democrats

By JAMES T. HOWARD

You can vote at 18 in South Carolina, if you're a Democrat. The State Democratic Executive Committee, which makes the rules for the Democratic primaries, has passed a resolution lowering the minimum voting age from 21 to 18. It also ruled that new voters must be able to read and write and "interpret the State Constitution."

This sounds good, but the purpose apparently is to corral as many white Democrats as possible should the Democratic organization lose its court fight to keep Negroes from voting in their primaries. The Supreme Court has ruled that Negroes may vote in Southern elections. There are so few Republicans in South Carolina that the Democratic primary is, in effect, the election.

Negroes Attempt to Enroll In Jasper County, Rfused

Ridgeland, June 25.—Special: Five negroes attempted to enroll in Ridgeland for the August 13 Democratic primary election but were refused by H. Klugh Purdy, county Democratic chairman.

Among them were B. H. Mallory, Jasper county organizer for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Purdy said they were informed that it was a white primary.

South Carolina

Palmetto State

By G. E. McKAINE

COLUMBIA, S. C.—The State Federation of Women's Clubs has officially opened its campaign to increase the number of Negro voters. At a meeting last week in Florence, Mrs. Marian B. Paul, retiring president, stated that the Federation had distributed 35,000 placards bearing pertinent information in reference to registration and that these placards will be placed all over the state. The Federation also voted to require delegates attending conventions to present registration certificates as pre-requisites to admittance to future conventions.

The officers elected this year were: Mrs. Hattie Duckett of Greenville, president; Mrs. Mabel Conyers of Florence, first vice president; Mrs. Mamie Fields of Charleston, secretary, and Mrs. Belle Vincent of Columbia, treasurer.

ALPHAS TAKE LEAD

In a move to implement its social program, the Charleston chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity is having printed 5,000 stickers calling upon the citizens to fulfill their suffrage obligations. It is indeed time for the college fraternities to do other things than give dances and socials for pleasure only. Bravo!

Mr. McKaine

Cards are out announcing the marriage of Miss Mildred Louise Webb of Elyria, Ohio to Norman P. Pendergrass of Sumter, S. C. and Wilmington, N. C. Mrs. Pendergrass is a teacher at Irmo and Mr. Pendergrass is at present a Columbia businessman.

The Democrats, (regular lily-whites) are in a quandry. They are debating whether or not they should gracefully bow to the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, as did Georgia, Florida and Texas, and permit Negroes to participate freely in the primaries, or to uphold the traditions of the state and attempt to defy the decisions of the courts when they dislike those decisions. If they chose the latter course, they are certainly in for a fight to the finish because the Negro citizens are thoroughly aroused and determined to force the issue.

This writer, a field representative of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, who has conducted several registration drives in Florida, North Carolina and Georgia, will similar aid in his own state.

Negroes Seek Federal Action To Vote in S. C.

Justice Department Asked to Intervene In White Primary

COLUMBIA, S. C., June 4. (AP)—Federal intervention in an attempt by Negroes to enroll on South Carolina's Democratic party books for a vote in an August 13 primary was sought today from the department of justice.

Chairman James Hinton of the South Carolina conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said sworn affidavits were "in the mail" to the justice department at Washington from four Richland county Negroes who he said were refused enrolment here last week.

The affidavits were filed, he said, on the basis of a Fifth federal circuit court of appeals decision in a recent Georgia case which found that party primaries were an integral part of the state's election processes.

South Carolina Democratic party officials have declared the party a private one, unconnected with state government and not subject to election laws. Party primary laws were removed from statute books three years ago by a special legislative session.

Hinton said the justice department had informed him that it would prosecute "any state or party official who attempts to prevent any persons from voting because of color" in a primary or general election.

Penalty for violation of section 18 of the criminal code which a justice department spokesman said several weeks ago would be violated by refusal to enrol Negroes, is a $1,000 fine or five years in prison.

Tomorrow has been set by the state NAACP and by the South Carolina Progressive (Negro) Democratic party for Negroes to seek enrolment on Democratic party books throughout the state. The books close June 25.

Unless allowed to enroll as a member of the Democratic club, it will not be possible, according to Pearce, for a voter to participate in the Democratic primaries in November.

In 1944, all legislation relating to primary elections in this state was erased from the statute books, and a Democratic club was substituted for the Democratic party.

The club, according to Pearce, "is a private voluntary association of individuals mutually acceptable to each other." It is "not authorized by virtue of any statute or law, but solely by the rules of our voluntary association."

Pearce claims that the club is simply going to poll its membership in November to determine what candidates it plans to support in the general elections. The enrollment period, closing June 25, is for the purpose of making up the club's membership roster.

To enroll as a member of the club, one doesn't have to pay poll tax or present a property certificate. These two requirements are necessary only for voting on the general election.

Eligible for membership in the club, according to large ads appearing in local papers here are "white males and females, 18 years old before Nov. 5, 1946."

There has been no attempt to conceal the motives of white Democrats here. The Charleston Post last week in an editorial comment declared "the white party's affairs are being conducted without benefit of law for the sole purpose of preserving the white primary."

Since in this state, and in many others in the South, the primary is tantamount to election, Negroes will have no hand in the election of public officials. Their votes in the general election can only confirm the selections made in the primary.

In anticipation of Negroes attempting to enroll in the club, the state executive committee issued the following set of instructions:

"... the enrollment book should not be placed in the open where it may be signed by any passerby ... Should any unqual-

Negroes Fight 'Club' Primary In Battle For S. C. Franchise

By ENOC P. WATERS JR.
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, S.C. — A political battle that will reverberate throughout the South was staged this week in South Carolina as determined Negroes attempted to enroll in the state's Democratic club, created by white politicians to evade recent federal rulings giving Negroes the vote in Southern Democratic primaries.

The club was formed as a "private voluntary association" designed to select primary candidates within its all-white membership, leaving the Negro, with his new franchise, the privilege of endorsing the nominees chosen.

On Wednesday, June 5, according to militant John H. McCray, editor of the Lighthouse and Informer and former president of the state NAACP, qualified Negroes were scheduled to attempt to enroll in the club.

McCray, chairman of the Progressive Democratic club, made up of Negroes throughout the state, in a letter to Tom B. Pearce, white, chairman of the state Democratic executive committee, declared that "orderly courteous and polite attempts will be made to enroll and if refused we will engage in no dis-

affidavits of such instances will be placed in the hands of the United States Department of Justice and other actions will be brought."

In a similar communication Hinton declared, "Please advise all of those serving as enrollment clerks that qualified Negroes will present themselves for enrollment, but will be orderly, courteous and will create no embarrassment."

Anticipating a tense ness at the polls, Hinton and other Negro leaders throughout the state are calling for all their jobs at a strike.

Anticipating a plan calling for all Negroes to walk off their jobs at a designated time to enroll.

ified person seek the opportunity to sign the enrollment book . . . they should be treated courteously but be refused with the statement that 'we do not have the authority to permit you to enroll under the rules of our party.' This should be done without argument and should require no further explanation . . . In the event any unqualified person should enroll, then the rules of the party must be carried out and his or her name stricken from the roll . . . The state Democratic committee will undertake to defend any party officials, including members of the enrollment committee, clerks and managers . . . who may be brought to court by reason of having enforced the rules of the party . . ." Chicago

South Carolina thus thumbs its nose at Supreme Court rulings and challenges Atty. Gen. Tom Clark who has pledged himself to prosecute through the federal courts any persons interfering with the right of qualified Negroes to participate in primary elections.

Florence Negroes Try to Enroll

News-Courier

Florence, June 11.—Special: The first attempt in Florence county by negroes to enroll for the Democratic primary election was turned back here Monday by Frank H. Barnwell, chairman of the Florence county Democratic party. The

A delegation of four negro men appealed to Mr. Barnwell requesting permission for negroes to register and vote in the August primary. Lawrence Howard, Timmonsville negro and spokesman for the group, told Mr. Barnwell they had been sent to him from the executive committeeman of one of the Timmonsville precinct clubs and explained that he and other members of his race wanted to "register and vote in the primary to place in office the most capable men".

Howard said he and the people he represented are "citizens of the state of South Carolina, and see no reason why we should be called on to defend and die for our country and not to be allowed to vote in elections of office holders".

Mr. Barnwell explained the rules of the party and said it is a party of white persons having no provision for the registration and qualification of negroes. Charleston,

Mr. Barnwell said the group, composed of the Rev. Roy C. Cannon, Norman C. Parks and Theodore R. Giles, in addition to Howard, was polite and respectful in every way.

Democrats Ban Negroes In South Carolina Vote

GEORGETOWN, S. C.—(UP)—Negroes here Saturday were barred from registering for South Carolina's Democratic primary.

T. H. Rhea, county secretary, said he has informed a delegation of negroes who called on him that under the rules of the party they are not eligible for registry.

The Hell In South Carolina

Daily World, Atlanta Ga.

(From the Lighthouse and Informer)

When Rep. John D. Long of Union declared a few weeks ago that "hell is brewing" after looking over the Negro's attempt to smash down voting restrictions against him, he spoke but in half truth. "Hell" has long been rampant in South Carolina and the fact that Negroes have joined issues with it has not started a "brewing." 6-5-46

Whatever "hell brewing" there shall be in South Carolina—we don't believe there's the slightest possibility of its appearance—will be the responsibility of one segment of white people who prate about "white supremacy" and who employ numerous devices to keep the Negro voteless. Wed.

White Democrats in state convention last week had before them a sensible resolution urging admission of Negroes into the Democratic Party. We doubt that the resolution, had it been adopted, would have been acceptable to Negroes who seek unrestricted voting privileges, but it would have been a start; would have established good faith. But the resolution, calling for admission of "qualified" (educated) Negroes was enough to provoke a firm rebuff by the Democrats who countered with "white supremacy" declarations and Bamberg county schemes to circumvent Negro admission while conceding the prospect of court orders against the organization.

Courts in Texas, Georgia and Florida cases have written death sentences for the type of racial subjugation South Carolina flouts. Alabama, noting its own prospects, attempted honestly to meet the issue, though on a restricted basis. We doubt that Alabama Negroes will rush into court for considerations while Alabama is at least attempting a solution. Negroes are temperate and anxious to build a sensible and sound state.

Carolina Publisher Calls For Negro Suffrage Drive

New York, N.Y.
Daily Worker

Osceola McKaine, publisher of the **Charleston News and Observer** and chairman of the South Carolina Progressive Democratic Party, this week called upon the forthcoming National Negro Congress convention to launch a major campaign for the suffrage rights of southern Negro citizens.

"There are many indications," said McKaine, "that the grass roots of the working Negro population are being deeply stirred. In a short and limited drive in Birmingham, the number of Negro votes was increased 150 percent, and the last two voters this writer helped to process were two Negro firemen employed by the L. & N. railway, who had to pay $36 each to qualify to vote. 5-22-45

"The 17-day drive in Savannah increased the number of Negro voters from 8,000 to about 20,000; in Augusta a campaign of 15 days augmented the voting strength of Negroes from 1,200 to 4,900; in Durham, N. C., a drive of 12 days increased the voting strength from a doubtful 3,000 to an effective 5,500." Wed.

Officials of the National Negro Congress, which meets in Detroit May 30 to June 1, report that over 1,000 delegates have already indicated their intention to attend.

An NNC convention train carrying New York, New Jersey and Connecticut delegates will leave Grand Central Station at 7:00 p.m. May 29.

S.C. Democrats Fix 18 as Vote Age

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Make Higher Literacy Ballot Requirement

COLUMBIA, S.C.—By voting to lower the franchise age to 18 years, and by stringently tightening literacy requirements for the ballot, the Democratic party's executive committee, Wednesday, sought to preserve its white primary.

Second Southern State to lower the age for voting (Georgia was first), this action has been the first taken here to regulate Democratic primaries, since the legislature stripped the laws after the Supreme Court's Texas decision opened primaries to colored voters. 5—23—46

Keeps Poll Tax

The action, too, came as the answer to the Richland (Columbia) County delegation's resolution proposing that "serious and open minded consideration" be given to allow colored citizens to vote in the primaries. Mc

The party committee in this State, one of seven still retaining the poll tax, by lowering the voting age and increasing literacy requirements, felt that the action would keep "90% of the people we don't want, from voting."

At least, that was the pronouncement of State Senator J. Carl Kearse of Bamberg, who introduced the legislation 5-25-46

South Carolina Daily Taboors Vote Fight News

Miami Herald

CHARLESTON, South Carolina (ANP)—South Carolina Negroes are regarding as highly significant and an indication that their vigorous fight to vote has gone well, the announcement by the vitriolic News and Courier that no longer does it intend to publish sayings and doings of Negroes seeking admission into the white Democratic party of this state. 6-8-46-Sat.

Opinion is that the newspaper, which has vigorously opposed admission of Negroes into the Democratic party, seeing its cause lost, has elected to salve itself in a hatred so bitter it cannot stand to talk about Negroes. Miami Fla.

The News and Courier criticized the Associated Press for giving generous coverage to the Progressive Democrats and the South Carolina NAACP conference which are leading the fight, calling upon other subscribers to AP to complain against the coverage and to "kill" releases carrying the coverage.

Affidavits Protest S.C. Voting Ban

Afro-American

COLUMBIA, S.C. (ANP)—The first affidavits on refusal of white Democrats to enroll colored persons for the State summer primary voting were filed with the U.S. Department of Justice last week, the State NAACP conference and the Progressive Democratic Party announced jointly. Sat 6-15-46

The affidavits grew out of the

The affidavits grew out of the enroll would-be registrants on May 31. In Ward 9, it was revealed, four did enroll, but it was said that they would be purged when enrollment ended on June 25.

In all of the 46 counties attempts were made to be listed, while in most colored sections residents took a general holiday in an effort to enroll in a body. Affidavits charging each county will be filed, the two agencies reported. Baltimore Md.

Meanwhile, following reports that county clerks were panic-stricken, many having resigned, the Democratic executive committee held an emergency and strictly secret session on June 3, from which all newsmen were barred.

Later, despite the recognized fact that the party lacks funds, the committee announced that it would give full backing to any clerk taken to court in accordance with the Justice Department's promise to take action if any persons were refused the right to register. Sat. 6-15-46

Insufficient Forms

In Hampton County, it was learned that the registration board was wholly unprepared when over 100 members of the Progressive Democratic Party applied for certificate forms. P. Allender

Forced to reject approximately 50 persons, because of the lack of forms, the board promised to take care of the remainder when the applications were continued. Hampton County has 10,095 colored residents and 7,370 whites.

'Democrat' Redefined

Meanwhile, it was revealed that in an effort to thwart the rise of the colored Democratic group, the bigots of the white party have divorced their group from the national organization and also set up a new definition of the word "democrat."

Rejecting all "those whose ideas" or belief border on "communism, fascism, nazism, statism, totalitarianism or the Fair Employment Practices Committee, the new rule also discards those who believe in biracial committees.

The Danger in Apathy

News & Courier

The apathy of the populace that Major Workman, staff correspondent of The News and Courier describes, in regard to the white party's citizens who have put up handsome sums to be candidates for governor in the primaries, threatens the existence of the white party.

If one of every two white persons 18 years old or older shall neglect to enroll, vote, pledge themselves solemnly to support the nominees in the general election, we may have independent candidates in the general election and the qualified negro voters may have the balance of power and use it to elect them. That was the condition in Chicago, New York and other Northern cities when your Dr. Byrnes, while he was filibustering against an anti-Southern bill, announced in the senate, "The negroes have come into control of the Democratic party." The apathy in South Carolina may place negroes in control, or in part control, and that to our mind, would make matters even worse than they now are. Charleston, S.C.

In South Carolina the scalawag material is 20 times as abundant now as it was in 1876, because there are now 50 or 30 times as many white people sucking from the federal treasury. Tues 6-18-46

The News and Courier points to the danger; it warns; that is all that it can do, and nobody else is bothering about the general election in 1946.

Voted Not and Lost Nothing

The News and Courier

In South Carolina are at least 225,000 negro men and women who could qualify or otherwise persuaded them. Generally to vote and perhaps 100,000 have so quali- they were absent from the polls though ed themselves. Why did they not vote they could cast twice as many votes as were

last Tuesday? No white person prevented their voting. No one threatened them, hiredby white people. Why did they notvoting does not fill a man's belly, much cast by white people. Why did they go about vote? The simple and complete answer is the less make him rich, so they go about that most negroes show no disposition tomore profitable business. To be sure there vote or participate in political affairs un-are negroes who would sell their votes for ess and until they are coaxed or boughtfive dollars or less—and there are market- y white men, scalawags and carpetbaggersable white persons too. Charleston, S.C.

This unconcern about politics may not be healthy in citizens but it is not wholly unhealthy. Many negroes reason truly that

Tennessee Negroes Form Political Group

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Sat 4-13-46

Special to the Daily Worker

COLUMBIA, Tenn., April 12.—At a public meeting in the African Methodist Episcopal Church last night presided over by Rev. Calvin Lockridge, the first held in Columbia since the bloody events that followed the attempted lynching of the young Navy veteran James Stephenson and his mother, 68 prominent citizens voted unanimously to organize under the name of Maury County Voters League to achieve the registration of all Negro citizens as voters. This was the first meeting held here since the attempted bloody lynchings. Cooperation of churches, trade unions and fraternal societies will be sought in a drive for full registration and for united political action.

The venerable Negro leader, Julius Blair, was elected by acclamation as president of the new league. Rev. Lockridge was made vice-president, Whilliam Hayes secretary, Charles Fleming assistant secretary, and Rufus Pillow, treasurer.

Speeches emphasized the need of rescuing the people of Maury County from political corruption and alliance of the police and gangsters.

Leading in the discussion were Rev. B. C. Frierson, Rev. S. W. Smith, Rev. A. E. Martoin, Rev. F. M. Riley, and Rev. Z. A. Brown as well as Mr. Blair, Mr. Lockridge, two white trade unionists and a young Negro veteran.

The principal address was made by Robert Minor, southern editor of the Daily Worker, as the guest speaker.

Sat 4-13-46

"To continue the old record of suppression . . . terror," Mr. Minor said, "and lynchings in this part of Tennessee, is not what we mean when we say we want good relations of peace and harmony between the colored and white people.

"In the quickest possible time, and that means now, every Negro worker must be gotten into trade unions, and every veteran into a veterans organization. The entire mass of Negro people of Tennessee must move forward into the category of full citizenship, serving as others do on juries, voting in all primaries and holding public office."

The meeting resolved to set up a special committee to concentrate on getting women registered as voters. Another committee will concentrate on registering veterans.

Tennessee Gets Set For March To Polls; McKellar Big Issue

Birmingham News Birmingham Ala.

Venerable Senate President Pro Tem Seeks Reelection; White Supremacy Cry Absent

Sun. 7-23-46

NASHVILLE, Tenn., July 23—Negroes will vote in Tennessee's Democratic and Republican primaries Aug. 1 but unlike the recent experience of some sister Southern states it will be nothing new.

Mixed balloting is an old and unspectacular story in Tennessee; party primaries and general elections have been open to whites and Negroes alike since Reconstruction Days. There has been no racial strife of any proportions in the state's modern history on the issue of the ballot.

The Negro vote normally is small. Except in Memphis, home of the blues and Beale Street, it is only a fraction of the total in statewide elections. The state's Negro population is 500,000—about 16 per cent of the total.

In the big cities, Negroes generally vote Democratic. Only in East Tennessee, traditionally Republican, are they supporters of the GOP, but there, too, their numbers are negligible. The state primaries law give the right to vote to any and all who pay poll taxes and agree to support the primary nominees.

7-23-46

THUS the "white supremacy" issue, which highlighted Georgia and Mississippi primaries, will be lacking when some 300,000 Tennesseans decided nine days hence whether to return the veteran senator, Kenneth D. McKellar, Democratic president pro tem of the Senate, to Washington for a sixth term.

There is however the lively issue of the CIO Political Action Committee. It is supporting McKellar's principal opponent and is making its first real bid for political power in Tennessee. The CIO claims 30,000 members in Memphis, half of them Negroes.

The 77-year-old McKellar, backed by the powerful Shelby County (Memphis) organization of Democratic Political Leader Edward H. Crump, is challenged by 46-year-old Edward Ward Carmack, endorsed by the state CIO-PAC.

Carmack is the son and namesake of the late U. S. Sen. Carmack, who was slain on a Nashville street in a pistol duel with a political opponent in 1908. Two years ago young Carmack was nosed out by Sen. Tom Stewart, Democrat, Tennessee's junior senator.

The senatorial contest and the nomination of a governor and a state public utilities commissioner in the Democratic primary highlight the forthcoming balloting. Democratic nomination in statewide contests such as these usually means election in Tennessee.

The state will also nominate 10 congressmen, but only seven are contested races. In the Republican First District there is a hot scrap among five candidates for the seat vacated by Rep. Carroll Reece, new chairman of the Republican National Committee.

* * *

INCUMBENT GOV. JIM NANCE McCORD, one-time auctioneer seeking a second two-year term with Crump support, is opposed by former Gov. Gordon Browning, a lieutenant colonel now on the Army civil affairs staff in Berlin. His campaign has been conducted by friends in his absence.

Carmack has stumped the state actively, charging that McKellar has sought to hamstring the Tennessee Valley Authority for patronage purposes and that his health is failing.

McKellar has kept in Washington.

Medic Scores Politicos:

Negro Voters Insulted At Knoxville Meeting

Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—From now on Dr. J. H. Presnell, prominent physician of 609 Butler Street, will be proud to call himself one of the "trashy" crowd, he told Knoxville in a paid 30-inch advertisement in Knoxville's leading newspapers after a hectic session of the Citizen's Protective League from which he and other prominent Negroes were ejected as "trash."

The Citizens' Protective League was formed by prominent Knoxville business men and political figures to campaign for the recall of Mayor Cas Walker and five city councilmen who recently voted City Manager Paul Morton out of office in the stormiest political event of Knoxville's history.

ASKED TO COME

The CPL, headed by Ralston Matheny, president, had advertised a Twelfth Ward rally to be held at Mountain View School, April 5 (one of several such political rallies staged by the group this month). C. M. Force, formerly of Cincinnati, was to tell Knoxville taxpayers of Cincinnati's "good government efforts."

"All voters of this ward—Negroes as well as white persons — have been invited," stated advance advertisements of the meeting.

Dr. Presnell, for many years a practicing physician here, showed up for the meeting along with other Negro taxpayers. Among the group of Negroes were a prominent contractor, a grocery man, who is a two-decade voter in Knoxville, and ranks high in the Negro element, two carpenters, a plasterer, a tailor, a city fireman, and his wife, and the wife of a city policeman.

Sat. 5-25-46

ASKS "TRASH" TO LEAVE

Time for the meeting to open passed, the chairman paced the floor while the gathering expectantly waited, and finally a knot of CPL members engaged in a short conference.

"As soon as the trash gets out of the hall, we will proceed with our meeting," the Protective League president announced. The meeting ended in a near riot with President Matheny and Atty. Lockett Ely (white) almost coming to blows.

Not only the Negroes, but most of the indignant whites, left the meeting, leaving Matheny and eleven of his friends to their own devices.

The advertisement, a three-column spread in the Knoxville Journal, appeared a few days later over the name of Dr. Presnell, whose scathing comment "took the hide off Knoxville's politicians," as one Negro expressed it.

MEDIC PREFERS "TRASH"

"Personally, I prefer to live among and vote with the 'trashy' crowd, where I won't be so class-conscious," Dr. Presnell said.

Voiceless in Southern politics since the days of slavery, the Negro had again "been put in his place." But there are storm clouds rising, and an increasing number of fair-minded whites are beginning to see the light.

Sat. 5-25-46

White Veterans Come to Aid of Tenn

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Voter Shot in Back During Election

Sat. 8-10-46

Sheriff and Political Machine Routed

After Six-Hour Bloody Gun Battle

ATHENS, Tenn. — A six-hour gun battle involving hundreds of persons touched off when a colored voter, Tom Gillespie, was shot in the back on Aug. 1, left this community with a wrecked jail in the hands of armed veterans, and officers and leaders of Sheriff Pat Mansfield's political machine locked in their own irons or in full flight.

Also in hiding with the wounded sheriff was State Senator Paul Cantrell, founder of the political machine, which has for 15 years filled all county offices by its ability to control the ballot box.

In the hospital with Gillespie are some 10 persons. Another 20 had undergone treatment for gunshot wounds, bruises and lacerations sustained when hundreds of former GI's raided the Athens armory and marched on the jail to retrieve ballot boxes in the hands of the Cantrell-Mansfield faction and to free three veterans being held as hostages.

"Wasn't Votin' Right"

Gillespie was shot in the back by Special Deputy Wendy Wise because he "wasn't votin' right." The wounded man, it seems, had boldly voted against the machine candidates and for a fusion ticket put on the ballot by World War II veterans.

Wise, who surrendered with some 25 other deputies after the army of veterans dynamited the jail, was beaten almost to death and is now locked in a cell of the battered jail.

An estimated 500 rounds of machine gun, pistol and rifle bullets were fired in the exchange of shots during the battle which lasted throughout Thursday night.

Fourteen sleek-model automobiles belonging to fee-drawing deputies were wrecked or burned and the town was isolated for several hours when the veterans cut all telephone circuits to prevent the beleaguered sheriff and his force from calling the State guard.

Two Near Death

Two men are near death and perhaps 40 others wounded and the town has only a patrol of veterans to enforce the law. These veterans, manning the jail now filled with members of the Cantrell machine, have appointed a three-man extra-legal committee to work with the GI fusionists to see that order is kept.

The town of 10,000 has returned almost to normalcy except that armed veterans, carrying Army rifles and pistols, still walk the streets.

A new tenseness sprung up Saturday with reports that Sheriff Mansfield is in Polk County ready to invade the McMinn County seat aided by armed supporters of political boss Burch Biggs, who works with the deposed machine.

Governor Silent

Gov. Jim Nance McCord, who ranks second only to Boss Ed Crump of Memphis in control of the State-wide machine of which the ousted group here was a major cog, has declined to take action. He has been roundly criticized by the State's press.

Cong. John Jennings (Rep., Tenn.) said in Knoxville Saturday that Attorney General Tom Clark had been warned by Jennings in Washington months ago that armed conflict would result in the county's efforts to overthrow Cantrell and Mansfield.

He insisted that Clark must now probe the incident "because civil rights are involved in the despicable shooting of Tom Gillespie."

The sentiments of all East Tennessee are with the GI's who blasted the machine out of control in the county's "bastille day."

Literally thousands of people will be involved in a major gun battle if Mansfield makes good his threat to come in and recapture his office.

The election commission has certified the election of the GI fusionists, with a majority of almost three-to-one.

45e 1946

Texas

Biased Official Opposed For Several Reasons

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 8-10-46

EL PASO, Tex. — (ANP) — Negro voters of El Paso, some 600, played a decisive part Saturday in defeating County Judge M. Scarborough in the first state primary election held here in which Negroes have participated.

In all parts of the state at least 75,000 Negroes cast their ballots, according to reports. In this city and the surrounding county, the 3,000 Negro residents were most interested in the county judgeship, since the county judge is the political head of the county.

How significant the Negro vote was may be seen from the fact that Judge Scarborough lost by a mere 316 votes. The winner is Victor Gilbert, local attorney, who received 6,840 votes to Scarborough's 6,524.

OPPOSITION REASONS

The 600 Negro votes went heavily against Scarborough for several reasons:

1. Not a single Negro is employed by the county.

2. The city-county hospital, whose board is named by the judge, refuses to accept Negro physicians in any capacity; therefore, no Negro doctor can accompany his patient to the hospital.

3. When a group of Negroes sponsored the Southernaires last year, and sold tickets to white friends without segregation, Scarborough sent a deputy sheriff to order the sponsors to segregate the patrons. This order he issued two hour before concert time.

FLEMING VISIT

4. When FEPC sent G. James Fleming here in 1942 to direct investigations into job discrimination, Scarborough telephoned the White House, it is reported, and protested a Negro in such a capacity. A few days later, when Scarborough thought Fleming had been recalled, he telephoned a newspaper and said: "I've goten rid of that coon at last, and a northern one at that."

Texas 'Whitens' Its Negro Voters For A Reason

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 5-18-46

DETROIT—A new twist to Dixie's relentless fight against Democratic principles was revealed here last week by a Texas delegate to the newly-organized Civil Rights Congress.

The delegate, T. M. Hogrobrooks, a resident of Dallas, exhibited his poll tax receipt, signed by E. Davis, election deputy, whereupon his race was designated as "white." The practice, said the Texan, has become common since a supreme court ruling enfranchised large numbers of Negro citizens. Poll tax receipt lists on which "white' names predominate are quite an impressive argument against state appropriations for educational, health and other facilities benefiting Negroes, Hogrobrooks said.

Negro Vote Aids Texas Veterans Slate

Sat. 6-22-46

PASS CHRISTIAN, Texas (ANP) — Eighty Negroes, voting here in a municipal Democratic primary for the first time recently, aided in a landslide victory for candidates running on the Veterans' slate.

One election commissioner resigned, just prior to the election, because his fellow commissioners insisted on allowing Negroes to vote. He commented: The Sun, Tex.

"I had written the Attorney General, and he had told me we should allow every qualified voter to vote, but I am a Southern man and I did not feel that a Negro was qualified to vote in a white primary.

Sat. 8-3-46

200,000 Negroes Ballot In Texas

The Chronicle
Detroit, Mich.
Sat. 8-10-46

DALLAS, Texas—Possibly 200,000 Negroes voted for the first time in Texas history in a Democratic primary last week. This number represented more than 15 per cent of the total votes cast in the state. There was no trouble reported as Negroes freely exercised their new right.

The Texas Election Bureau returns from 233 of 254 counties, gave Beauford Jester 294,214 votes to 179,022 for Homer P. Rainey in the gubernatorial race. For lieutenant governor, Allen Shivers led Boyce House 283,568 to 226,182.

Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, was re-elected by three times as many votes as his four opponents.

No Vote Barriers In Texas

The Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 7-20-46

HOUSTON, Tex.—There will be no 'Bilboism" in Texas, July 27, when approximately 75,000 Negroes go to the polls for the first time since Post-Civil War days in this State's Democratic primary.

Negro voters are certain to be an important factor in State Democratic Party affairs.

To date, there has been no raising of the "white supremacy" issue and indications are there will be none.

General opinion is that Negroes will vote in the primary, which actually amounts to election, just as though they had not been barred by party election laws since Post-Civil War days.

10 PER CENT OF TOTAL VOTE

It is believed that they'll vote about ten per cent of the total vote cast throughout the State.

Largest Negro vote is expected in Houston's Harris County where 16,151 colored persons are qualified to cast ballots. Old-age and first-voter exemptions, plus veterans voting on their discharge papers, will bring the Negro eligible total to nearl 20,000.

Dr. Homer P. Rainey, deposed president of the University of Texas, is actually bidding for the Negro vote in the race for Governor. Thirteen others are seeking the post.

SEEKS NEGRO VOTE

Dr. Rainey's chief plea for the Negro vote is through a side issue in his fight for what he calls "academic freedom" in Texas. In the fight that followed his being fired as president of the university, Dr. Rainey raised the cry that Negroes do not have full educational opportunities in Texas.

The Negro vote is sure to be an important factor in Houston and Dallas because Negroes are running for precinct chairmanships. If they win they automatically become members of their county Democratic executive committees.

In one Houston precinct, veteran Chairman Jim Liuzza is opposed by a Negro war veteran. The precinct has 4070 voters. Of these, 4,033 are Negroes and thirty-seven are white.

Negroes hold the majority of votes in two precincts in Dallas.

Capture Control Of Two Precincts

The Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 8-3-46

By J. DON DAVIS
(Special Correspondent)

HOUSTON, Tex. — Casting their ballots in a Lone Star State Democratic primary for the first time since Civil War days, colored Texas voters revealed potential voting power here Saturday when Houston Negroes gained control of two precincts, with victory in a third as a probability.

Real Democracy triumphed in Precinct 47, where Charles Brossard, a colored candidate, was elected delegation chairman and ten colored and nine white delegates were elected to the County Convention slated for this week.

Chairmanship of Precinct 48 went to Roger Adams in a landslide, with incumbent James Liuzza conceding defeat immediately prior to precinct meeting.

Rev. L. H. Simpson was elected as temporary chairman and an all-Negro delegation of twenty-nine members was named.

Mr. Liuzza did not remain to witness the voting; none of the seventy-nine residents of the precinct attended the convention.

THIRD CHAIRMAN PROBABLE

A third Negro chairman is a certainty when the count is completed in predominately Negro Precinct 25, where Edwin Harrison, Boy Scout worker, ran as a write-in candidate.

John Leonard Glynn, youthful Ex-Navy man, suffered defeat at the hands of Victor Anders in Precinct 79. Immediately after his victory, Anders declared he would take action seeking a return to the "white primary." Many Negro citizens criticized Glynn's action in filing for office in view of the fact that 79 carries a larger white vote than colored. The Courier

Election of colored precinct delegates was not the only significant result. Although Dr. Homer Price Rainey trailed Beauford Jester in the Gubernatorial race, none of the Texas editions of Bilbo, Rankin and Talmadge got to first base. Jester had plenty of colored support in some areas. His only race-baiting came in a speech where he attacked the FEPC as not being wanted by the better white or colored citizens. Pittsburgh, Pa.

LILY WHITES DEFEATED

John Lee Smith and Grover Sellers, arch exponents of white supremacy, failed to make a showing. Sat. 8-3-46

According to all reports that seeped into Houston Sunday, there was no violence and Negroes were permitted to vote unmolested.

In Houston, Negroes en route to the polls were swamped with cards for candidates and cordiality prevailed. The only precinct that came in for questioning was 48, where some five thousand voters had to stand in line until they could gain entry into the small fire station, where the voters were processed. Phyllis Wheatley, the largest high school in Texas, is one block from the fire station. The law calls for closing of the Texas polls at 7 P. M., but with inadequate space and the people already in line, technically they were in the booth. They were permitted to vote. This evoked protests of some candidates.

SHERIFFS' RACE HOT

Biggest surprise in the local election was the runner-up place won by Bob Davidson in the Sheriff's race. The Negro vote was split on two candidates, incumbent Neal Polk, and Constable Fay Wooley, who bid for the tan vote with a promise to appoint two colored deputies. Wooley was trailing in third, Sunday, but refused to concede defeat. It was in this race that Negroes showed their power. Julius White, wealthy business man, was a rabid Wooley man and dug into his pocket and financed the Wooley campaign among Negroes. Hobart Taylor, taxi tycoon, did the same for Polk.

SOME DISQUALIFIED

A sad chapter in the election was the overzealous use of sample ballots by various organizations. In passing out sample ballots, the "militants" failed to sufficiently impress prospective voters with the fact that it was not permissable to carry sample ballots into the voting booths. This oversight caused hundreds of Negro voters to be disqualified.

This error proved costly in East Texas centers also.

R. R. Grovey, formerly an arch Republican, but now a CIO organizer and PAC man, encountered an embarrassing situation when the judge of the precinct in which he attempted to vote challenged him and refused to permit him to vote because he resided in another precinct. The Courier could not contact Grovey, long considered a political leader, for a statement on the incident.

"WRONG" PRECINCT AN ISSUE

Another PAC figure refused to serve on the delegation from Precinct 48. It was learned that he too, was in the "wrong" precinct. His refusal to accept the appointment caused Rev. Simpson to caution all not to accept posts in precincts where they did not reside.

Political observers are freely predicting that a large element of white Texans are in accord with the rejuvenated drive to re-establish the "white primary."

L. O. Anders, county chairman, charged that the way Negroes voted in Saturday's election resembled machine politics. He described it as deplorable in sanctioning Victor Anders' plan of return to the "white primary."

However, well over a hundred Negroes will sit in as delegates at Saturday's county convention, and with the support of white liberals, labor and a large segment of church people, attempts by Texas regulars to gain control of the party may be thwarted.

Fifty Residents Were qualified

The Informer Houston, Texas
Sat. 9-21-46

HOUSTON — An inquiry into a report that Negroes were denied the ballot in a Harris County community during the July 27 primary, revealed that Negroes did not vote in Hockley, Texas. The inquiry was made Saturday, September 14, not quite a month after the runoff, when Hockley Negroes refused to go to the polls after not being able to vote in the primary. Several Hockley citizens, eligible to vote verified the report, slightly modified, that Negroes 'did not' vote.

Approximately 50 Hockley residents paid poll tax and were eligible to vote, complainants reported, but before more than eight or ten percent reported at the polling place, word had spread around that Negroes could not vote, complainants stated.

The polling place in Hockley was held in the home of Fritz Becker, white citizen. Harry Williams, a Negro exemptee, 68 years old, who has been a taxpaying resident of Harris County for 44 years, stated that he went to the voting place to vote July 27. He stated that he was stopped at the gate of the front yard and there he was told that 'no instructions' to let Negroes vote had been given. He said he was not permitted to enter the yard.

Henderson Riley, 66, resident of Hockley for 15 years, stated that he went to the polling place, but did not vote. He said he noticed that no Negroes were at the place, so he asked if Negroes were voting. He said he was then told by a white citizen that Negroes were not voting. He said he asked why and his informant shrugged his shoulders and said. "I don't know." He said he did not ask anyone else because he did not 'feel like' Negroes were being permitted to vote.

Probably shedding more light on the situation than ony of the others, was the statement made by Roy Davis, 55. Mr. Davis who said he had been a taxpayer in Harris County since he was 18 years old, said when he went to vote he was told that Negroes were not voting.

"When I asked why, I was told that Negroes had to follow the 'old-timers," Mr. Davis stated. He said he was told that the old-timers never voted in the white primaries and he could not either. He stated that his informant then told him that some of the old-timers had gotten together earlier that morning and decided that they would not vote and that he had to abide by their decision.

He said that he had his poll tax receipt. He paid for it with money he had earned working for Fritz Becker, he stated. When he was on the job for Mr. Becker, he said, Mr. Becker told him:

"Roy, this is the first time that you colored people have had a chance to vote. You be sure to pay your poll tax so you can vote."

Mr. Davis stated that he got to the polling place a few moments before Henderson Riley and witnessed Mr. Riley's being turned away.

In each of the statements, the person concerned said he never made any attempt to vote in the runoff, because he 'felt' that it was useless.

THE ENEMIES OF TEXAS

Informer Houston Texas

(AN EDITORIAL)

Sat. 7-6-46

Today Texas stands not only as the largest geographical state in the Union, but as potentially one of the greatest states in the Union. Texas has the minerals, the crops, transportation facilities, including great water routes; the wealth and the total means for taking its rightful place as the leader of the South and one of the leading states of the nation. But the demagogues are making Texas a reactionary Colossus, fighting for selfish interests and for outmoded preference by divisions.

In the 1944 election Texas, with its large number of seniors in the Congress and with preferential positions in the Administration, had a rich opportunity to increase its prestige nationally. But a few demagogues, known as the Texas Regulars, scuttled this fine opportunity and came near scuttling the Democratic party in Texas. Having failed to hold control of the party in Texas, the Texas Regulars ostensibly disbanded in 1945, but in reality went underground to work toward their purpose. Houston Texas

Governor Coke Stevenson and Grover Sellers may or may not admit affiliation with the Texas Regulars, but every act follows the party line of the Texas Regulars. These men refuse to busy themselves with the problems of the progress and growth of Texas, and devote their energies trying to split the people and the races to their selfish ends. Sat. 7-6-46

There is not an intelligent Texan, man or woman, white or black, who denies that in the matter of education the officials of Texas have stubbornly and shamefully misused their right to administer the funds by refusing to provide that quality of opportunity upon which separation and segregation are predicated. Yet Grover Sellers, candidate for Governor, who has been one of the main elements of prolonging this flaunting of law and of justice in the matter of education, is now shouting and beating his breast like Hitler over a bugaboo which he makes. Informer

He shouts that no Negro shall enter the University of Texas, as if some evil or mischievous Negro were trying to leave a rich educational opportunity to project himself into the midst of the University of Texas as a matter of teasing or annoyance. He knows as well as anyone in this state that there are Negroes needing, and ready for education on the university level. He knows that Texas furnishes no place or opportunity for such Negroes. He knows that Negroes have tried to get Texas to furnish such place and opportunity, and he and his fellow demagogues have gone on accumulating vast wealth that could not be used at the University of Texas, while denying this opportunity to Negroes. Houston Texas

Now in the hope of getting elected by arousing the emotions of whites, he is trying to cover up a defect on the part of Texas by making it appear that Negroes are trying to take advantage of whites, or are trying to take something from whites.

If Negroes are knocking at the door of the University of Texas, it is because they have been driven there by the reactionism and the demagogy of men like Grover Sellers. Where else can Negroes go for law and medicine, or any of the professional training needed Who is responsible for there being no other place for them to go? Who can deny that it is a natural aspiration for them to seek these things? Sat. 7-6-46

Unfortunately, men when elected to govern people only serve well when they have the respect of the people whom they govern. How will Negroes be able to respect Mr. Sellers if he becomes governor, when he shows such vicious and vigorous racial hatred, and such virulent Hitlerism in trying to persecute Negroes as Hitler persecuted Jews? Negroes will not elect Mr. Sellers. We predict that if the whites elect Mr. Sellers, they will be continuing the enemies of Texas in public office. What we need in Texas today are men of statesmanlike vision, who will take these knotty problems and find equitable and sensible solutions. Men who take these problems and puff them into race-baiting in order to divide the races are enemies of Texas. 7-6-46

Race Vote in Houston Elects Texas Sheriff

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 8-31-46

By J. DON DAVIS, Special Correspondent

HOUSTON, Texas—In a battle of ballots so hot and close that the winner was not known until the colored vote in the predominantly Negro Precinct 48 was counted and proved the deciding factor, incumbent Neal Polk, Sheriff of Harris County, nosed out Captain J. R. "Bob" Davidson in the election returns made public here Monday.

Davidson got into the run-off by virtue of a court decision ruling that there were irregularities in voting at Precinct 48 in the first primary.

Never before in the history of Harris County had interest been keener or suspense greater than that which prevailed in Saturday's contest for the office of sheriff.

DR. RAINEY DEFEATED

Dr. Homer P. Rainey, deposed University of Texas president, was snowed under by Beauford Jester in the gubernatorial race. Dr. Rainey ran with the support of the so-called liberal forces, but Jester's victory is not seen as endangering the status of Texas Negroes.

The only mention he made of Negroes in the campaign was an expression of opposition to FEPC. Rainey lost much Negro support when he advocated separate voting polls.

FIRST PRIMARY CONTESTED

In the campaign for sheriff, Captain Davidson had contested Box Forty-eight in the first primary and entered the run-off over Fay Wooley, when the court ruled voting irregularities at Forty-eight.

Saturday, the voting at Forty-eight was conducted in the spacious Wheatley High School, with a complete Negro staff serving, and Will Green, acting as judge.

Every precaution was taken to see that things went right at Forty-eight Saturday. It was the most closely watched box in Texas. Station KTHT, local Mutual outlet, made several broadcasts from the precinct. In one, the officer who reported irregularities in the first primary, declared that things were perfect. County Chairman M. L. O. Andrews told The Courier representative the same thing.

SITUATION TENSE

Late Saturday night, Captain Davidson held a 1600 lead. But Precinct Forty-eight had not reported, and that was the biggest topic at the courthouse, where the returns were being read. A nervous tenseness prevailed.

Then came the first returns from the big colored precinct:

Polk, 1,129; Davidson, 39.

Then the biggest question in both camps was: "Were there enough unreported votes in Forty-eight to overcome Davidson's lead?"

Harris County went to bed knowing that not until the colored precinct completed its count would it know who would be its sheriff.

NEGRO VOTE BRINGS VICTORY The Courier

Early Sunday morning the report was completed, and this is how it read: Pittsburgh, Pa.

Polk, 1,904; Davidson, 87.

This gave Polk a 158 lead and victory. Sat. 8-31-46

Captain Davidson did not say whether he would contest Forty-eight this time, but experienced observers said he didnt't have a ghost of a chance, inasmuch as the precinct was so efficiently manned.

Negro Vote Splits Texas In Half

Defender Chicago, Ill.

AUSTIN, Texas — In Texas, history repeats itself. Sat. 7-6-46

A recent poll of interviewers reveals that Texas, like the U. S. in pre-civil war days is split in half on the question of the Negro voting.

The split, as might be expected from past American history, is determined by the prejudiced opposition of the whites from that part of the state where most of the Negroes reside, the eastern half. A majority of the whites in the western half of the state voice no objection to the Negro voting. This is the part where the fewer number of Negroes live.

The Negroes themselves have voiced a strong determination to take advantage of the recent Supreme Court ruling that prohibits them from being barred from the primaries on July 27. Most of the whites believe only a few of them will vote.

"Do you think colored people should or should not have the right to vote in the Democratic primary elections in Texas was the question put by the interviewers to the people of the state.

On the basis of a negative or affirmative answer to the question, the interviewers found that the stathe seemed to divide into east and west sections roughly on a line through Fort Wort, Austin, and San Antonio and including those cities.

In the eastern half 38 per cent of the whites said yes; 55 per cent no. In the western half 55 per cent said yes, and 36 per cent no. The overall percentage was 44 per cent yes, 49 per cent, no. All the Negroes questioned answered affirma-

In the east and the west sections 87 per cent of the whites did not think that many Negroes would take advantage of the opportunity to vote in the primary given them by the Supreme Court.

The Civil War is being refought here, apparently, or maybe it just never ended.

The Lowest-Voting State in the Union

Time-Dispatch

VIRGINIA has the shameful distinction of being the lowest-voting State in the Union, in proportion to population, so far as the balloting which really counts is concerned. Probably most Virginians do not realize how deplorably low the effective vote in this State is, as compared with other States. Realization of the fact should be shocking to the people of the Old Dominion, where American democracy was born, but where its development has languished sadly.

The fact is not generally recognized, largely because election statistics comparing the returns for the various States usually are confined to the figures for presidential elections. In this respect Virginia is by no means the lowest-voting State, since some of the other Southern States rank well below us in presidential balloting. That, of course, is because there is rarely any question about how any Southern State will go for President. But this consideration applies no less to Virginia than to the rest of the South. This State has not gone Republican in a national election since Reconstruction, except in the extraordinary circumstances of the SMITH-HOOVER campaign in 1928. Nor is there ever any doubt about how the Commonwealth will go in any general election for State offices.

Sunday 6-23-46

Virginia makes a fair showing in presidential elections. In 1944 its total major-party vote was 388,824. Of this, 241,907 went to ROOSEVELT and 146,917 to DEWEY. In each of the two preceding presidential elections the total vote was far in excess of 300,000. But general elections, either national or State, usually are mere formalities in the Old Dominion, as elsewhere below the Potomac.

It is only in the Democratic primaries that voting is of any real consequence in Virginia and other Southern States. These are the elections which determine our political affairs. They are therefore the most important. But no one would know that from the size of the vote cast in our State primaries. Not once has the total vote in a Democratic primary come close to the 241,907 ballots cast for the Democratic ticket in the presidential election of 1944. The nearest approach was in 1937, when the total was 193,274, divided 166,319 for JAMES H. PRICE and 26,955 for VIVIAN L. PAGE. In 1933, when three candidates were running for Governor, the total was 189,623. But usually the balloting for Governor or United States Senator in the primaries has fallen far below those figures. In the gubernatorial contest last year the total was only 135,212. In 1941 three gubernatorial candidates divided 137,974 ballots. In the senatorial primary of 1922—the last one we had—SENATOR CLAUDE SWANSON received 102,045 votes to 37,671 for WESTMORELAND DAVIS, for an aggregate of 139,716. 6-23-46

How do such figures compare with the showing in other Southern States? In the recent gubernatorial campaign in Alabama, the vote exceeded 365,000 in the first primary and reached a comparable figure in the run-off. Alabama is not much larger in population than Virginia, and has a smaller qualified vote, due largely, no doubt, to the fact that Negroes constitute one-third of the population there, as compared with one-fourth here. But a far larger proportion of the voters go to the polls in Alabama.

Mississippi is considerably smaller than Virginia, and Negroes constitute about one-half of its population, or twice the proportion in Virginia. Yet four candidates for Governor of Mississippi in 1943 polled a total of 285,630 votes in the first primary, and the two high men in the run-off divided 269,035 votes between them.

6-23-46 Sun.

Oklahoma also is smaller than Virginia, and a larger proportion of its population is normally Republican. Yet Oklahoma Democrats cast 593,695 votes in their gubernatorial primary in 1938.

Tennessee is somewhat larger than the Old Dominion, and has a greater proportion of Republicans normally. The vote for Governor in Tennessee's Democratic primaries has frequently passed the 300,000 mark, and in 1938 was 394,103.

Time-Dispatch

North Carolina is larger than Virginia, but its Democratic primary vote is far greater in proportion as well as numerically. In the 1940 race for Governor seven candidates polled an aggregate of 469,396 votes. In 1936 Tarheel Democrats turned out 516,864 strong for four candidates in the first primary and rolled up a total of 480,768 votes in the run-off.

Richmond Va.

Georgia's primary balloting for Governor and for United States Senator—and there are almost invariably spirited contests for both offices—frequently exceeds 300,000 and sometimes runs to nearly 400,000, as in 1936, when three gubernatorial candidates brought out 389,313 votes.

South Carolina, like Virginia, is a low-voting State, polling a total in primaries generally comparable to ours. But the Palmetto State is far smaller than the Old Dominion, so proportionately its vote is larger.

In all States outside the South the two-party system is stronger than in any Southern State, and their main political battles take place in the general elections. Their primary votes, therefore, are not comparable to ours. In all of them a larger proportion of the people participate in elections. 6-23-46

What accounts for Virginia's disgraceful apathy about voting? Is it due simply to political lethargy? That would seem to be true on the surface. But there must be reasons for the relative lack of interest in elections. It is clear that the only way to bring about greater participation in Virginia elections is to remedy the causes of this apathy.

There are several explanations of why In Virginia is the lowest-voting State in the in Union. We shall explore them in subsequent editorials and indicate how the defects may be remedied. Surely Virginians do not want to keep on wallowing in the depths of this abysmal political indifference, caring little, so far as may be judged from their participation in elections, how their public affairs are managed.

Negroes Urged To Cast Votes In Primary

Times-Dispatch Richmond, Va. Sun. 8-4-46

Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the Richmond branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, yesterday urged Negroes to vote in Tuesday's primary, but to do so without "dictation by political ward heelers."

The NAACP, he said, does not endorse any candidate but urges Negroes to study the issues and the records and platforms of the candidates, and then to vote their convictions.

"Our association has been in the forefront of the fight for a free ballot for all citizens," Dr. Tinsley declared. "We recognize that only through political action can the people give effective expression to their views on important local, national and international issues. . . . Our people are interested not only in the bills for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission and for abolition of the poll tax, but also in such other measures as higher wages, Federal aid to education, expansion of health facilities, better housing for our returned veterans, effective price control, civilian control of atomic energy and international co-operation for world peace."

Dr. Tinsley said the local NAACP branch, which recently sponsored a drive to get Negroes to register to vote, has a membership of 4,500.

Ballot Strength Increasing in Virginia, Study Reveals

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 7-6-46

RICHMOND, Va. (ANP)—Virginians of color are becoming vote conscious as never before since a brief period of the reconstruction, it was disclosed, here, last week.

This observation is based on a study of the increase in voters and participation in local and State elections during the past five years. 7-6-46

The recent defeat of non-white candidates for the city council in Charlottesville, Danville, Lynchburg and Norfolk has not discouraged voters in these cities nor in other Virginia cities. Though defeated, all the candidates received some white votes.

Candidates Popular

Dr. L. Coles of Charlottesville received more votes in predominantly white precincts than he did in precincts with a majority of colored voters.

Victor J. Ashe of Norfolk, who received 3,101 votes, won votes in every precinct in the city's 37 precincts.

C. V. Wilson, mortician in Lynchburg, and Charles K. Coleman of Danville, who polled 956 vtes out of 4,187 cast, received some white votes in the councilmanic election this year.

The civic organizations, which conducted campaigns in all parts of Virginia, are laying plans for a more extensive and concentrated drive for colored voters throughout Virginia. 7-6-46

The need for a better organized voters' drive in places like Lynchburg, Danville, Charlottesville, Covington, Newport News, Petersburg and Richmond is obvious from the small vote in these cities.

Roscoe C. Jackson and his Richmond Democratic League have interested some citizens in preparing to vote, but for the size of the population the success of these drives has been poor.

It is believed that Norfolk has a higher per cent of colored voters than any other city in the State. 7-6-46

When the Rev. W. B. Ball, Baptist minister, ran for the House of Delegates last August, in the Democratic primary, he did not poll half the number of votes which Mr. Ashe got in the June 11 councilmanic election.

There was no show of strength among colored voters in Lynchburg or Charlottesville. Civic leaders here say the drive for more voters must be conducted on a 12-month basis. 7-6-46

The federation is renewing its drive to get all citizens with paid up poll taxes to register before Oct. 5. Veterans will not have to pay their poll tax in order to register. All they must do is take their discharge certificates with them to the registrar's office.

VA. POLL TAX FAILS TO KEEP NEGROES FROM POLLS

Chicago Ill. Defender Sat. 9-7-46

ARLINGTON, Va.—The Aug. 6 primaries here witnessed the greatest turnout of voters from the colored communities ever seen in the history of this county, according to reports from the Arlington Federation of voters.

Although the results were far short of the 100 per cent vote turnout aimed at by the organization two Negro candidates who filed for office missed election by only a few votes.

In a precinct election, Mrs. Esther I. Cooper was short by 12 votes in a district which carried the largest group of colored voters. Mrs. Cooper is president of the local NAACP branch and vice-chairman of the Arlington chapter of the Southern Conference for Human Rights.

In the Crane precinct, Isaiah K. Adams in a close contest lost out by 46 votes. Adams, who served in the war and fought in the Bouganville campaign, was commissioned a second lieutenant at the Ft. Benning, Ga., infantry school. He is treasurer of the North Arlington Veterans' Committee.

Virginia Negroes Become Vote Conscious

RICHMOND, Va.—Not since Reconstruction days have Virginia Negroes been so politically conscious as they are today.

A study of recent elections held here, made by civic organizations, reveals that the Negro under the stimulant of present legal encouragement, has become increasingly aware of himself as a voter.

The defeat of Negro candidates in various cities in the state in these elections has failed to dampen his ardour.

Better organization and more concentrated drives, the civic organizations conclude from the study, would bring out more voters and result in a greater percentage of Negro candidates being elected to office.

In Charlottesville, the study revealed, the Negro candidate, Dr. L. Coles, received more votes in predominantly white precincts than in precincts where a majority of the voters were Negro.

In Richmond, with a heavy Negro population, the success in developing Negro voting was limited. In Norfolk with the highest percentage of Negro voters in the state, and where a better organized and determined drive seems to have been made, the study shows, Victor J. Ashe, a colored candidate, won votes in every one of the city's 37 precincts.

GOV. LANEY BARS VOTE BY ARKANSAS NEGROES

New York Times N.Y.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., April 6 (AP)—Gov. Ben Laney said today that Negroes would not be permitted to vote in the Democratic primaries in Arkansas this year and added: "The Justice Department can crack its whip."

His statement followed a declaration by Solicitor General Howard J. McGrath in Washington yesterday that the Justice Department would prosecute "any State or party official who attempts to prevent a person from voting because of color" in a primary or general election.

Mr. Laney, nominal head of the Democratic party in Arkansas, said:

"We will conduct our primaries for State officials as we have always done." Sun 4-7-46

The Arkansas Legislature last year passed an act which separated Democratic primaries for State offices and those for Federal offices. Legislators frankly admitted the act was planned to prevent Negroes from voting in elections for State offices after the Supreme Court had held they could not be barred from voting for Federal officers in primary elections.

Negro-Vote Curb Upheld In Arkansas

The Courier-Journal

Supreme Court Of State Rules 1945 Act Valid

Louisville, Ky.

By the Associated Press

Little Rock, Ark., June 26.—A legislative act designed to ban Negroes from voting for State officials in Democratic primaries was upheld today by the Arkansas Supreme Court.

In the same unanimous decision, the court ruled that the Counties will have to foot the bills for two of Arkansas' four 1946 Democratic primary elections. Thur. 6-27-46

The high tribunal held constitutional Act 107, passed last year, which set up separate U. S. and State primaries to keep Negroes from voting in elections to select Democratic nominees for State offices. It ruled that the Counties must—as provided in the Act—finance the Federal primaries.

Courts Refusing Funds.

Quorum courts of more than two thirds of the Counties have failed to appropriate funds to pay officials and cover the costs of ballots for these primaries.

Lee Whittaker, Fort Smith, candidate for Congress who sought to force the Democratic state committee to place his name on the State primary ballot, had challenged the act's validity.

Whittaker and other Congressional candidates seeking to unseat three incumbents said the Counties' failure to appropriate funds for the federal primaries precluded a representative vote.

The federal preferential Democratic primary will be held July 16, with a runoff August 6. Primaries to nominate State officials are scheduled July 30 and August 13.

The Arkansas Supreme Court made it clear that it was not concerned with "the wisdom or policy of the legislation" but merely with its validity.

The decision reversed a decree by Pulaski Chancellor Frank Dodge holding the primary separation act unconstitutional.

After the ruling was handed down today, Governor Laney, state leader of the Democratic Party, indicated that the 1947 Legislature might be asked to repeal Act 107.

Arkansas Court Upholds Jim Crow State Primary

Chicago

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — The state supreme court, here last week, disregarding "the wisdom or policy of the legislation" upheld as constitutional a legislative act passed last year to prevent Negroes from voting for officials in state Democratic primaries. Ch. 7-6-46

Lee Whitaker, Fort Smith congressional candidate, seeking to get his name on the state primary ballot had challenged the constitutionality of the act. Whitaker and a group of other candidates for Congress argued that the failure of the counties to provide funds for the Federal primaries in which Negroes may vote precluded a representative vote. The law requires counties to appropriate money for this purpose.

Arkansas Primaries Must Be Separate

Michigan Chronicle

Detroit, Mich.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—(NNPA)—Arkansas must have separate federal and state Democratic primaries this year, and counties voting on candidates for federal offices must pay the cost of such balloting, the state Supreme Court ruled last Wednesday.

Upholding Act 107 of 1945, which was enacted in an attempt to prevent colored people from voting in primaries to select Democratic nominees for state office, the tribunal's decision apparently ended a long political dispute. Counties virtually were ordered to hold separate primaries for federal candidates. Sat. 7-6-46

In a unanimous opinion, written by Justice Frank G. Smith, the Supreme Court pointed out that the act imposed a duty on counties with federal candidates and that it is their duty to discharge it.

Texas Ruling Cited

"Holding of an election in a county is a matter of vital concern to the citizens of the county, who otherwise would be deprived of their privilege to vote," the opinion said. "A county election is a public and county purpose and a very important one, and if so the General Assembly has the power to impose its cost on the county holding the election."

The tribunal said the United States Supreme Court's recent decision (Smith vs. Allwright) involving Texas primaries had made its opinion easier. The United States court in that case ruled that political parties are in effect state agencies and cannot be controlled by private regulations.

Decision Is Irrelevant

Dr. J. M. Robinson of Little Rock, president of the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association, said his organization "would advise all qualified Negro Democrats to regard the decision as irrelevant to us." Sat. 7-6-46

"The Supreme Court and directives from the attorney general's office state plainly that any judge or officer of the law who shall attempt to prevent any qualified Democrat from voting in the primaries shall be subject to prosecution," he added.

45e 1946

White Primary (Florida)

Vote Fight Causes "Red Nightmare"

Atlanta, Ga.

Daily Worker

TAMPA, Fla.—(ANP)—Fearful that thousands of Negroes will follow the lead of the Communist party in the battle for the ballot, the Tampa Morning Tribune published an anguished editorial protesting the vigorous campaign of local Communists to register colored citizens as voters in the forthcoming May primaries.

During the last few weeks, members of the Tampa club of the Communist party have distributed thousands of copies of an "Appeal to the Negro People" urging Negroes to register Democratic at the Madison school, local registration headquarters. The state Democratic executive committee has grudgingly conceded that it cannot get around the 1944 U. S. Supreme court decision outlawing the Texas primary and recently passed a back-handed resolution permitting Negroes to vote in the party primaries but in jim crow voting booths.

The Tampa Tribune accuses the Communists of trying "to arouse racial prejudice" and "to deceive Negro citizens by false claims of their political importance" and "to infiltrate Communist designs into the Democratic primaries."

Sat 3-9-46

The editorial also called other leaflets, distributed in Ocala, Fla., as "an appeal to Negro racial prejudice" because they urge Negroes to register Democratic "as a protest against the lynch murder of Jesse James Payne of Madison county, and Sam McFadden, of Suwanee county," who "will not have died in vain if you register Democratic."

Florida Democrats Ask State For White Primaries

N.Y.

JACKSONVILLE. (ANP)—Ninety-eight members of the State Democratic Executive Committee adopted a resolution here last week asking the state legislature to repeal at the 1947 session all election laws "which prevent the Democratic Party from remaining an exclusively white party."

Sat. 6-22-46

The committee's action followed by one month the first Democratic primary in this state in which Negroes voted in numbers. On January 21, the same committee failed for the first time since 1904 to include in its qualifications for voting in the Democratic primaries that the voter be of the white race.

Basis for the move to nullify Negro suffrage rights in state primaries is said to be on state and federal court decisions that Negroes can be barred from primaries conducted by the state. The Negro vote became a major issue in this county, Duval, last month in a legislative race.

Saturday

State Senator John E. Mathews charged, after winning a re-nomination in a second primary runoff with Mabry Corlton that "the CIO communists" were organizing the Negroes into a voting bloc. Carlton received a big majority of the Negro vote. Mathews was a principal foe against Negro voting in state primaries at the 1945 legislative session.

6-22-46

Any possibility of transferring jurisdiction over the Democratic primary from the secretary of state and county commissions to the party machinery of state and county Democratic committees seem remote. Such a move might temporarily block Negro participation in Democratic primaries, some observers said.

Opposition is expected against such a proposal from R. A. Gray, secretary of state, who heads all election officials in Florida. He has expressed fear that the evils of party control of primaries will more than offset any problems created by Negro voting, which played an insignificant role in primaries in this state last month.

Saturday

6-22-46

Gray was influenced last year in preventing the legislature from changing Florida's present primary system. The committee said that if the legislature should see fit to pass laws giving the party control over its affairs "this committee will call and hold the white Democratic primaries for the nomination for candidates for office of the Democratic primary."

Miami

The United States Supreme Court has already ruled that Negroes may not be barred from Democratic primaries in states in which they are conducted under supervision of the state. The committee's resolution may depend upon the election of Joe Hill Williams, assistant state attorney, as chairman.

Florida

Many anti-Negro Democrats still remember the important part Negro votes played in the election of Congresswoman Helen Mankin and in the defeat of Speaker Roy Harris, Governor Ellis Arnall's chief legislative foe, earlier this year.

Florida Plots White Primary

The Defender

Chicago, Ill.

Democrats Meet; Plan Vote Steal

Sat. 6-15-46

By ENOC WATERS
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — Rebellious lily-white Democrats here took first steps Wednesday, June 5, to follow the leads of South Carolina and Arkansas in seeking to circumvent the recent federal court ruling opening the Democratic primaries to Negro voters.

At a day-long reorganization session of the State Executive Committee of the Democratic Party held at George Washington Hotel, here, a resolution was adopted asking the state legislature to "repeal laws which prevent the Democratic Party from remaining an exclusively white party."

To assist the state's solons, the committee further instructed its legislative committee to "work with the legislature of the State of Florida and the Bar Association" in passing such law or laws as might be needed to authorize white primaries in this state.

Robbed Of Vote

In both South Carolina and Arkansas, the state legislatures and the Democratic party have conspired to rob the Negro of participation in local primaries. Both of these actions are bound to face high court tests by Negroes determined to take full advantage of recent federal court and Department of Justice rulings in their favor.

If the move to disfranchise Negroes in Florida is accomplished, it too, will have to face a bitter test in the federal courts, and it is likely that criminal prosecution will be instituted against those endeavoring to junk the recent edict extending the ballot to Negroes in the primaries.

The technique proposed at Wednesday's meeting was a divorcement of the Democratic party and the primary from the state "by which the Democratic party would be permitted to control its own affairs."

Full Accord

It is presumed that the new officers of the committee are in full accord with the action taken at the meeting. They are Joe Hill Williams of Lake Butler, chairman; Mrs. Lucille C. Talley of Tavares, vice chairman; and Irvin Walden of Sarasota, secretary-treasurer.

The lily-white conspirators were welcomed to the city by Mayor C. Frank Whitehead. Ex-Gov. Fred P. Cone was one of the principal speakers.

The presence at the sessions of S. D. Clarke, president designate of the state senate, and other influential members of the legislature, suggested that assurances have already been given that the legislation requested by the committee will be acted upon when the legislature meets next year.

2 States Demand 'White Party' Rule

Anti-American

WASHINGTON

Two Southern States — Florida and Alabama—moved boldly last week to circumvent the U.S. Supreme Court's decree nullifying the un-democratic "white primary," and thus continue the political mechanism through which the credo of "white supremacy" is maintained. Sat 6-15-46

The Florida State Democratic Executive Committee adopted without a dissenting vote a resolution, at a reorganization meeting on June 5, calling on the State Legislature to repeal laws which prevent the party from remaining "an exclusively white party."

It instructed its legislative committee to work with the Legislature and the State of Florida and the bar associations in passing such law or laws. The resolution said further: Sat. 6-15-46

White Rule Lauded

"If the Legislature sees fit to pass such legislation . . . the committee will call and hold white Democratic primaries for the nomination of the candidates for office of the Democratic party."

Former Governor Fred Cone extolled the "white man's government," and urged Democrats "to allow no one to take charge of the party except those who believe in the principles of the party."

Congressman Lex Green also praised "white men's government" and Tammany Hall, which he said was "the Southern party's Northern wing."

Raps CIO, Communists

State Senator John E. Matthews of Jacksonville asserted:

"It is not the colored people . . . who are organizing themselves, but outside agitators. It would not be so bad if the colored man were allowed to vote his honest convictions, but he is being used as a dupe by CIO-Communist inspired organizations."

Alabama Amendment

Seeking a return to the traditional "white primaries," Alabama considered a constitutional amendment which would make the qualifications for voters more stringent in the hope of excluding colored citizens.

To get around the U.S. Supreme Court's decision outlawing the "white primary," the Democratic Party plans to amend the registration laws through a bill requiring all registrants to "understand and be able to explain" the Constitution.

The bill, to be voted on in the November general election, would make County boards of registrars the sole judges of a prospective voter's qualifications, with their word law unless questioned in court procedure. 6-1 46 Sat

Suit Feared

The proposed act, while not mentioning race, has been called "essential to white supremacy" by an Alabama legislator. Party Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey referred to it as an "effective way of keeping colored people from voting in primaries in the future." The proposed amendment has brought some opposition.

Richard T. Rives Jr., Montgomery attorney and politician, argues that enactment would "encourage colored citizens to go to court to enforce their right to vote," and that court action "inevitably breeds bad feeling between the races." He cited a suit pending in Federal Court.

Voters Tricked

The colored vote in the May 7 Democratic primaries was reported negligible for several reasons.

One was the fact that the State committee failed to register the colored people in time, and another was that many were barred from the primaries by the Feb. 1 deadline on payment of poll taxes.

Efforts to repeal the poll tax in Alabama so far have been of no avail. The Legislature blocked a move to abolish the levy during the 1945 session.

Progress in the Primaries

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Fri 7-19-46

THIS week's primary elections were good signs for the country. They demonstrate once again that a majority of the American people—where the issues are relatively clear—choose progress and democracy and reject that which smacks of fascism.

In the Montana primary the case is clear-cut. Sen. Burton K. Wheeler, with a long record as an America Firster in thought and action, who fought FDR and the New Deal, was defeated by Leif Erickson, the candidate backed by CIO, PAC, the ICC and the Roosevelt forces of Montana and the nation. Endorsements by William Green, John L. Lewis and President Truman could not save Wheeler. And it is thought probable that the Truman letter, coming so soon after his strikebreaking in the railroad dispute, actually helped defeat Wheeler.

ERICKSON

The Georgia primary is more complicated. Gene Talmadge, one of the worst of America's grass roots fascists who based his campaign largely on scurrilous attacks on the Negro people, won the nomination, although his opponent received more popular votes. This paradox is the result of the archaic unit rule system which still prevails in Georgia and under which rural counties with a tiny population have as many unit votes as more industrial counties with large populations.

Despite the "legal" outcome of the Georgia primary, as decided by the unit vote, the really significant fact remains that a majority of the people of Georgia voted against Talmadge and all he stands for.

The Georgia primary was historic because the Negro people voted in large numbers for the first time since the disfranchising constitution was adopted shortly after the turn of the century. More than 134,000 Negroes were registered, and although the Talmadge forces attempted to purge thousands of them from the registration lists, a large number braved terror and intimidation to vote.

The new upsurge of Negro voting in the South is partly the result of the U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing the white primary. It is partly due to the growing realization of large sections of the white South, especially labor, that depriving the Negro people of their rights hurts all the common people of the South. But more than that it reflects the growing political consciousness of the Negro people and their determination to assert their rights as citizens of this commonwealth.

This is a development which is being repeated to some degree throughout the South in the 1946 primaries. It means that never again can the southern bourbons fail to reckon with the Negro people as an important political and electoral factor. It underscores a lesson long pointed out in these columns, that if labor and the progressive forces will fight for the rights of the Negro people consistently and effectively—including the support of Negro candidates for office in southern states—the progressives will have an ever more powerful ally.

3 Southern States Plan to Restrict Registration

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 9-21-46

ALBANY, Ga. — A southwide conspiracy to evade the U.S. Supreme Court decision opening primary elections to all citizens was evident last week with the baring of sinister moves in Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia to bar registration of non-white citizens.

Moves are afoot in these States to amend their constitutions, stripping from them provisions regulating primaries and setting up those elections on a non-legislative basis as did South Carolina in 1944.

That the South Carolina plan has proven effective, so far, in eliminating non-white primary voters is indicated by the fact that less than 20 colored persons are enrolled on the Democratic party's books throughout the entire State.

Practice Not Tested

The threat of Federal court action to force the Democratic party in South Carolina to open its doors to all citizens seems no deterent to white-supremacists, who already have set into motion proposals for further restricting registration.

This is due to the fact that no Federal court in South Carolina, as yet, has contested the party's right as a private organization to establish qualifications of its membership and methods of selecting its nominees.

Vote Due in Alabama

Alabama has taken the first step of the three States to restrict registration of colored persons, through the State Democratic Executive Committees' launching of a constitutional amendment to tighten registration.

When Alabama voters go to the polls on Dec. 5, they will pass on the Boswell amendment, which will, in effect, make the Democratic party in the State a "white man's party," by keeping colored citizens from registering in it.

Appeal to Fear

Although directed against non-whites, the amendment is said to give reactionary politicians a legal opportunity to break up the political organization fronted by "liberal" Sen. Lister Hill, thus checking progressive white voters.

Prejudice and fear of white voters of the State are appealed to in the printed letter urging adoption of the amendment sent out by the committee, which states:

"We are now at the crossroads and Alabama must surround the exercise of suffrage . . . with such legal safeguards as will protect our State" from domination by colored persons.

Miss. Ready to Act

State officials in Mississippi propose calling a special session of the Mississippi legislature some time after Nov. 20 to change their election laws, possibly to follow the South Carolina pattern.

They are, however, keeping a "weather eye cocked" on the situation in South Carolina, where the NAACP has threatened to bring Federal suit to break down the party restriction against colored citizens.

It is pointed out that legislation may employ other methods of depriving groups of participation in primaries than the one in use by South Carolina, such as using excessive property or educational requirements.

Georgia Awaits Talmadge

In Georgia, the carrying-out of the pledge of Governor-elect Talmadge not only to return the "white primary," but also to continue jim-crow practices on inter-State busses and trains, in defiance of the Supreme Court's ruling, awaits his incumbency.

Meanwhile, colored voters have shown their strength by voting as a bloc against Talmadge, during the last primary election.

Positive proof as to who they supported lies in the fact Talmadge was snowed-under by ballots cast in the 50 separate voting boxes used for them in Chatham County.

It is reported that only 50 ballots in all the colored precincts of the county were marked for Talmadge.

Citizens Fight for Vote

That non-white citizens in Georgia will fight legally for their right to primary registration is seen in the fact that a court battle is at present being carried on there.

A petition is now before the U.S. District Court enjoining registrars against removal of the names of 20 non-white citizens from registration lists in four southwest counties.

CIO COUNCIL TO FIGHT RETURN OF WHITE PRIMARY

The Defender Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 10-19-46

MACON—Hitting out at efforts to bring the white primary back to Georgia and demanding stern justice for lynchers, the Georgia CIO ndustrial Union Council last week pledged a fight to keep for its Negro members their democratic right to vote.

More than 300 delegates passed a resolution terming moves by reactionary forces to bring the white primary back to the state "undemocratic," and added that "it violates the interests of all CIO members by threatening to disfranchise Negro CIO membership and weaken democracy in the South."

Other resolutions demanded that lynchers feel the full force of the law and endorsed the Wagner-Ellender-Taft long range housing program.

Van Bittner, director of the drive in the South, pointed out that Ohio workers have three times the purchasing power of those doing similar work in Dixie. He asserted that the CIO and its seven million members, will not be satisfied with anything less than wage parity in an organized South.

Convention Preserves White Primary

In the opinion of this newspaper, the action of the state Democratic convention, meeting in Macon Wednesday, urging the repeal of all primary laws, in order to prevent voting by Negroes, is sheer tragedy.

It is that because such action means that the white people of Georgia—at least enough of them to control the machinery of the Democratic party—are saying to the Negroes of the state that they are not wanted as citizens.

This is a great pity, because the Negro is capable of being, and desperately wants to be, a good citizen. It is folly to deny him the rights and to refuse to place upon him the duties of citizenship, because democracy is frail enough to need all the resources it can command.

Refusal of the ballot to the colored third of the state's population, solely because it is colored, is a denial of the principles of democracy at a time in history when the supreme need of mankind is to make democracy work. It is a needless discouragement to Negroes who need only encouragement to make them respond to the high demands of good citizenship.

The convention's action also is tragic for the white people of the state because it is illegal and unfair and unintelligent and no man can so act without unfavorable reaction upon himself. The ultimate penalties of wrongdoing are visited most heavily upon the wrongdoer.

The action is illegal because the Constitution of the United States makes the Negro a citizen and guarantees him the right to vote. Any scheme that nullifies these provisions is a subterfuge and violates the Constitution. Even if the scheme proposed by the convention were slick enough to circumvent the Constitution, it could add nothing, but would take away a good deal, from Georgia's self-respect.

Moreover, the convention's action, if translated into law, is unjust. Negroes are required to discharge their share—sometimes more than their share—of public burdens. For example, they pay taxes. They are drafted for military service and perform in war the duties assigned to them. The laws operate upon them as they do on white people. It is only elementary fairness that, discharging these burdens, they should also enjoy the privileges of citizenship. And we cannot deny those privileges to them without a consequent deterioration in our own character.

Furthermore, denial to the Negro of the rights of citizenship is foolish. It hurts us. We cannot hold the Negro down without injury to ourselves. His wellbeing and prosperity increase our own. Our welfare is inseparable from his. We cannot keep a third of our population in bondage without being ourselves dragged down to the same low level.

Finally, the action proposed by the convention will be fruitless in the end. It will not change the fact that the primary in Georgia controls the result and is the real election, or nullify the Constitution and the laws which confer on all citizens the right to vote in real elections. The net result will be finally only added bitternesses and new hatreds, without the preservation of the white primary, if that institution were worth preserving.

It is our hope that the General Assembly will not follow the convention. The price demanded for "white supremacy," in illegality, injustice, foolishness and loss of self-respect is too great for Georgia to pay.

Talmadge Foes Adopt Watchful Waiting Policy

By BENNETT DELOACH

ATLANTA, Oct. 1.—(AP)—Political opponents of Eugene Talmadge are taking a "wait and see' attitude as the next Administration gets set for taking over the affairs of State in January.

So far, there has been little publicly announced opposition to Talmadge and his plans which include setting up a white primary for the Democratic Party and adopting the Governor-Nominate's campaign platform.

That, however, has been the usual trend of political affairs in Georgia before the State Democratic Convention meets.

There have been rumblings though, of possible opposition which might be brewing against Talmadge and his supporters.

One person active in State politics has dropped some hints that he might take to the stump in opposition to Talmadge's plan to set up a white primary.

This man, who asked that his name not be used, said he was considering attacking the white primary idea after the State Convention had acted on it, as the "Talmadge party and primary."

One legislator, who declined use of his name, said "it was regretful" that Talmadge had not given his blessings to any World War II veteran for any of the major General Assembly jobs.

Advocates of the proposed Constitutional Amendment making the State Public Welfare Board a Constitutional group have indicated they plan to answer Talmadge's recent attacks on the proposal.

Talmadge has called for defeat of the proposed amendment, and one his chief supporters, Roy Harris, said he expects the State Convention at Macon to adopt a resolution condemning the measure.

Whether there will be any organized opposition to Talmadge remains to be seen.

The logical leader of any such opposition would be Governor Arnall or James V. Carmichael, who was runner up to Talmadge in the State Democratic primary.

Neither has said what he plans to do about politics when Talmadge takes office, but there has been speculation that Carmichael would take no leading part in State politics.

Meanwhile, Talmadge himself says nothing about politics. The nearest thing to a political remark recently was his comment that "you'll really hear something at Macon about the white primary" when he speaks.

Most of those close to Talmadge say the present plans are to stick principally with the original strategy of asking the Convention to adopt the white primary and Talmadge's Summer campaign platform.

Georgia Acts To Get 'All-White' Primary Tangled In Confusion

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Tue. 12-6-46

ATLANTA, Dec. 6—(AP)—Confusion as an outgrowth of a move to give Georgia an all-white primary by repealing all primary laws was reported by The Atlanta Constitution today. It said this is resulting in greater support for an alternate plan to strengthen educational requirements of voters.

The newspaper reported the confusion is leading to these possibilities:

1. A question whether any part of the state can have a white primary if any county refuses to have its own local primary laws abolished.

2. A battle between white primary advocates and legislators backing the continuance of a legislative courtesy policy through which the General Assembly follows the wishes of local legislators on local matters.

3. Necessity for a deluge of local and special bills repealing by name and number every measure regulating primaries of municipalities, if Negroes are to be banned from voting in city as well as state primaries.

4. Opposition to repeal of special and local laws governing primaries in Atlanta and Fulton County.

5. Creation of innumerable political machines in cities throughout the state by those who control local Democratic committees.

Roy Harris, of Augusta, retiring speaker of the House, has written incoming legislators that he is drafting a bill to repeal both state and county primary laws. He suggested that the new representatives introduce local bills to repeal laws governing their municipal primaries.

Duke Charges 'Sabotage in Primary Move

The Atlanta Constitution
Wed. 12-18-46

Constitution State News Service.

MACON, Dec. 17—An "unholy alliance" is attempting ',to carve up the corpse of the s pirit of progress in Georgia" and keep this State tied to a "colonial system" of economics, Asst. Atty. Gen. Dan Duke charged in a speech before the Lions Club Tuesday.

Blasting representatives of the "railroad monopoly" and public officials who advocate abolition of legal regulations for party primaries, Duke declared:

"I charge that there now exists a designing alliance between the special interest groups who profit by our colonial status and a group of conniving political demagogues and that they have a deliberate plan to sabotage the first real effort ever made in our State to break the stranglehold of the railroad monopoly on the Southeast. You will see their lobbyists actively at work. Indeed, it is rumored that one railroad employee is slated to become an official of one of our legislative bodies.

"It is already predicted that this intriguing alliance will seek to strike down by emasculation and assassination the legal protection which every citizen has when he casts his ballot in a party primary. When that day comes we will have government of men and not by law. Every man, woman and child will then become a pawn in a vicious game of petty, personal, partisan politics."

This Georgia cannot permit, Duke continued, declaring that Georgians must organize in every village and hamlet to keep alive an "active progressive movement that will defy any demagogue who is being used by our modern quislings to keep us tied to our colonial system.

"We will have to develop the leadership for this movement in our own State. We cannot look to outside leadership. Our program must be solid and sound, based absolutely upon the needs of our people and functioning within the framework of our traditional concepts."

Restoration Of Poll Tax; Purge Of Negroes Seen

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Tues. 12-17-46

Talmadge Hopes To Disqualify Negro In Statewide Move

According to Roy V. Harris, of Augusta, retiring speaker of the House of Representatives and co-chairman of the Talmadge campaign for governor, the incoming administration has the following plans for attempting to preserve the white primary in Georgia:

1. A measure repealing all state laws that refer to party primaries and leaving party rules and regulations as to membership and elections to the rules adopted by the state convention in Macon in October.

2. A revision of the Georgia code striking the word primary from all election laws and leaving the references only to elections.

3. A grandfather clause that repeals all general, special and local laws governing primaries of any description.

4. Enactment of a new law against fraud in elections, including repeating, bribery, ballot box stuffing and illegal counting.

5. A strong law on the qualification of voters that will prevent illegal balloting.

6. Invalidation of existing registration lists and a fresh start on statewide registration, with a fee being required for registering.

Observers immediately saw in the Talmadge administration an attempt to restore a poll tax which for years kept thousands of Negroes and poor whites from registering, and a statewide purge of Negroes from voters' lists.

Harris claimed that the white people of Georgia voted overwhelmingly for a white primary in the recent election, in which white supremacy was the issue. Said he:

"We have checked the vote in every county in Georgia and have found out that if white people only had participated in that primary, Governor Talmadge would have carried 141 counties, Rivers 10 and Carmichael only eight."

Concerning discrimination, the retiring speaker said that the state can not discriminate against any of its citizens but that a political party can. He said that it is legal to discriminate against a class of people in every county in the world except Russia and the United States. "We do not want to get any closer to communism than we are now," he asserted. Harris claimed further that in order to be classed as a liberal today, one must subscribe to the Russian view as to what our foreign policy ought to be and he must believe in social equality for all races.

Tues. 12-17-46

Asked to explain the white primary plan, Harris said:

"It is not my idea to let people seeking to advance their own interest force a minority group into the Democratic party. Let the Negroes form their own party if they want one."

The group went on record as favoring a sales tax plan, among other proposals coming from new legislators.

Georgia's White Primary Leaders Consider New Move at 'Rescue'

Atlanta Constitution, Ga.
Thurs 3-28-46

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Georgia's Negro voting issue has taken a queer turn, with some political leaders who want to ban Negroes making moves to accept the Federal Appellate Court's decision.

They do not want the Columbus case carried to the United States Supreme Court, where they anticipate a similar decision holding that the Negroes are entitled to vote in Georgia's Democratic primary, it was learned.

They would prefer to accept the Appellate Court's ruling as just, and then quickly summon the Legislature into special session to repeal the primary laws. This would leave primary regulations in the hands of the political party, which could permit only white people to vote, they claim. Many do not trust the party to retain the county unit election system, however, once state regulations are lifted.

The moves of the leaders came too late to stop the appeal to the Supreme Court. Thurs. 3-28-46

It is possible for the Supreme Court to consider accepting the Columbus case Monday, attorneys for both sides said yesterday. A day after Charles Bloch, of Macon, filed an appeal for the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee, Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook airmailed his brief to Washington as "a friend of the court."

Harry Strozier, of Macon, is attorney for Primus E. King, Columbus Negro who was awarded damages by Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis, of Macon, and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

All attorneys are hopeful that the Supreme Court can dispose of the Georgia case before the summer recess, otherwise the final decision might not be reached until after this year's primary.

While some political leaders preferred to call the Legislature into session immediately instead of going to the Supreme Court, most political observers predicted the Legislature would not meet in special session.

Voters End White Primary Regime

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

AUGUSTA, Ga.—(ANP)—With over 4,000 colored persons voting in the heretofore white primary the Richmond County "Cracker Party" was swept out of power here for the first time in 20 years, with the defeat of Roy Harris of the Georgia House of Representatives.

William S. Morris, liberal Augusta Chronicle editor, was the victor. Harris, speaker of the House assembly, is in favor of calling a special session to repeal laws so that colored will be kept from voting in the primaries.

Factors Causing the Defeat

Admitting defeat, Harris said he lost because 4,600 colored persons were registered and voted, some welcoming the idea of voting although they do not understand.

Also accusing outside forces for his defeat, he said that the fight had just begun.

All incumbents in the race were defeated. Led by the Rev. G. H. Carter, colored citizens were solid in opposition to the Harris regime which brags it has kept the primary white since the '90's.

'Save White Primary,' Talmadge Begs Voters

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

DOUGLAS, May 22—Former appealed to all white voters to those "Communists" who would where they came from."

The gubernatorial candidate, in the first day of a middle and south Georgia speaking tour, appeared at an Eastman rally Wednesday morning and talked before a gathering here in the afternoon.

In Douglas, the crowd, which Talmadge estimated between 1,100 and 1,200, applauded vigorously as he blasted Gov. Arnall and his two gubernatorial opponents for their stand on the white primary.

Coatless and snapping his red galluses, Talmadge belittled those who call "benefits to veterans handouts" and pointed to a group of former servicemen in the crowd who, he said, paid for his radio time for the Douglas speech.

H. J. Quincy, Douglas attorney, introduced Talmadge and termed the white primary issue greater than personalities, declaring "Gov. Arnall should be tared and feathered' for his stand on the issue.

Before the Douglas speech, the Harmony Singers from Waycross sang several songs, followed by a talk by the Rev. Henry Sears, Master of Ceremonies. 5-23-46

The Douglas speech, which drew a larger crowd than the morning rally at Eastman, was made in front of the County Ofice Building with a flat trailer truck as a platform. Talmadge's technique of answering questions from the audience was aided by the crowd after the movement was initiated by a supporter on his platform.

The Eastman crowd which heard the ex-Governor in City Park was courteous and orderly but did not express great enthusiasm until encouraged by a "questioner" who sat on the platform with the former Governor.

Not one cry of "Take off your coat, Gene" came from the Eastman audience, but many "pledged" their vote to the former Governor when he asked for a show of his supporters' hands. Most of the verbal response in Eastman to the Gov. Eugene Talmadge Wednesday unite under his banner and send permit Negro voting "back North

former Governor, who usually works a crowd to a fever pitch, came after Talmadge began to discuss the White Primary and the "sorry white folks who make sorry Negroes." Thurs. 5-23-46

But even then the shouts of "Tell 'em about it, Gene" and "That's right, Gene" were few and far between.

In discussion of his platform, special emphasis was placed on Talmadge's desire for the veterans' vote.

"You boys who were in the service are my campaign managers," he told the sprinkling of vets in the audience, commenting on the fact that his son, Herman, recently had been released from the Navy.

Included in the candidate's promises were "the largest road-building program ever seen," more old-age pensions, special license privileges to veterans, and the placing of every Sheriff in the State on the rolls of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, to aid him in "investgating crime."

Talmadge was introduced in Eastman by the Rev. R. G. McKinnon, retired Baptist minister. Hal M. Smith, local attorney, was mater of ceremonies.

White Primary Thing of Past, Arnall Says

Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Va.

Georgia Democrats Told to 'Face Facts'

Tri 5-3-46

ATLANTA, May 2—(AP)—Governor Ellis Arnall told State democatic leaders today that under the law the white democratic primary in Georgia is gone and that any man not willing to uphold the law is not worthy of democratic citizenship.

"Let's be honest about it," he told the State democratic executive committee. "Let's not run from the quacks who would confuse the issue. Let's not be afraid of the demagogues."

Earlier the committee declined to consider a resolution requesting a special session of the legislature to consider the question of Negro voting in the primary this year. The resolution was offered by Roy V. Harris, of Augusta, speaker of the House recently defeated for re-election as a House member in a county primary in which Negroes voted for the first time.

Thousands Register

Thousands of Negroes have registered over the State since Federal court rulings upheld their right to ballot in the democratic primary. Tri 5-3-46

Former Governor Eugene Talmadge, a gubernatorial candidate this year, has promised to maintain the white primary if he is elected. Arnall, prevented by the State constitution from seeking a second consecutive term, said today he would not announce whom he would support at this time.

The State committee selected July 17 for the primary.

White Primaries'

New York Times, N. Y.

Of the nation's 13,000,000 Negro citizens, 9,000,000 live in thirteen Southern States, several of which have laws which tend to minimize the Negroes' political strength. One law, in effect in several States, including Georgia, limits primary elections to white voters, and since primaries in the Democratic South are usually more important than general elections, many Negroes are, in effect, disfranchised. Last Monday the United States Supreme Court upheld a decision of a United States District Court that the Georgia "white primaries" were unconstitutional. The high court refused to review the case of one Primus E. King, Negro citizen of Columbus, Ga., who had successfully sued the local Democratic executive committee for depriving him of the privilege of voting in the 1944 primary. The Supreme Court's refusal to review the case brought a reaction on Capitol Hill. Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat, of Georgia, declared that the State Democratic Committee and State Assembly would decide [illegible] steps to take for the "protection o[illegible] white primary." Sun 4-7-46

M. L. ST. JOHN

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 11-27-46

Strengthen Income Tax To Meet Expenditures

A member of the new Georgia Legislature came to town the other day and we got to talking about the major problems facing the January General Assembly, such as expanding State services, raising money to pay for the new services, and whether or not the Legislature will repeal all of Georgia's law regulating primaries.

"There has been much talk about a sales tax," the Representative-elect said. "I do not favor imposing a sales tax on the people. I think it imposes a burden on the poor people. It is harder for a man making $1,000 a year to pay a tax of three pennies on his food and clothing than it is for a man making $50,000 a year to pay the same tax."

The solon admitted that more State services are needed and more money is needed to finance them. Then he mentioned his preference for obtaining the new money.

Income Tax

"I think a fairer way to raise money would be to strengthen the income taxes of the State," he said. "The State rate probably could be raised. Then, I don't think we should exempt anyone from paying income taxes. The present minimums of $1,000 for single persons and $2,500 for married persons could be abolished altogether. Let every person pay on the basis of a percentage of what he earns; then it wouldn't hurt the man making a dollar a day to put up his tiny tax any more than it would hurt the millionaire to pay his big tax."

Commenting on a proposal that the State abolish its property tax because it is virtually impossible to administer it fairly, the Representative-elect made the counter-proposal that the tax should be retained but that the exemptions on homesteads should be increased—thereby encouraging home ownership.

He said he had heard talk that the new Administration would not want to recommend a sales tax but would stand by for a revenue-raising measure to originate in the House. From his own viewpoint, the Representative-elect predicted that the new Governor would have to indorse a revenue measure before getting it passed. He also expressed the belief that whatever new form of taxation is approved by the General Assembly will be submitted to the people for a vote next year before becoming effective. While he does not look for it to occur next session, the Representative-elect said that Georgia's entire tax structure needs revamping.

Primary Laws

The new Representative said he was "between the devil and the deep, blue sea" on the proposition of restoring the Democratic white primary. The Talmadge-controlled State Democratic Convention has asked that the laws regulating the primary be abolished so that Georgia can get around the United States Supreme Court ruling which permitted Negroes to vote in last Summer's primary. The new Representative said he favors restoring the white primary. He thinks that the white people should be permitted to choose their own nominees for public office in a primary without interference from the Negroes—that the Negroes have the right to participate in the general election now and that they can, if they like, hold their own primary. On the other hand, he does not favor wiping out laws which prevent fraud in the primaries. He does not want to hand over control of the State government for all time to any one man or small group of men. When State regulations are abolished, and party rules substituted, Georgia is turning its government over to the man who names the delegates to the State Democratic Convention, he pointed out. It gives one man the power to make the rules and write his own ticket from here on out, he reasoned. So he is opposed to this plan. He predicted a fight would be waged against any effort to abolish the primary laws.

Since the man is a newcomer to the Legislature, he asked that his name not be used in this interview. He did not think it behooved a newcomer to brashly announce beforehand what the House should or should not do—but he said he would take his stand publicly in the House if the bills offered were not to his liking.

CHARLES J. BLOCH

Answers Accusation White Primary Case 'Thrown'

(Editor's Note: Charles J. Bloch, then President of the Georgia Bar Association, defended the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee in the suit brought by Primus King, Columbus Negro, seeking the right to participate in Democratic party primaries. The following communication, wherein Mr. Bloch answers an attack upon him by Eugene Talmadge as a slander on the entire Georgia Bar, is a clear-cut explanation of the facts involved in the so-called white primary issue.) Constitution

My attention has been called to a pamphlet being circulated by Eugene Talmade in an effort to secure nomination of the Democrats of Georgia for the office of Governor of Georgia.

This pamphlet contains these statements:

"Throwing the Primus King case (losing it on purpose) was the most brazen, below-the-belt sell-out of Georgia white people since the despicable carpetbagger Governor Bullock." . . . An honest trial of the Primus King case would have won it."

The "Primus King case" is the case of Primus King versus Joseph E. Chapman, Jr., et al. (members of the Democratic Executive Committee of Muscogee County, Georgia) in which King sought damages by reason of the fact that the members of the Muscogee County Committee refused to permit him to vote in the Democratic primary of July 4, 1944, solely on on account of his color. 7-2-46

THIS CASE was filed in the District Court of the United States for the Middle District of Georgia on Aug. 22, 1944. Times

Shortly thereafter A. Edward Smith, of the Columbus bar, and I were retained by the party authorities to represent the defendants and to contest the case as vigorously as we could. Atlanta

The charge made by Mr. Talmade, therefore, is that Mr. Smith and I betrayed the trust which had been confided to us as attorneys and deliberately tried to lose a case which we had been engaged to defend.

The charge is absolutely false.

I KNOW the character of the members of the Bar of Georgia, and I have implicit confidence that they will resent such reckless slander of other members of the Bar of Georgia.

The mere utterance of such an unfounded charge demonstrates the means which Mr. Talmadge is willing to pursue in an attempt to attain his ambitions.

This case was not only bitterly contested by Mr. Smith and me before Judge Davis, of the District Court, but just as vigorously contested in the Circuit Court of Appeals. An earnest and sincere effort was made to have it reviewed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

THE POSITION of the plaintiff in this case was that it was controlled by decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the cases of Classic vs. United States, 313 U. S., and Smith v. Allwright, 321 U. S., in which the court had construed primary laws of the States of Louisiana and Texas and held that the action of the party in these States was the action of the States respectively.

We advised and contended that the situation under the laws of Louisiana and Texas was so different from the situation under the laws of Georgia that these decisions of the Supreme Court were not controlling.

In a brief of 132 printed pages filed in the Circuit Court of Appeals we urged that the facts upon which the conclusion of law in the Texas case was based did not exist in Georgia (Brief, page 34). We urged "that an examination of the Georgia situation as contrasted with the Texas situation will convince that the Supreme Court in adjudging the latter has not pre-judged the former." (Brief, page 44.) Constitution

IN THE REPORTED opinion of the Circuit Court of Appeals written by his Honor, Judge Samuel Sibley, there is this language which demonstrates that the court paid heed to what we had urged with respect to the differences between the Louisiana and Texas situation on the one hand, and the Georgia situation on the other.

"We have of course considered the decisions in United States v. Classic, 313 U. S., 299, a criminal case in which the Louisiana primary laws were discussed; and Smith v. Allwright, 321 U. S., 649, a civil suit like this one in which the State of Texas was held by its primary laws to have adopted the primary election as a part of the State's election machinery. The differences between the Georgia laws touching primaries and those of Louisiana and Texas seem to us to be fundamental, especially in that the Georgia laws do not require a party candidate to be in any case chosen by a primary, nor require the State to pay the expenses of the primary if a party calls one; and they permit persons not chosen by any party to have their names put on the official ballots at the election. The cited cases therefore do not decide this one." (154 Fed., 2nd at p. 463.) Atlanta, Ga.

Does this argument and the reaction of the court to it sound as if we were "throwing" a case?

IN THIS SAME pamphlet under the caption "Here's What Judge Samuel B. (sic) Sibley Had to Say About a White Primary," Mr. Talmadge says: ". . . but we are advised of no statute, State or Federal, which undertakes to limit the right of citizens who form a political party to select those who shall participate in it. Nor is there any statute which prohibits those who do participate in a party caucus, mass meeting or election from agreeing to support the result thereof. Accordingly there may be parties composed wholly of whites, or wholly of colored people, or of men, or of women. In a pure party activity by such parties there would result an exclusion from voting in that activity of those of another race, or sex, but it should not be a denial of the right to vote 'in any election by the people in any State, territory or county . . . or other territorial subdivision' in the words of U. S. C. A. 31, nor within the meaning of the Fifteenth or Nineteenth Amendments."

In this pamphlet, and in other of his utterances, Mr. Talmadge sets great store on these words of Judge Sibley, but he fails to let it be known that that utterance of the Court was based on arguments which we had made to it.

IN OUR BRIEF, at page 45, we had said: ". . . the voluntary action of the voluntary group, known as the State Democratic Executive Committee, in deciding in January, 1944, to hold a primary on July 4, 1944, was not action of the State of Georgia, nor was the subsequent holding of a primary action of the State of Georgia. The Democratic Party in Georgia is a voluntary organization which has come into being because its adherents desired of their own free will to associate with one another. This voluntary association alone determines if there shall be Executive Committees, County or State, and the method of the selection or election of the members of such Committees. Georgia does not direct the 'selection of all party officers.' If this voluntary association choose to do so, it can nominate candidates by convention, by mass meeting, or it can select them merely through its committees. If it voluntarily chooses to hold a primary, it must abide by stringent statutory rules and regulations. Even if it voluntarily chooses to hold a primary, it need hold no convention unless it voluntarily chooses to do so. This voluntary association defrays the expense of holding such voluntary primary by any such method of assessment it desires. Georgia has not 'cast its electoral process' as has Texas. Georgia has not made the party the agency of the State. In asking you to affirm this case, counsel for the appellee are asking that you go lengths beyond any ruling of the Supreme Court. You are asked to decide that if a primary is regulated by the State, the holding of such a primary is 'State action.' You are asked to decide that if nomination in a primary is equivalent to election, the holding of such a primary is 'State action.' We respectfully submit that the judgement of the District Court cannot be affirmed unless the rulings of the Supreme Court are thus extended."

DOES THIS ARGUMENT solemnly made before a great Court of the United States sound like argument of an attorney "throwing" a case?

DOES THIS ARGUMENT indicate that those making it and those hearing it were participating in a "dishonest trial"?

WHETHER OR NOT the primary laws of Georgia should be repealed is a matter to be determined by the voters of Georgia. The question should be determined by them upon a fair presentation to them of the law and facts. The voters are not helped in making that decision by malicious and reckless libels on members of the Bar.

The State-regulated primary can, in my opinion, be converted into a purely party primary. This would necessitate, I believe, the repeal of all laws on our statute books in any manner relating to primaries. The purity and binding effect of the primary would have to be left to the party. If the State "collaborates" in any way, I believe that the Supreme Court as presently constituted would hold that Negroes could not legally be barred from participation in a primary. 7-2-46. Times.

I HAVE DEBATED for some time as to whether I should pay any attention to Mr. Talmadge's statements with respect to "throwing" the Primus King case and an "honest trial" of it. On the other hand, I thought that the lawyers of Georgia who knew the lawyers who were engaged in the case would know that the charges were unfounded and not even worthy of being noticed. But, then, I thought there were thousands of voters in Georgia who either were not lawyers or did not know the lawyers in the case and who might be misled by what Mr. Talmadge, a former Governor and a member of the Bar, had to say about brother members of the Bar.

In order that the facts might be known I am writing this letter to all the lawyers of Georgia.

THE LAWYERS OF GEORGIA have in the past honored me with the highest office in their gift. If I ignored a charge that I had participated in the "throwing of a case"—that I had participated in a dishonest trial of a case, I would admit myself unworthy of the honor of that office.

In this same pamphlet, Mr. Talmadge says: "They desire Negroes to participate in our white primary in order to destroy the traditions and heritages of our Southland."

If, by my silence, I admitted that charge, I would admit myself to be unworthy of being the grandson of a soldier of the Confederacy. And one of my proudest heritages is that a lieutenant in the Army of the Confederate States of America was my maternal grandfather.

I ASSURE YOU, lawyers of Georgia, that we realized the gravity and importance of this case, when we undertook the defense of it. We lost it, yes. But—we lost it after exerting every effort honestly possible to gain it. We lost it—but we did not throw it. We lost it—but only after an honest, thorough and painstaking trial of it.

We, as lawyers, know that it is hard enough to have lost an important case. To be unjustly accused of having "thrown" it is a reflection on the character of a lawyer which every other lawyer will join in resenting.

Griffin Campaigns For White Primary

Atlanta Ga Journal July 8 1946

QUITMAN, Ga., July 6.—(AP) Adjutant General Marvin Griffin campaigning for Lieutenant Governor, said here Saturday that the white primary must be preserved.

"Our state has the largest Negro population of any state in the union and cannot be made to conform to the same political pattern as those states with a negligible Negro population, even though citizens of some of these states are trying to insist that we do," he told his audience.

Griffin, a veteran of the recent war, made a special appeal for the vote of the veterans with the statement:

"I feel that with my service record, I have a sympathetic understanding of veterans' problems and could be of some benefit to the veterans along with the rest of our people in helping to steer important veterans legislation through our Legislature. As lieutenant governor, I would, of course, be president of our State Senate, and would be in a position to do this."

Talmadge Plans Ban On Negroes

ATLANTA—(UP)—Gov. Nominate Eugene Talmadge said yesterday that he will ask the state Democratic convention at Macon next month to turn the Democratic party in Georgia into an organization to circumvent federal laws guaranteeing Negroes the right to vote in white primary elections.

Talmadge, who waged and won his gubernatorial campaign on the white supremacy issue, said he still likes the South Carolina system of running its party elections and thinks he would not confirm the report, opens Oct. 9. The governor to Democratic convention which Georgia will do well to follow his plans for the future.

It was reported reliably that Rep. Eugene Cox, Democrat, Georgia, who like Talmadge has been critical of the national administration, will criticized the convention often criticized the Democratic campaign

H. A. STALLINGS

A White Primary?

(The following is reprinted from the Waycross Journal-Herald)

The insistence of Eugene Talmadge that the white primary is an issue in the gubernatorial campaign is an insult to every thoughtful Georgian.

The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled on this question and it is unthinkable that even Eugene Talmadge, if elected Governor, would defy the highest legal authority in the Nation. He would not dare place Georgia in violation of a ruling of the Supreme Court unless he were prepared to have Georgia secede from the United States and establish itself an independent nation.

Instead of proposing defiance he is proposing a subterfuge that would amount to violation and yet, according to Talmadge would be workable. This subterfuge is that every law of Georgia relative to a primary be repealed and that primaries be held and controlled wholly by political parties or by political groups.

This would mean that the white Democrats would hold a white Democratic primary. But it would mean, also that the Negro Democrats, or the Negro Republicans, or just Negroes as a racial group, would be free to hold a Negro primary.

The holding of a Negro primary each year in the 47 counties where the Negroes hold a clear numerical majority could easily elect Negroes to every county office and to every city office.

However, if the Negroes and the whites vote in the same primary, there is little, if any, likelihood that Negroes would be elected to public office in any county, not even in those counties where the Negroes have a numerical majority.

If every Georgia law, relative to primaries, be repealed, as suggested by Talmadge, the sole control of the primary would be placed in the party convention. It is the custom in Georgia that the delegates to the party convention be those who voted for the winning candidate. It would be, in effect, a one-man party convention. Not only that but the party convention at any time by a majority vote could change its rules. It could decide not to hold a primary.

Not only could this one-man party convention do as it pleased about primaries, but it could at any time it desired abolish the county unit system of nominating public officials. In accordance with the suggestion of Talmadge for detouring around the decisions of the Supreme Court the only authority for maintaining or eliminating the county unit system would be this one-man party convention.

As it is now the safeguards thrown around a primary and the maintenance of the county unit system are laws of the State and have the validity and the authority of the law.

While it has not been tested, many of the able legal minds of Georgia are of the opinion that even if the primaries are controlled and regulated by party conventions, if the nominee of the convention is placed on the official ballot, the decision of the Supreme Court would hold and would control.

Eugene Talmadge knows that if he were elected Governor there is nothing, absolutely nothing, he can do about nullifying a decision of the United States Supreme Court: he knows that a strictly white primary will bring about a strictly Negro primary; he knows the party convention would be a Talmadge convention; he knows a Talmadge convention could at any time that it desired do away with the county unit system.

Eugene Talmadge knows he cannot under any circumstances keep the Democratic primary a wholly white primary. He cannot, even by force, maintain a Talmadge-dominated Georgia in rebellion to the laws of the United States.

REPEATS PLEDGE TO SAVE STATE WHITE PRIMARY

MACON, Ga., Oct. 9.—(UP)—Eugene Talmadge, lying sick in a hospital on the day of his latest political triumph, today spoke through his son to accept an unprecedented fourth term as Georgia governor.

Talmadge, who was victorious in the July 17 state primary on a campaign of white supremacy, used the acceptance speech to blast at his enemies whom he labeled "the lunatic fringe of the east that follows the party line of Moscow."

Young Herman Talmadge, the governor - nominate's campaign manager and perhaps heir to his father's political following, read the new governor's words to cheering delegates.

"I do not want to see the doctrines of Henry Wallace and Harold Ickes become a guiding beacon of government in Georgia," Talmadge said. "The radicals of the east and other sections of the country must be content and realize that Georgia will handle its own affairs."

Talmadge drafted the speech before he was sent to a Jacksonville, Fla., hospital bed last week with a serious stomach ailment. He had hoped up to the last minute that he would be recovered and could make today's appearance in person, but doctors ruled the suggestion out and he telegraphed the convention his regrets.

Talmadge, who will be inaugurated in January for a four-year term to succeed reform-bent Gov. Ellis Arnall, defeated James V. Carmichael, Marietta attorney, and former Gov. E. D. Rivers in the primary. Rivers, himself, stood in the convention hall and seconded Talmadge's nomination.

In blunt phraseology, Talmadge reaffirmed the No. 1 pledge of his recent campaign—that Negroes shall never again vote in Georgia primaries so long as he rules.

Talmadge stoutly defended registrars who purged Negro names from voter lists in numerous Georgia counties before the July 17 balloting. If they acted illegally, he said, "then Eugene Talmadge and Eugene Talmadge alone is responsible."

Talmadge also promised "to protect as long as I am governor" the state's county unit system under which he was nominated and which is now being attacked in the United States Supreme Court.

This system gives a county's unit votes to the candidate polling a simple plurality of the county's popular vote. It resulted in Talmadge's nomination although he trailed in popular votes.

But if Georgia did not have this system, Talmadge insisted the state would have a political machine "operated as efficiently as those of Chicago, New York, New Jersey and Memphis."

Delegates were urged by Talmadge to work and vote against a constitutional amendment on the general election ballot for approval November 5 which he said would "freeze in office Director A. J. Hartley of the public health department at his $7,000 a year salary for years to come."

He accused Hartley of issuing a "fake" poll in the recent campaign predicting a two-to-one victory for Carmichael.

The convention adopted a resolution by Floor Leader Roy Harris condemning Hartley as a "dictator of a one-man department who would oppose the policies of the next administration."

To carry out Talmadge's pledge of a white-only primary, the delegates passed a resoltion which revamps the party so that Democratic officials will take over responsibility of governing elections heretofore placed on state officers.

In a final step, the legislature will be asked next January to enact laws specifying and fixing punishment for election frauds such as stealing ballot boxes, deliberate wrong counts, stuffing ballot boxes, voting dead people and out-of-state residents, and buying votes.

The resolution, drafted to execute Talmadge's campaign promise to restore Georgia's "white" primary, rewrites old party rules and combines them with state laws. It offers very little change, except that in the heart of the resolution which reads:

"Any white person who is qualified to vote under the laws of Georgia may become a member of the Democratic party of Georgia by indicating his willingness to become a member and subscribing to the tenets and beliefs of the Democratic party of Georgia, as pronounced by it in its last platform or declaration of policy."

This means that only white citizens may belong to the Democratic party. Since the party will control primaries, only whites will be allowed to vote in Georgia for state and national candidates. This is similar to the method used by South Carolina to circumvent the U. S. Supreme Court ruling that Negroes must be allowed to vote in state primaries.

SUBJECT TO CALL IF MORE ACTION NEEDED

ATLANTA (U.P.)—The State Democratic Convention having accomplished its half of the job of shunting Negroes out of Georgia primary voting, political aides of Eugene Talmadge today were drafting legislation for the 1947 general assembly to complete the job.

The party assembly, which noisily nominated Talmadge in absentia at Macon yesterday for a fourth term as governor, revamped its entire structure to shift laws governing primaries for state law books to party rule books.

But this Talmadge plan to execute his No. 1 campaign promise and restore the "white primary" cannot be effective until the assembly wipes out the election laws.

Final step in the plan to skirt a U. S. Supreme Court decision under which Negroes voted in the July 17 primary will be enactment of new laws specifying election frauds and providing penalties. Present statutes do not fix a punishment for election crimes.

To make certain that any future federal court decisions would not again put Negroes in white voting lines in primaries, the convention adjourned subject to call, so long as Talmadge is in office. If the court orders Georgia again to let Negroes vote in party elections, the convention can re-convene, revamp its set-up again and re-route its course around the court edict.

Some 4,000 delegates who swamped Macon hotels grumbled their disappointment that Talmadge, recovering from a serious stomach ailment in Jacksonville, Fla., hospital could not personally accept the nomination. But they gave a wild ovation to his son, Herman, who delivered the address.

Talmadge re-affirmed his solemn pledge to keep Negroes out of "white" primaries, state, city and county, warned "radical and the lunatic fringe of the East" to let Georgia handle its own affairs. He declared he did not want to see Georgia "fall into the party lines of Moscow."

The next governor also promised to preserve the county unit system of nominating officials in the primary. He blasted state welfare A. J. Hartley, appointee of Governor Ellis Arnall, and promised to defeat a proposed constitutional amendment under which Hartley could be frozen in office for another seven years. He accused Hartley of issuing a "false" poll during the recent race predicting two-to-one defeat for Talmadge.

Convention Floor Leader Roy Harris, of Augusta, introduced an amendment condemning Hartley, called the director "Judge Hurtley," and accused Governor Ellis Arnall of planning to use the welfare department "to try to defeat our white primary plan in the legislature." He charged that Arnall "sold the white people of this state down the river."

Arnall was criticized by other convention speakers for failure to convene the legislature to circumvent the Negro vote court decision. Keynoter Eugene Cox by inference accused him of "making common cause with the Harlequins of Harlem."

Banker Charles D. Redwine, of Fayetteville, nominating Talmadge, deplored the fact that Negroes were allowed to vote in the recent primary and shouted as he pounded the rostrum, "We are ready to tell them now that by the eternal God they shall not pass."

Former Governor E. D. Rivers, who with James V. Carmichael, was defeated by Talmadge, seconded the nomination, pledged "unstinting support to Eugene Talmadge for the next four years. He called attention to a report that a Negro had filed in the race for coroner of Fulton (Atlanta) county, and called Negro participation in white primaries "a hydra-headed monster which we must and shall put down."

Throughout the one-day, harmony-party to support of Talmadge's speakers loosed campaign platform, including financial aid to counties for hospital construction, perpetuation of the teachers, and half of all state jobs for veterans.

Every mention of "Reds," at "Pinks" will hurt the people more than the target."

One of the 21 items which delegates approved without a dissenting voice was a platform pledging the barrage against the next governor and at "Blacks." Every mention of "White Primary" brought spontaneous applause.

White Primary's 'Rescue' Urged

The Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta Ga.

Former Gov. Eugene Talmadge, writing as a private citizen, has formerly asked Chairman J. Lon Duckworth to convene the State Democratic Executive Committee for the purpose of protecting Georgia's white primary.

At the same time, a move made by Speaker Roy Harris, of Augusta, to wrap the flag of educational aid around efforts to convene the Legislature and ban Negro voting, was dampened when State Auditor B. E. Thrasher, Jr., declared the state does not have any $5,000,000 surplus as mentioned by Harris.

A third development in the Negro voting picture yesterday was the announcement the United States Supreme Court has been asked to intervene in the lower Federal Court's orders that Georgia Democrats permit Negroes to vote. wed. 3-27-46

Talmadge recently said the white primary could be preserved under the New Orleans Federal Court of Appeals decision, if the Legislature and the Democratic Executive Committee took action. He said the party should first meet and write into its rules the Georgia laws protecting a white primary; then the Legislature should convene and abolish its primary laws. Asked for comment at that time, Duckworth said no one had requested him to call a meeting of the committee.

LETTER WRITTEN

Yesterday, Talmadge wrote Duckworth a letter formally requesting a meeting of the committee. Talmadge said he was wondering whether or not Duckworth desired Negroes to vote in the Democratic white primaries.

Chairman Duckworth last night said he had no comment to make on Talmadge's letter.

Harris' statement from Augusta that the Legislature should be convened to raise teachers' salaries as well as preserve the white primary caused a flurry of excitement in the State Capitol. Chief reason for the excitement was Harris' claims that some departments had not been able to use their extra appropriations provided in January, because of labor shortages, and this money could be transferred to the school teachers. wed. 3-27-46

"You need not become disturbed because of fear the State of Georgia will accumulate any surplus, or you might miss out on any surplus if you don't request funds in excess of your actual need: Thrasher notified all state officials in calling for their budget requests and financial statements for the new quarter.

"IN THE RED"

Pointing out the State today is operating in the "red," Thrasher said the income for the past nine months has been $52,500,563, while the budget allotments totaled $54,683,522. This is a deficit in current operations of $2,182,959.

"Based on past experience, the amount of money required to operate this next quarter is $17,905,000, or approximately the actual income for the three months last year," Thrasher said. "This makes it necessary that the first additional income for the three months be applied toward reducing the operating deficit for the past nine months."

"The problem," Thrasher commented, "is not one of finding a way to spend the increased income, but the serious problem is

Continued on Page 11, Column 5

holding expenditures within the income."

"Past experiences have taught us we are entering into a dangerous period in an administration, the last six or nine months, when tremendous pressure is put on a governor and fiscal officers to be involved in last-minute commitments such as building roads, 100 percent from state funds, thus getting the work done prior to the change in administration, rather than letting the work take an orderly course where the taxpayers of Georgia would bear only one-half of the cost under a state-federal program," the auditor asserted. "Also, the pressure is great from some groups for last-minute commitments which would cost maybe a million dollars now, but would force six to 12 times that much money to be raised by the next administration if the program is carried out. These conditions have been avoided, but as the time goes on, the force and pressure on these matters may be expected to get worse."

FEAR OF CITIZENS

The cause of this condition is the fear of the citizens that a new administration will not let the work proceed as committed or planned, even though the commitments are well within the funds available at the time, he continued. The procedure of tearing up or cancelling work, to which the citizens are entitled, must be stopped. Thrasher said the budget bureau is asking the heads of the various state agencies to make no request for approval of commitments which cannot be financed currently.

"We are extremely anxious to pull this state through this period under a safe and sane financial policy, living within the income and not making any commitments for which no cash has been reserved to liquidate," the auditor asserted.

Attorneys for the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee yesterday filed a motion asking the United States Supreme Court to stay the mandate of the Federal Appellate Court which held Negroes entitled to vote in Georgia primaries.

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said the state would file a brief in support of the Muscogee group's petition, as a "friend of the court," within 10 days.

Cook said the State of Georgia was not named as a party in the suit filed by Primus King, Columbus Negro, and he contended the State is not responsible for the actions of the local Democratic Party groups. Federal Judge Hoyt Davis, of Macon, ruled the State does not regulate elections, and because of this, all citizens are entitled to vote, regardlesss of race, creed. or color.

White Primary

Atlanta Constitution

Editor Constitution: Several weeks ago we read in our Georgia newspapers where Gov. Ellis Arnall stated that the State of Georgia had been completely paid free of all indebtedness, and that the treasury had a nice balance on hand, this being done while he had been in office as Governor.

I, being a man who does not take all that Gov. Arnall says for granted, did not believe it in the first place. Nevertheless, when we read the March 27 edition of The Atlanta Constitution, we see where the State Auditor, B. E. Thrasher Jr., says the State of Georgia is now operating in the red by approximately $2,000,000.

Eugene Talmadge has asked the State Democratic Chairman, Lon Duckworth, to call the State Legislature of Georgia into session in order to save the white primary. There have been a lot of politicians who have thrown cold water on this, saying it could not be done.

These same politicians would like a seat in Washington, D. C., if they were ever offered one, leaving our primaries to be dictated to by some Federal Judges like the ones who supported the FEPC, therefore taking away our state right. Sun. 3-31-46

Personally, I think our white primary can be saved if enough of us write our State Representatives demanding that they call this session Talmadge has asked for.

Regardless of what some people might say about Eugene Talmadge, he has the "guts" to stand up for white supremacy, and we who are born and bred in the traditions of the good old South will always admire him for that.

HIRAM DUNN.

East Point.

White Primary Out in Georgia

Peoples Voice

4-6-46

WASHINGTON—The right of Negroes to vote in Georgia Democratic primaries was upheld by the Supreme Court, Monday. The court refused to review a lower court decision that a for-whites-only primary Georgia law violates the 15th Amendment to the Constitution. Two years ago the Supreme Court ruled that Texas Negroes could not legally be barred from voting.

The Supreme Court's action had its beginning in the successful suit of Primus E. King. He had sued after he was denied the right of voting in the July 4, 1944, primary. The U. S. District Court of Middle Georgia then held that his right to vote was unconstitutionally withheld, and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld that finding on March 6. New York, N.Y.

Georgia election officials then asked the Supreme Court for a review of the lower court's decision and claimed that King's being "of the colored or Negro race" was not the reason he was refused the vote. The officials had added that the question was "of great importance, not only to the Negroes, but to the petitioners here and hundreds of others situated similarly."

Geo[redacted]a Editors Say:

Atlanta, Ga.

Constitution

UNIT SYSTEM

(Gainesville News)

In so far as we are concerned we believe the preservation of the county unit system in Georgia is of far greater importance than denial to Negroes of the right to vote. In our opinion, if permitted to vote, and the Federal Courts say they are, they will do so decently and in order, therefore let's quit all of this demagogy and stirring up of racial hatreds and yield to the inevitable.

Here in the South, the Negro is our problem and let's try to handle it without all of this political humbuggery and stirring up of racial prejudices which some office-seekers are going to try and keep alive during the approaching gubernatorial primary.

Sun 4-14-46

IMPORTANT

(Lincolnton Journal)

The 1946 Governor's race will be the most important one this state has seen since the carpetbaggers from the North and East were wrested from Southern control.

This campaign may well point to the future destiny of Southern state's rights and the cherished traditions of our Southland on race problems.

THE TELEGRAPH'S STAND

(Newnan Herald.)

Like many other progressive Georgia editors, Buford Boone of the Macon Telegraph has conceded editorially that Negroes should not and in fact cannot be denied the vote in Georgia. The Telegraph also points out, as the Herald has done, that if the Negro is kept out of the Democratic party (where many really belong) he will form his own group, which, to quote Editor Boone, "would be conducive to recurrent trouble" and would "furnish an ideal set-up for the Communists." Sun 4-14-46

"We have," says The Telegraph, "been embarrassed in the past by well-intentioned but poorly-informed outsiders who had a genuine desire to help the Negro. It is far worse to contemplate what the Communists could do with a disgruntled Negro population in this state or elsewhere in the South.

"The whites and the Negroes have come a long way in a few generations. The Telegraph believes that it would be far better for sensible elements in both races to work out the details of this problem at home—now, in the coming election. By doing so each will grow in the other's respect."

HOW?

(Pickens County Progress.)

Several prospective candidates for governor say that they favor retaining a white primary and the county unit system of voting therein. The Progress has never favored the county unit system, but we would like to keep the white primaries if it can be done without throwing them wide open to all kinds of corruption. Let the candidates stop using general terms and explain their plans in detail so the voters can judge whether or not it will work. If there is no law protecting a primary, and there is no place to contest one except before the committee that holds it, what chance do you have of securing an honest election?

SAVE THE UNIT SYSTEM

(Paul Green in Clayton Tribune)

Of course, everyone knows what the county unit system is—and how valuable it is to Rabun County and all the other rural sections of Georgia. Repeal of our primary laws would legally do away with above-mentioned cities. It would completely destroy the elective powers of small counties. The county unit system was designed to keep the State Government from being entangled with those infamous big city political machines. So, let the powers-that-be do anything they wish. Let Negroes vote. Let horses, cows, monkeys and parrots vote. But for the sake of Rabun County, and all other small counties like it, don't destroy our county unit system of counting votes.

Roy Harris and Talmadge Men Claim 123 Solons Want Negro-Ban Session

By M. L. ST. JOHN

House Speaker Roy Harris and outspoken supporters of ex-Gov. Eugene Talmadge have made unverified claims that 93 representatives and 30 senators are willing to convene themselves in special session to keep the ban on Negroes voting in Georgia's Democratic primary.

Harris readily admitted the Legislature would have to abolish the county unit election system and laws against fraud in elections in order to circumvent federal courts' decisions permitting the Negroes to vote. He said these regulations would be left to the Democratic party.

Names of the Senate and House members who reportedly were willing to convene themselves were not made public by Harris and Rep. Jim Dykes, of Cochran, a Talmadge leader in the Legislature, when they made their claims in an Atlanta hotel room yesterday. They declined to show the names to a reporter, and said most of the names were on letters which were in Augusta.

Their claims of 93 House members—some of them admittedly unsigned—were 22 short of the required 125 necessary to bring the General Assembly into session. Their claims of 30 Senators were sufficient, if all were signed. Harris said he would send out petitions for members to sign. When enough are signed, he would turn them over to Gov. Arnall who would then be required to call a meeting of the General Assembly.

It was reported that Dykes, who is being groomed as a floor leader for Talmadge should the latter be successful in his comeback attempt this summer, spent most of the night in Talmadge's hotel room here telephoning House members and urging them to agree to the called session. Dykes told a reporter yesterday he had obtained the consent of three House members to call a session. He appealed for the press to "give us lots of publicity, because we are going to need it."

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A public official recently suggested that we abolish the Democratic primary. In lieu thereof, he would establish a White Committee. Nomination in its primary would be equivalent to election. Therefore, no individual could be excluded from participation therein on account of race or color. Constitutional provisions would not permit such limitation. Any attempt to circumvent the law can only delay what informed people know is inevitable.

Abolition of the Neill primary law can not evade the fundamental law of the land. We can eliminate every word concerning primaries from our statutes. Nevertheless, any system whereby officials are elected is within the scope of the United States constitution.

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Remember this is the same Arnall, who, with Ed Rivers and Ralph McGill, was shouting his lungs out for Henry Wallace, the CIO and the Negro, at the last National Democratic Convention. That is the reason I take no

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TO PRESERVE WHITE PRIMARY

Roy Harris and Talmadge Men Claim 123 Solons Want Negro-Ban Session

Atlanta Constitution, Ga.

By M. L. ST. JOHN

House Speaker Roy Harris and outspoken supporters of ex-Gov. Eugene Talmadge have made unverified claims that 93 representatives and 30 senators are willing to convene themselves in special session to keep the ban on Negroes voting in Georgia's Democratic primary.

Harris readily admitted the Legislature would have to abolish the county unit election system and laws against fraud in elections in order to circumvent federal courts' decisions permitting the Negroes to vote. He said these regulations would be left to the Democratic party.

Sat. 3-30-46

Names of the Senate and House members who reportedly were willing to convene themselves were not made public by Harris and Rep. Jim Dykes, of Cochran, a Talmadge leader in the Legislature, when they made their claims in an Atlanta hotel room yesterday. They declined to show the names to a reporter, and said most of the names were on letters which were in Augusta.

Their claims of 93 House members—some of them admittedly unsigned—were 22 short of the required 125 necessary to bring the General Assembly into session. Their claims of 30 Senators were sufficient, if all were signed. Harris said he would send out petitions for members to sign. When enough are signed, he would turn them over to Gov. Arnall who would then be required to call a meeting of the General Assembly.

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Montgomery Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

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Mississippi Seeks Way To Keep White Primary

Chicago Defender

Chicago, Ill.

By JOHN LeFLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

Sat. 3-2-46

JACKSON, Miss.—Alarmed over Mississippi Negroes' vote demands in resolutions to the state legislature and governor last week, the House of Representatives took initial action Friday to "protect" one of the state's "white supremacy" traditions—the Democratic white primary.

Legal artifices, which they hope may afford loopholes to permit circumvention of the recent Texas white primary decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, are being planned by Mississippi lawmakers.

The House, without a dissenting vote, approved and sent to the Senate a concurrent resolution directing the speaker of the House and president of the Senate to appoint a special committee to revise the state's primary election laws.

Act To Bar Negro Voter

A rush order has been given the Senate to take similar action this week in order that committeemen may be appointed to begin work to effect a change so that the present session of the legislature may pass the revised legislation to continue the political disfranchisement of Negro citizens.

The resolution provides for a committee of five members — three from the house and two from the Senate. Speaker Walter Sillers and Lt. Governer Fielding L. Wright will be ex-officio members of the group.

The resolution, offered by Rep. Hilton Waits of Washington county, charges the U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing the Texas white primary laws has "provoked an acute and unprecedented problem with reference to the Mississippi statutes."

Proposals Stated

All other Southern states except Mississippi have revised all their primary laws to meet the "imperfections disclosed by said decision of the U.S. Supreme Court," the resolution declared.

It also stated that "in the judgment of the legislature of the state of Mississippi, the best interests of the people of the state of Mississippi would be best served by appointing a special committee to study said legislation and make its reccommendations to this legislature."

An opinion prevailed in legislative circles that a constitutional amendment may be required to bring about one of the proposed changes:

In the Texas white primary case, the Supreme Court ruled that primary elections held under state supervision and with taxpayers' money should be open to all eligible voters. The decision denied the state Democratic party or executive committee to bar Negroes from such elections. Mississippi primary elections are conducted with public funds.

Despite Mississippi's large Negro population, fewer colored people are believed to be now voting in its primary elections than in the Democratic primaries of any other state in the South.

Mississippi Eyes Vote Law Change

The Advertiser

Legislative Call Possible On White Supremacy

Montgomery, Ala.

JACKSON, MISS., Dec. 9.—(AP)—Gov. Fielding L. Wright let it be known today that he is giving serious consideration to calling a special session of the Mississippi Legislature to change existing primary election laws in order to insure preservation of white supremacy.

"If I do call a special session," the Governor commented at a press conference, "it will not be until after the first of the year. There's a lot of deciding to be done, but I em thinking about the matter."

Tues. 12-10-46

Repeal of the "black market" tax on liquor sold in legally "dry" Mississippi will be included in the call if it is issued, the Governor added.

"If a special session is called, it will be primarily to change the election laws," Governor Wright said.

The "black market" tax issue, he explained, would be included in the call only as a specific piece of legislation to be considered, and would not throw open the whole tax structure for action by the special session.

Revision of Mississippi's primary laws has been urged since the United States Supreme Court handed down decision of cases from other States holding in favor of Negroes participating in Democratic State primaries.

Supplying The Test

The effort of Negroes to enroll for participation in the Democratic party primary in South Carolina, in violation of the party rules, generally met with rebuffs—although here and there some Negroes have been permitted to enroll. These names will, of course, be purged when the rolls are purged.

It was as expected. The refusal supplies the Negro Democrats with the evidence they need to test the South Carolina primary system in the courts. The purging of Negro names, placed on the club rolls in violation of the rules, will supply additional evidence.

The test may be made in one way or another. The Negroes denied the right to enroll may seek an injunction in the federal courts to compel the club secretaries to place their names on the club rolls. Or they may bring suit, alleging that they were illegally denied the right to vote in the primary. Or the attorney general may attempt to proceed against party officers, as he threatens, but in either case the matter must be carried to the Supreme Court for final determination.

For the South Carolina primary system was not on trial in the Georgia case which the Attorney General's office takes as its guide. Any South Carolina case will involve a different state of facts and until the Supreme Court passes upon the issue of whether where a state has abolished all its primary laws any group has the right to form a party and exclude from membership in it any other group desiring membership nothing has been settled in South Carolina.

There is no need, therefore, for any exchange of recriminations.

South Carolina's Primary Tuesday Bars Negro Voters

Advertiser

COLUMBIA, S. C., Aug. 10.—(U.P.)—South Carolina Democrats Tuesday will visit the polls from which Negroes are excluded to vote for a governor, lieutenant-governor and other state officers. 8-11-46

Due to a record entry list of 11 candidates in the gubernatorial race, it was believed that a run-off between the two top candidates is inevitable. Gov. Ransome J. Williams is a leading candidate for re-nomination.

South Carolina, with its dozens of big textile mills, is a main target right now of both CIO and AFL union organizing drives but labor pressure in the election is not expected to be influential. There are few outstanding issues at stake.

The CIO Political Action Committee said publicly it will not support any candidates because it is too busy with the job of organizing workers.

Polls open at 8 a.m. and close at 6 p.m. except in rural areas where voting stops two hours earlier. Montgomery, Ala.

South Carolina found a method of circumventing federal court rulings which specify that Negroes must be allowed to vote in white primaries.

Shortly after the famous 1944 Texas court decision in favor of Negro voting, Senator Olin Johnson, then governor of the state, summoned the legislature into special session to discuss the situation. The assembly threw out all reference to state primary laws, leaving voting procedure up to the Democratic Party. This put it outside jurisdiction of the federal law.

Negroes, acting mainly through the Progressive Democratic League, urged their people to attempt to register and said they would go into court to demand the right. There was little response, however, with eight showing up at one place and 12 at another. Their names were later purged. Sunday

When the State Democratic Party Convention was held last May, Negroes again hoped the outcome would be agreement to a two-color primary. But the matter was not discussed except indirectly. A resolution was passed requiring voting applicants to read, write and interpret the state constitution.

"That should keep out of our party at least 90 per cent of the people we don't want," said State Senator J. Carl Kearse.

Former Georgia Gov. Eugene Talmadge who recently won another term on the white supremacy theme advocated that Georgia follow South Carolina's lead in doing away with primary laws and give the Democratic Party machine the job of "preserving" a pure white elect Thousands of Negroes voted the Georgia election. 8-11-46

South Carolina Negroes expected little if any sympathy from the state's 11 gubernatorial candidates, most of whom have publicly taken a stand against letting them vote.

The governor's office, often a stepping stone to the U. S. Senate, has the following aspirants in addition to Johnson:

Dr. James McLeod, Florence; J. Strom Thurmond, Edgefield; John C. Taylor, Anderson; John D. Long, Union; Roger W. Scott, Dillon; A. J. Beattie, Columbia; Dr. Carl Epps, Sumter; Del O'Neal, Columbia; Marcus A. Stone, Florence, and A. L. Wood, Gaffney. Williams, McLeod, Thurmond and Taylor are thought to have the best chance.

Names of Negroes Are Purged from Enrolment Books

The News and Courier Charleston, S. C. Mon. 7-29-46

Spartanburg, July 28.—(AP): The names of negroes on Spartanburg county Democratic primary enrolment books have been stricken by order of the county executive committee.

An unofficial committee report sai dnames of 14 negroes were on the books. State Democratic party rules limit membership to whites.

Anderson, July 28.—(AP): Chairman A. E. Holman of the Anderson county Democratic committee said today the names of a "small" number of negroes who had enrolled for the August 13 primary had been "purged" from the books in compliance with a state party rule limiting party membership to white persons.

S.C. Conducts A 'Last Stand' White Primary

COLUMBIA, S. C. — Ten Spartanburg Negroes voted last week in the South Carolina democratic primaries, while the State brazenly pushed through its essentially private white primary.

The primary was first held since the Democratic party, in a move to block Negro voting, stripped all primary regulations from state statutes and reorganized the party as a "mutual association." It may be the last white primary if threatened Federal Court suits succeed.

In the statute purge the state skirted a Supreme Court Ruling that Negroes must be allowed to vote in state primaries.

The 10 Spartanburg voters went to the polls at the suggestion of James M. Hinton, president of the South Carolina Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Hinton and two others were turned away at Columbia when they sought to vote. He plans an immediate test in Federal Court of the legality of the Democratic party's move. Defender

Scattered returns gave former Circuit Judge J. Strom Thurmond, candidate for the state's liberal element, a slight lead over Gov. Ransome Williams, machine choice, and nine other candidates in the gubernatorial contest. Chicago, Ill.

William Jennings Bryan Dorn, war veteran with GI support, defeated Rep. Butler B. Hare in the Democratic race. Hare had opposed Federal anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills in Washington. State Sen. James Leppard of Chesterfield County, who had campaigned on "white supremacy" was defeated. Sat. 8-24-46

Negro Votes Barred In S. C.

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Democrats Strive For White Primary

Sat. 8-17-46

COLUMBIA, S.C.—Flaunting the United States Supreme Court, South Carolina whites have intensified their all-out drive to keep Negroes from voting in the Democratic primaries here next week.

The offensive shows white political officeholders, party officers and election officials cooperating in a campaign to block Negro voting.

So far, although a statewide effort was made to enroll Negroes for the primaries, only 14 in Spartanburg and four in Columbia were able to get their names on the books, and they were later purged.

In Spartanburg the 14 Negroes whose names had been purged from club rolls of the Democratic party, were told last week that rule 6 of the party regulations did not permit them to qualify for the primary nominations.

The action was protested by Atty. Harold R. Boulware who stated that the Democratic primaries in South Carolina were actual election process.

Negroes Given Stall

In Ridgeland, colored citizens, applying for registration certificates for three months now, have been told that there are no more.

Election officials at the Jasper County courthouse have told Negroes applying the first Monday of each month, according to state law, that "we don't have any more certificates ready but you can come back next month."

When more than 100 Negroes appeared in June, the board issued papers to about one-half and announced it had run out of certificates. When those who were denied and others returned in July and August they were told "we have no certificates."

New Terror

In Columbia, executive officers of the Progressive Democratic Party made plans to fight what they termed a "new terror scheme" developed by Rep. Fred L. Hiers of Bamberg County to prevent Negroes from voting.

The scheme was described as a $250,000 libel suit against officers of the PDP for protesting against Hiers' interference with Negro registration. The suit was filed against John H. McCray, state chairman; Mrs. Annie Belle Weston, secretary, and J. C. Artemus, treasurer.

The officers said that Hiers' action was an attempt to frighten county PDP leaders and slow down the rapid growth of the party formed in 1944 to break the "white primary."

"If we bow and whine before an unjust action such as this," one official said, "then we can look for it in practically every county. The obvious attempt is to frighten possible precinct and club leaders in the process of organizing. Moreover, it is a challenge to us to just let present rulers treat us anyway, law or no law, and have our program halted."

Negro leaders also said they expected to file suit next week after the primaries to invalidate the primaries. The case will be brought by a Negro whose name was one of four purged in Spartanburg. Scores of affidavits setting forth the denial of registration have been filed with the U.S. Department of Justice.

May Have Good Result

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

Negroes (poor negroes.), told by "leaders" that they must, shall and will be admitted to vote in white men's primaries, have sense enough to understand that nominations can be made in conventions—so were made in Johnsmith's dining room. The 1876. The effort of negro politicians to break into the white primaries, to vote and be voted for, may have the excellent result of shattering the primary system. It will be practicable for white citizens, men and women, to meet in a hall in a ward or over a neighborhood store at a filling station and nominate candidates for coroner and members of the legislature. If necessary, they can meet in Johnsmith's dining room. The right of men and women to gather and act in exclusive political parties, white, black or brown, has not been abolished and will not be—for a time, at any rate. Sun. 10-27-4

South Carolina Successfully Holds 2nd Primary Minus State Protection

Democratic Vote Declared Removed From Judgment Of Supreme Court

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(AP)—South Carolina Democratic Party members have completed their second statewide primary election minus the protection of state laws, without the occurrence of any untoward incidents.

Striving to protect its traditional white primaries, the party was successful in 1944 in having a special session of the general assembly strip from state laws all references to political primaries.

Removes Court Jurisdiction

This, party leaders said, would remove the state party's actions from the surveillance of the supreme court of the United States, which shortly before had declared Texas primaries open to colored people in a case brought on the basis of integration of the Texas primary and general election laws and machinery.

Editor John H. McCray of the committees, which settled them. Riots and other disturbances at polling places have been virtually unknown, and in any case could be handled by peace officers in the normal course of their duties.

In primary elections of 1944 and of this year, machinery worked smoothly.

There were no known colored persons on party enrolment books in 1944, but possibly a score managed to have their names entered on the club rolls prior to the primaries that were completed early this month.

These known names were purged by the county executive committees in question, yet at Spartanburg, several colored persons still were reported to have managed to cast ballots at one small precinct.

McCray and J. M. Hinton, president of the state chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have said a suit would be brought in federal district court seeking to open the party to colored people. The suit, they said, would be brought on an allegation of denial of civil rights by party officials' refusal to enroll and vote colored persons.

Since the Justice Department's advice, McCray said, he was advocating dropping the proposed suit as useless, but Hinton said he planned to pursue it, although it has yet to be initiated.

PATTERN FOR GEORGIA

South Carolina Avoids Negro Vote Decision

(Editors Note: The white primary which Governor Nominate Eugene Talmadge promised the voters, and which is scheduled to be considered by the state democratic convention, is expected to be modeled after the system in effect in South Carolina. The following story, by Alderman Duncan, Associated Press correspondent at Columbia, outlines the South Carolina system).

BY ALDERMAN DUNCAN

COLUMBIA, S. C., Oct. 8.—(AP By the repeal in 1944 of all laws affecting and governing democratic primary elections, the state of South Carolina has apparently avoided compliance with the U. S. Supreme court ruling that Negroes must not be denied primary voting privileges.

The state Democratic party, membership in which is restricted to "white Democrats," now operates as a private association or club governed only by its own rules.

In state democratic high command circles, it is unofficially but reliably understood that the U. S. Department of Justice has concluded that the South Carolina situation is "untouchable." There simply is no law on which to proceed since the Democratic primary cannot be said to be a part in any of the State's general election machinery.

Court Test Expected

A federal court test is generally expected, however, because James M. Hinton, Columbia Negro insurance man and president of the South Carolina Conference of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, insists that his organization will file a suit claiming that an individual Negro's civil rights have been infringed by not being permitted to vote in the primary.

Hinton says the suit, in which a Negro will seek damages from party officials, will be filed almost any time, but another Negro leader, John McCray, thinks it will be unsuccessful. McCray, editor of a Negro newspaper here and president of the South Carolina Progressive (Negro) Democratic party, has said editorially that he was informed the justice department would take no action in the situation.

McCray also expressed the private opinion that the state democratic primary is outside the law, just as the white political forces intend it to be.

Must Sign Books

Primary voting routine in South Carolina under the democratic rules requires would-be ballot casters to sign enrollment books, which are distributed to the various precinct clubs. In order to vote, an individual's name must be on his club book by a specified date.

The only qualifications are that the individual be white, be at least 18 years old and be a resident of the club area for the specified amount of time, which is reasonably short. He must be a Democrat as the word has been understood in South Carolina since 1876, when the reconstruction period ended with the overthrow of the radical Republican forces which governed the state after the war between the states.

After the enrollment books close, The various club committees go over them and purge the names of those who do not meet the qualifications.

Procedure Violated

On the day of the primary, the voter goes to his club's polling place, presents himself and is given a ballot. No one whose name is not on the book can vote.

The 1946 primaries were held in August and September and went off according to rule except in one isolated instance in which a handful of Negroes were allowed to vote at two Spartanburg city polling places. Just why they were permitted to vote and how this happened have never been fully explained and no official report was made to the state democratic executive committee, which could take no action since the matter did not come up formally.

Spurred by Hinton and McCray, small numbers of Negroes attempted to enroll for the primary when the enrollment books were open. In most instances they were turned away as unqualified but at least one club in Columbia three, including Hinton, succeeded in signing the book because there was no one in direct charge of it at the time.

Names Later Purged

The names of these Negroes were later purged in accordance with the rules but it will be one of them, Hinton says, who will be the plaintiff in the civil rights suit.

After the Democratic nominees for state and county offices are chosen in the primaries, the party prepares its own general election ballots which are distributed to general election voting places by party officials who, as far as the state is concerned, are private individuals. Such a method relieves the state of any connection with the Democratic organization in the staging of the general election.

Under state law, any political party or organization can put up a general election ticket, provided it furnish and distribute its own ballots to the polling places, which number 1,285.

GOP Minor Factor

One or more Republican organizations usually put out ballots, which never seem to get around to all general election polling places, but they hardly ever poll more than 3,000 votes. McCray's Progressive Democrats put up a ticket at the last general election but naturally got nowhere.

There is one requirement for general election voters: Possession of a general election registration certificate, obtained by application at the court house in the county of residence the first Monday of each month.

Certificates are good for 10 year periods—from 1938 to 1948, from 1948 to 1958 and so on. In addition to a certificate, if a voter is a male, he must show proof of payment of his poll tax—women, both white and black, are not required to pay poll taxes.

The South Carolina Democratic primary laws were taken off the state statute books at a special session of the General Assembly called by the then-governor Olin D. Johnston.

Already Are Two Parties

The News and Courier Charleston S.C.

Citizens are saying, so "W. D. W. reports, that in South Carolina should be two parties. There are two parties in the state now—besides the negro "Democratic" and the Republican parties. Tues. 10-29-46

The exclusive white man's party holds primaries and nominates state and county officers. It is without connection with the national Democratic party, a mixed negro and white party. That party has adopted the principles of the late Joseph Tolbert.

One may vote in the white primary and then vote for a Republican or Socialist for president without violating a pledge. A national Socialist or Republican may be nominated for congress in South Carolina's white primary.

To this time the politicians in control of South Carolina have succeeded in holding the white primary in one state organization with the national "Democrats", and that has enabled them to go to national conventions and engage in horse-swapping.

In 1948 the national "Democratic" party, controlled by the great city politicians, will admit negro "Democratic" delegates from South Carolina to the national convention. The South Carolina white leaders will have to sit with the colored fellows, whether they like it or not, and in the national convention the white and negro Democrats will march around the hall when, in the well cooked enthusiasm, the South Carolina guidon is seized, torn from the floor.

The national "Democratic" managers will do no more than is just when they admit the South Carolina negro "Democrats" to "cooperation".

The negro "Democrats" of South Carolina are loyal to the democratic policies and principles of the late President Roosevelt and those of his widow and sons. Most of the white "Democrats" are disloyal to them.

Are Not Disfranchised

The News and Courier

The appeal of a negro of South Carolina representing the National Society for the Advancement of the Colored people to the United Nations is based on misapprehension. In South Carolina is no "Democratic primary". State and county primaries are held by white people and in them Communists, Republicans, Socialists, Democrats can vote if they have white skins and look to be 18 years old or older. In offices in South Carolina, federal and state, are white voters, who have voted for Republican candidates for president and vice president.

Negroes, whether they be "Democrats", "Progressive Democrats" or Republicans can hold primaries, excluding white people from them if they wish. No one is hindering them. If 800,000 negroes are wanting in capacity to conduct a race party, as the last 100 years and longer a white minority has carried on a Democratic party in Vermont, something is wrong with them. Charleston, S. C.

No negro in South Carolina is "disfranchised" if he have minimum qualifications to register. Where is the grown-up negro man who cannot raise a dollar a year to pay a poll tax? Great numbers of them ought to be disfranchised and a large number of white people too ought to be disfranchised. Voting should be a privilege and duty of the competent and responsible. It is not a "right" of persons because they are 21 or 18 years old or older. Of idolatries the most absurd is democracy. Tues. 11-26-46

When negroes in South Carolina shall use their franchise there will be white people, unfortunately, who will resort to and with them in political activity.

Exclusive political clubs based on color of skins, white or black, are as legitimate as clubs of Masons, Woodmen or Knights of This or That.

The whole American negro program is effort to have negroes adopted by "the white folks".

Meanwhile, exclusion and segregation appear to be going on in Palestine, India, a dozen other countries. The United Nations have much on their hands.

The American negroes seem to "have it in" for Spartanburg's Dr. Byrnes who once said in the senate that "the negroes have come into control of the Democratic party." It may be so.

Hint South Carolina Primary Stymies Justice Department

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 12-28-46

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP)—A hint that the white primary, as operated in South Carolina, has stumped the Department of Justice, was contained in a letter to James M. Hinton, state NAACP head, in a letter from Turner L. Smith, civil rights section chief, this week.

Smith wrote the NAACP official that action had not been taken on the case, because no federal statutes or court rulings applicable to the unique situation could be found. He cited the Primus E. King case in Georgia, this year, in which federal courts held it necessary to show that statutes or precedents covered the issues raised. There is no known guide that shows the South Carolina case as an attempt to circumvent the Texas primary decision, Smith said.

The Smith letter sustained a persistent rumor concerning the department's judgment. The new position is now considered a threat to the victories won in Texas and Georgia.

South Carolina repealed all primary laws in April, 1944. Repeals made by a special session of the legislature were approved in a November referendum.

Affidavits setting forth cases of denial to vote in the primary were filed with the Justice Department in 1942, 1944 and 1946. Last April the department assured the NAACP of a ruling declaring its intent to prosecute persons denying Negroes the right to vote in primary and general elections.

Negro Appeal to U. N.

The News and Courier

To The News and Courier:

The following letter has been addressed to Trygve Lie, secretary general of the United Nations, Lake Success, New York: Tues. 11-26-46

The South Carolina State Conference, Of The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, wish to bring to you, and through you, solicit discussion and aid, for the more than 800,000 negroes in South Carolina, the home state of "Secretary of State," Honorable James Byrnes. The negroes of South Carolina are denied the right to vote in "Democratic primaries", which are tantamount to election, thus they are reduced to mere second-rate citizenship. Charleston, S. C.

Mr. Byrnes is an outspoken exponent for free elections, and democratic action, for the enslaved peoples of many countries in Europe, while he not only condones, but, in word and actions, has been the recipient of honors from South Carolina (through elections), where only whites voted for his election. Mr. Byrnes has yet to speak for the disfranchised negroes of his own state of South Carolina.

The plight of negroes in South Carolina is in the main true of negroes representing more than 8,000,000 in the South, who are without the free use of the ballot. The United Nations are vitally concerned about similiar conditions over the world, and negroes of South Carolina in particular and the South in general, request your aid, that, they might enjoy 1st-rate citizenship in the great Democracy, which is on trial before the world.

JAMES M. HINTON,
President, South Carolina State Conference of NAACP.

Tues. 11-26-46

Columbia.

Where Is a Great Future

The News and Courier Charleston, S. C.

These negro politicians of South Carolina who think they are disfranchised because white people won't take them into their voting clubs can go to the 18th congressional district of New York, where they will be hugged to the bosoms of the Marcantonians. There is a great future in New York and Detroit for all migrating negroes. Tues. 11-26-46

Another Step For Safety

News and Courier

The legislature and the people of South Carolina gave an exhibition of timely prudence when they repealed all laws relating to primary elections and thereby changed the nature of the white party, converting it into clubs and aggregations of men and women who choose to act without the assistance of colored people in selecting people to vote for. Courier

There are those who say that the federal courts, nevertheless, may order these gatherings of white people to admit negroes and, while we can think of no process of reasoning by which they could arrive at a conclusion of that kind, we also believe that the capacity of the Liberalized court to arrive at and hand down any and all conclusions and decisions is not beyond possibility. Charleston, S.C.

Another prudent step the white people should take in seeking safety first, and they should lose no time in taking it. The same organization that holds the primaries holds state conventions that elect delegates to national "Democratic" conventions. The New Deal courts might seize on that pretext to order the admission of negroes as voters in primaries and in white men's clubs. These Liberals may contend for the negro "Democrats" that, as the present white man's party elects the delegates that vote for candidates for president and vice president, it is not lawful or right that they be excluded from it.

Therefore, The News and Courier advises and urges that, after the primaries have been held this year, a state convention of white people be called that shall separate the state primary party from the organization sending delegates to national conventions and having representation in its committees. Tuesday, 6-25-46

Nothing would stand in the way of white people also having a branch of the national party which would hold conventions to send delegates to national conventions.

The News and Courier's proposal is for safety; it is to cut from under these Liberals trying to force the colored "Democrats" into the white party the last leg, or semblance thereof, that they have to stand on. 6-26-46

Columbia, S. C., Sun 6-12-1946

Florence County Negroes Request Permit to Enroll

Florence, June 11—(Special)—A group of four Timmonsville Negroes yesterday presented a politely worded request for enrolment in the "white" Democratic primary to Frank H. Barnwell, Florence county Democratic chairman.

Barnwell rejected the request and explained that the Democratic party in South Carolina made no provision for enrolment of Negroes.

Lawrence Howard, spokesman for the group, said the four men wished to "register and vote in the primary to help place in office the most capable men." He explained that they had been referred to Barnwell by an executive committeeman from Timmonsville.

Howard said the people he represented were "citizens of the state of South Carolina and see no reason why we should be called on to defend and die for our country and not be allowed to vote in the election of office holders of our country."

Barnwell said the Negroes were courteous in their demeanor. After being informed of his decision, they said they would return to Timmonsville and "talk over the matter" with the executive committeemen there.

Advice to Negroes

News and Courier, Charleston, S.C.

To The News and Courier:

This letter is intended for the negroes of South Carolina.

Keep out of the white man's primary. Those who are telling you to go and enroll so you can vote in their primary are deceiving themselves and only making trouble for all the people. Tuesday 6-21-46

"Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." Galatians VI:7. 6-21-46

REV. PETER S. BENNETT.
(Negro minister, 94 years old)
8 Hampden Place.

Rule 6 Bars Enrolment, Spartanburg Negroes Told

News and Courier, Charleston, S.C.

Spartanburg, Aug. 5.—(AP): The Spartanburg county Democratic executive committee Monday told a delegation of 14 negroes that the party's Rule 6 constituted a bar to their qualifying to vote in the primary elections.

The delegation appeared at a hearing in answer to an invitation by the committee that its members show cause why their names should not be purged from enrolment books.

Harold Boulware, negro attorney of Columbia, acted as spokesman for the group. 8-6-46

He said that his clients were qualified electors and taxpayers, and, as such, should have a voice in the running of their government. Tuesday

The voting privilege enjoyed by negroes in the general election means nothing since the actual selection of governing officials takes place in the Democratic primaries, Boulware told the committee.

White Man's Primary

Charleston, S.C. News & Courier

To The News and Courier:

Negroes of South Carolina, please keep out of the white man's primary for you are not wanted in there. For good will, give us the right man for the right place and there will be peace, and where there is peace there will be prosperity and happiness to all the people. Sun 8-11-46

REV. PETER S. BENNETT.
(Negro minister, 96 years old.)
8 Hampton Place.

South Carolina White Primary, Model for Talmadge, 'Club' Affair

By JOHN COURIC

COLUMBIA, S. C., Oct. 6—This State's Democratic White Primary, pattern for the Talmadge Administration's plan to prohibit Negro voting in Georgia primaries, is strictly a "club" affair operating outside the bounds of legal regulation.

The Democratic Party no longer exists in this State insofar as South Carolina's law books are concerned, since every statute concerning the party and its primaries has been removed.

Because the Democratic Party is no longer considered part of the State Government—now that its legal connections have been severed—the Federal Court decision permitting Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries does not apply, Tom B. Pearce, Chairman of South Carolina's State Democratic Executive Committee, declared.

Like any lodge, fraternity or club, the party can use its discretion in requirements for membership and it follows logically that only the party can make rules prohibiting chicanery and fraud in primaries, Pearce added.

Editor's Note: Here is the "South Carolina Plan" for preserving the White Primary It is this plan which the Talmadge leaders will ask Georgia to adopt in order to prevent Negroes from again voting in a Democratic primary. First steps toward adoption of this plan are scheduled to be taken at the Georgia Democratic Convention in Macon Wednesday.

When asked specifically if State, County or City Governments could not prevent ballot box stealing, voting of the dead and other election frauds in Democratic White Primaries by the use of "ordinary police power," Pearce emphatically replied: "No."

Ordinary police power could only be used in the same manner it is employed against clubs and lodges: In the event of rioting, disturbance of the peace or other activities dangerous to the general public, he said.

Quiet, well-mannered vote stealing, ballot miscounting or any other similar primarly chicanery, Pearce indicated, could be punished only within the party.

PARTY REGULATIONS

The party has set up regulations which it hopes will prevent any corrupt acts within its ranks and will keep Democratic White Primaries — tantamount to elections in this State—honest.

Any person found guilty of primary malpractices may be punished by being expelled from the party and debarred from participating in its primaries, Pearce said.

The decision must be made by three-fourths of the committee concerned, after a hearing is given, and the highest appellate body is the State Executive Committee.

No other punishment may be decreed for such offenses, as in other States, where primary laws remain on the statute books.

PRIMARY MACHINERY

Explaining the machinery of the Democratic White Primary, Pearce said the State Convention is called every general election year on the third Wednesday in May to meet in Columbia. Either the State Chairman or the State Executive Committee may call the convention.

The convention is composed of delegates elected by the county conventions, with each County entitled to as many delegates as it has representatives in the General Assembly. The delegation is limited to that number under party rules and is not permitted to vote in fractions.

County conventions are composed of delegates from local Democratic clubs. One delegate from each 25 club members is sent to the county convention.

The State Chairman and the State Vice Chairman (a woman) are elected at the convention to head the State Executive Committee, whose members are elected by county conventions, one for each county.

CONVENTION'S POWER

The first primary for State offices is set by party regulation for the first Tuesday in August of each general election year after the convention has been held, according to present rules. If the convention wished to abolish the primary and select the Democratic nominees through convention methods, it could do so if approved by a majority of the convention delegates, Pearce said.

The State Convention also elects the delegates to the National Convention.

Rights to levy campaign assessments, or entry fees, on candidates for United States Senate, Congress, State officers and Circuit Solicitors are vested exclusively in the State Committee. However, one-half of the assessments against candidates for Congress and Circuit Solicitors are divided equally among the counties composing the districts or circuits, respectively.

In the primaries, balloting is carried on in various private buildings. Public structures are seldom used and, if they are, they are buildings available to any or all groups, Pearce said.

POPULAR VOTE NOMINATES

The primary ballots are printed at party expense. No candidate can be nominated on the first ballot without a majority of popular vote. (South Carolina does not have the county unit system of voting.) In the event no one receives a majority vote, the two highest candidates run in a second primary.

Winners of State-wide races are declared victorious by the State Executive Committees. The various committees then distribute ballots, with the Democratic slate printed on them, to each general election precinct for the convenience of any person desiring the use of such ballots in the general election.

Qualifications for membership in any club of the Democratic Party in South Carolina are: The applicant shall be 18 years of age, white, a citizen of the United States and South Carolina, be able to read or write, and interpret the Constitution of the United States. No person shall belong to any club or vote in any primary unless he or she has resided in the State two years and in the county six months prior to the succeeding general election and in the club district 60 days prior to the first primary following his offer to enroll. Public school teachers and ministers of regular organized churches are exempt from the provisions regarding residence.

The Defect and the Cure

The News and Courier

The one weakness in the "white primary system" as now established in South Carolina is that it is not yet separated from the convention system which elects delegates to Democratic national conventions. Negro "Democrats" have a plausible case when they set up that they have right to participation in national Democratic affairs and that they are now denied it by South Carolina Democrats in conventions and primaries. The defect can be easily cured. The "white party" can organize with rules, chairmen and committees to conduct white primaries nominating state and county officers, leaving to national Democrats to form their own and separate party organization with its rules, conventions, chairmen, committees, and so forth. Charleston S.C.

Ask 'White Folks' Help

The News and Courier, Charleston, S.C.

The discouraging aspect in the activities of these colored "Democrats" in South Carolina is that they hold no primaries of their own, that they present no formidable showing of numerical strength, that they are virtually confessing at all times in every way that they can do nothing unless they can first "get in with the white folks". One reads that "qualified voters" are allowed to cast ballots. Were 200,000 among them will seek to vote in the white primaries, and those who are not qualified voters are required to pay poll taxes. Notcounty officers. Sat. 7-6-46 of 381,000 negro adults in the state (last census) to vote in an exclusive negro primary, it would cause a sensation throughout the United States and might cause apprehension in the South. Of these adults, women and no men more than 60 years of age, exclusive white party to nominate state and the slightest prospect appears that colored politicians, without advice, assistance, guidance and bossing by white people, will get any offices, get anywhere. Because we do not wish the negroes to be the voting property of unscrupulous white men, scalawags and carpetbaggers, we insist upon the white party to nominate state and county officers.

The Problem, the Solution of It

News & Courier, Charleston, S.C.

The repeal of the laws of South Carolina relating to primary elections and the conversion of the "Democratic" party into the white man's party composed of associated clubs which nominate state and county officers, following some years the elimination of the pledge formerly taken by voters in primaries to support Democratic candidates for president and vice president, was a step necessary to prevent the forced admission of negroes into the primaries with the white people. Sat. 8-10-46

Another step is not only advisable but necessary. This white party organization in South Carolina must be separated from the organization that sends delegates to national Democratic conventions.

In the state conventions that elect the delegates to conventions that nominate the candidates for president and vice president, county representation is based on population, white and colored. In these conventions Charleston, for example, has representation for 60,000 negroes as well as for 61,000 white people, while Greenville with less than 30,000 negroes has 105,000 white people. Yet Greenville has only two more delegates than Charleston in state conventions.

So, in the conventions choosing the men who nominate candidates for president, 25 of 46 counties have larger negro than white populations.

While this condition continues the negroes will have a pretext if not a plausible case upon which to go to the federal court demanding admission into the white man's party. "You elect delegates to national conventions with county delegates whose numbers depend on white and colored numbers in the counties, thus the negro vote is used in your state conventions in the selection of Democratic national candidates, yet you deny these negroes, though they be 'Democrats', the right to participate in the choosing of national delegates". That is what the attorneys for negroes will argue in the Hugo Black supreme court, and how shall the defenders of the white man's primary answer?

We can think of no convincing answer—the case now stands. The state conventions as well as the legislature of South Carolina are composed of county delegations based on numbers of white AND colored people; thus colored strength is used by white people in the nomination of candidates for president and vice president while the colored "Democrats" are denied voice and vote in clubs, county and state conventions.

The cure for this weakness is election of state chairmen and committeemen of the white party nominating state and county officers in their primaries or in conventions wholly separate from the proceedings of the clubs and conventions that elect delegates to the national conventions.

Unless this separation shall be effected, and that quickly, what has been done to save the white people's primaries in South Carolina from the invasion of negroes that has taken place in Georgia, Texas, Alabama, will be undone. Sat. 8-10-46

The course which The News and Courier has here advised would reduce the political weight, in national elections, of Berkeley, Barnwell, Georgetown, Charleston and other counties having numerous negro populations and majorities, but we can conceive of no other procedure that would save in its purity and integrity the white man's party government in South Carolina.

The white party, if it wishes, can choose independent candidates for presidential electors, not calling them "Democrats". Any party, parcel or group of voters can do that.

The News and Courier is unable to think of a device or manner of reasoning by which negroes calling themselves national Democrats can be kept out of a national Democratic party in South Carolina.

What has been here said will not be palatable reading to political leaders in South Carolina. The senators and representatives in congress will probably have nothing to say. Nevertheless, the issue will have to be met. The News and Courier places the facts now before the white South Carolinians. If they shall be ignored by the "leaders", that is not its lookout.

S. C. Negroes Barred From Demo. Primary

The Informer
Houston, Texas

SPARTANBURG, S. C. — (ANP) —Fourteen Negroes whose names had been "purged" from club rolls of the Democratic party here were told Monday that Rule 6 of party rules did not permit them to qualify for primary nominations which take place next Tuesday. 8-17-46

Attorney Harold R. Boulware of Columbia who acted as spokesman for the group informed members of the Democratic Executive committee which had invited the disqualified persons for a hearing that Democratic primaries in this state were the actual electing process, the general election meaning nothing 8-17-46

Meanwhile at Columbia Negro leaders said they expected South Carolina's first suit to be filed next week immediately after the statewide primaries are held. The Columbia case will be brought by a Negro whose name was one of four purged there. It is also possible that a case in behalf of purged persons will be brought here. Although a statewide effort was made to enroll Negroes for the Democratic primaries, only the 14 here and four at Columbia were able to get their names on club books. Scores of affidavits setting forth the general denials have been filed with the U. S. Department of Justice

Negroes Seek U. S. Help In Voting Aug. 13

Federal intervention "to safeguard the constitutional rights of qualified negro electors" was requested today by the South Carolina state conference of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

"Negroes in South Carolina, who are qualified electors, are going to make an attempt to vote in the Democratic primary, to be held Tuesday, August 13, 1946," James M. Hinton, state NAACP president, wrote the United States department of justice. "Negroes presented themselves for enrolment in the primary, but were denied, or given the runaround," he charged.

Hinton said in his letter that "the primary in South Carolina has been, and still is, the real election" and denial of primary voting privileges to negroes "leaves them bereft of the exercise of franchise."

"The South Carolina state conference of NAACP is requesting action from the department of justice to assure all negroes who present themselves for voting that right and privilege," his letter continued.

"We are asking for federal intervention to safeguard the constitutional rights of qualified negro electors . . .

"Members of the United States house of representatives are to be chosen (in the primary), and negroes wish to have a voice in the selection, as well as a voice in selecting the governor . . . he wrote.

Court Ruling On Negro Vote Faces SC Test

By [illegible] N

The United States Supreme Court ruling that Negroes must not be denied primary voting privileges in southern states is due for an acid test in the South Carolina Democratic state primary August 13.

Unlike other southern states, South Carolina has no laws governing or affecting the Democratic primary or party organization. All such laws were erased from the statute books in 1944 after the Supreme Court's decision that Negroes could not be excluded from the Texas Democratic primary.

White Democrats contend, therefore, that their "preferential" primary is not a part of the state's election machinery and that federal laws or court rulings cannot apply. Recent Negro attempts to gain admission to party ranks have been ignored.

Now the South Carolina chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has served notice that Negroes "who are qualified electors" will attempt to vote in the primary, and has asked for federal intervention to "safeguard the constitutional rights of qualified Negro electors." Because he Democratic nomination has been tantamount to election for generations, the NAACP contends that 'the primary in South Carolina has been, and still is, the real election."

Party Stands Pat

State party rules stipulate that "white Democrats" only are eligible and the state Democratic chairman, Tom B. Pearce, said, "we are going to conduct the primary according to the rules of the party as adopted by the state convention u[illegible] some higher authority than we know of now intervenes."

The South Carolina Democratic party, in the words of a special rules committee, is "a private, voluntary association of individuals, mutually acceptable to each other."

The state convention in May adopted a resolution which defined the word "Democrat" for rules purposes.

"The word 'Democrat,'" resolution said, "means said word as understood in South Carolina since 1876"—(this was the year the state overthrew carpetbag and Negro rule after Reconstruction) — "and not necessarily as understood nationally or as exemplified by the national chairman or leader of the party; and against the idea of a strong centralized, paternalistic government; and excludes those whose ideas or leadership are inspired by foreign influences, Communism, Naziism. Fascism, Statism, Totalitarianism, or the Fair Employment Practices Commission, or some such purely race committee. . . ."

Some Vote With GOP

Negroes who voted with the Democrats in 1876 were permitted to vote in the Democratic primaries as long as they lived. Since the last one died, no Negro has been allowed to take part in a Democratic primary and, until recently, the few Negroes who displayed any political activity were affiliated with the Republicans.

Encouraged, however, by the Supreme Court ruling and by Negro participation in recent Georgia, Alabama and Mississipi primaries, the Association for Advancement of Colored People and a Negro group known as the Progressive Democratic party organized and directed Negro attempts to enroll for the primary.

Officials of the two organizations announced that "qualified" Negroes would present themselves in orderly fashion for enrolment on Democratic precinct books. (To vote in the primary an individual's name must be properly enroled.) If these requests were refused, they said, reports would be made to the United States department of justice and federal district attorneys would be asked to take action.

Attempts to enroll by small Negro groups were unsuccessful in most instances. The Negroes were turned away with the explanation that they were "notqualified" or that enrolment officials lacked authority to enrol them.

Some Get On Books

In a few isolated cases, some Negroes succeeded in placing their names on the books but Democratic party rules permit the purging of names of "unqualified" persons.

Affidavits of the incidents in which Negroes were not permitted to enrol were filed with the justice department and the district attorney's office here, at Charleston and at Greenville were notified. So far, no action has been taken.

That's the way the matter stands now with the enrolment books closed.

Two Decisions

The Supreme Court decision Monday in the case involving distribution of religious literature in a company-owned town recalls the court's decision in the Texas primary case. The court held in the Texas case that Democratic primaries were in fact final elections and that voters could not be barred from them on account of color. Now, in effect, the court holds that company-owned towns are like other towns and that what can be done in the exercise of religious freedom in other communities can be done in such places.

Moreover, the decision holds that in any conflict between the rights of owners of property and the right to enjoy freedom of religion, the latter takes precedence.

The court's reasoning is that the use made of private property as a town subjects that property to the rights of religion which can be exercised in a state-created town. There is a certain consistency in this line of thought, it seems to us, with that which held that when a party primary is in effect a final election it is subject to the basic rights of suffrage.

Barring citizens because of color from a controlling primary unquestionably would limit rights of suffrage.

Barring citizens from exercising their religious rights in a company-owned town, which is in effect a community center like any other town, is a limitation, of course, on religious activity. Property rights, the court holds, do not justify that limitation. The court thus shows a very vigilant and broad regard for the protection of religious liberties.

Texans Split On Right Of Race Vote In Primaries

Memphis World

Memphis Tennessee

An east-west split in this state of white public opinion on the question of Negro voting was revealed recently by Texas poll interviewers. Tex. 7-5-46

Opposition to Negro voting rights came chiefly from whites in the eastern half of the state where most of the Negro population is concentrated, while a majority of whites in the western half voiced no objection to Negroes voting in the Democratic primaries, which in Texas is tantamount to election.

Negroes in the state voiced a strong determination to take advantage of the Supreme Court's ruling that prohibits them from being barred from the primaries on July 27, but most whites believe only a few of them will vote.

QUERY CONSIDERED

"Do you think colored people should or should not have the right to vote in the Democratic primary elections in Texas?" interviewers for the Texas poll asked a representative cross-section of Texans. Colored included in the survey were questioned by Negro interviewers. These are the answers to that question (included in the "East" tabulation are people living east of the line drawn roughly through Fort Worth, Austin and San Antonio, and including those cities; in the "West" tabulation are those living west of the imaginary line): Tex. 7-5-46

White only:

	East	West	All
Should	38%	55%	44%
Should Not	55%	36%	49%
No Opinion	7%	9%	7%

All the Negroes interviewed answered affirmatively.

ON PARTICIPATION

Next everyone was asked, "As you may have heard, the United States Supreme Court has ruled that colored people can vote in primary elections. How many colored people do you expect will vote around here this summer, very many or not so many?"

Whites only:

	East	West	All
Very Many	30%	14%	24%
Not Many	57%	73%	63%
No Opinion	13%	13%	13%

Colored only:

Very Many	71%
Not Many	15%
No Opinion	14%

STUDY TAX RECORDS

How many colored people actually qualified to vote this year by paying poll taxes or otherwise has been estimated at from 50,000 to 200,000. The Texas poll is now making a study of every county's poll tax records, in order to determine the actual number of qualified Negro voters. Tex. 7-5-46

Many people who opposed the Negro's voting, results of the survey show, fear that the colored people may be easily swayed by unscrupulous leaders. "They are too easily persuaded," declared a man in Corsicana, "a nickel box of snuff will buy any of them."

"They are Republicans," others declared, "and should not take part in Democratic nominations." Some people actually say they believe the Negro ought to have the right—but they do not want him to exercise the vote, for various reasons: "Not yet; we have to educate them first." "They are not smart enough." "We should be another generation removed from the Civil War before letting them vote."

45f 1946

Anti-Machine Virginia Woman Misses Democratic Convention Seat by 12 Votes

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 8-17-46

WASHINGTON.

Daily newspapers here noted that there had been "no trouble" about colored citizens voting in the Democratic primary in Virginia, last Tuesday.

They failed to report, however, that Mrs. Esther I. Cooper, 500 S. Veitch St., Arlington, came within only 12 votes of winning election as a delegate to Arlington County's Democratic convention.

Mrs. Cooper is president of the Arlington branch NAACP and vice chairman of the Arlington chapter, Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Won 655 Votes

Campaigning as an anti-machine candidate, Mrs. Cooper piled up 655 votes in Arlington precinct, as many as the total cast in some elections.

As a delegate to the county Democratic convention, she would have taken part in the election of a county representative to the State Convention of the party.

That convention will name a Virginian to fill out the two years of the unexpired term of the late Senator Carter Glass, father of the poll-tax in Virginia.

Headed Anti-Machine Group

Mrs. Cooper ran ahead of the two other anti-machine candidates who campaigned with her. She was selected as a candidate by the Arlington County Citizens' Association for Hutchinson.

Although the anti-machine group failed to elect any of its delegates to the county convention, it put Hutchinson over in the precinct by a margin of more than 200 votes.

Lauds Voters

In a post-election statement thanking all the progressive people of both races who had voted for her, Mrs. Cooper said that the support she was accorded was indicative of a swing to more progressive ideas in Arlington.

"We can only regret that many who realized the necessity of registering failed to do so and that many who were registered failed to vote," Mrs. Cooper said.

She continued:

"But the time when 'what's the use' was a plausible excuse for staying away from the polls is ended. From now on, we all must register, pay our poll-taxes and vote. The time to register is now.

"We have important county elections ahead and two years from now the Byrd stooge who is nominated to succeed to Glass, will have to run for re-election. We must prepare now to elect a progressive candidate then."

MRS. ESTHER L. COOPER

Civic Leader

A native of Cleveland, where she served for many years as secretary to the late Harry C. Smith, a member of the Ohio legislature and father of the State's civil rights and anti-lynch bills, Mrs. Cooper has been active in Arlington civic life for 20 years.

She is a founder of the Jennie Dean Club working for recreational facilities, secretary of the Butler Homes Citizens' Association, and historian of the auxiliary to the Doris Miller Post 194, Va.

She is, at present, working with the Citizens' Committee for School Improvement, which is sponsoring a school bond issue for Arlington

Atlanta Women's Council

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

There is an inspiring note of sincerity in the resolution adopted last Friday in Atlanta by the Council of White Church Women. They emphasized the responsibility of "church-people" to function as Christian citizens in a democracy; they expressed belief in "educational rather than racial" qualifications for voting, but even this must not be discriminatory; "We, the Atlanta Council of Church Women go on record as endorsing Governor Arnall's stand in accepting the Negro's right to vote."

Tel 4-10-46

The white womens resolution, coming as it does, so close on the heels of Governor Arnall's widely heralded stand on law and order, will go far in the direction of setting the pace for other white women's organizations and groups over the state to follow. There is no longer any doubt that the great rank and file of responsible white citizens of the state will join in full accord with the position of the governor and of the white women group. There is no other reasonable or safe position to take. For as popular as the handful of opponents of the Negro vote may think they are, there is grave danger that they will manuever themselves into an inescapable jam if they are not careful about the manner and methods they are using in order to flaunt the order of our highest court in the land. That is precisely what is uppermost in some minds in Arkansas. But the Justce Department has announced that it will prosecute to the limit, any violations or attempts at denying to any group the exercise of their constitutional privilege to vote.

Mrs. Leonard Haas Heads Women Voters

Atlanta Constitution Atlanta Ga.

Constitution State News Service.

COLUMBUS, May 10—Mrs. Leonard Haas, of Atlanta, was elected President of the Georgia League of Women Voters here Friday as the organization brought to a close its ninth biennial convention by vigorously expressing itself in favor of the right of Negroes to vote in Georgia primaries. Sat 5-11-46

Mrs. Haas succeeds Mrs. J. A. Blalock. The action on the Negro vote question came in a resolution unanimously passed by the more than 100 delegates from 16 Georgia cities. The resolution called on "all officials and legislators" to uphold "the Constitution of the United States and the ruling of the Supreme Court."

"Any endeavor to circumvent the supreme law of the land is in violation of the fundamental principle of Democracy that each individual is entitled to have a voice in the selection of those who are to rule over him," the resolution, drawn up by Mrs. Harry Green, of the DeKalb County League, stated.

Four new points were added to the League's program for the next two years, and eight old points of the previous program were retained. The new points:

1. Improvement of legislative procedure through careful checking of bills to prevent ambiguous and contradictory legislation; improvement of machinery that will give the public easy access to any bill from time of introduction, and through compulsory advertising by title of local bills, passage of which should be filed at each County Courthouse.

2. Primaries: Legal regulation of primaries to insure fair, honest and democratic procedure. No State Primary before Sept. 1, and change from a plurality to a majority vote under the County Unit System.

3. Equalization of freight rates.

4. Conservation of natural resources with emphasis on forestry.

5. An adequate probation system for Georgia.

6. Inforcement of Georgia law prohibiting sale of liquor to minors. Sat. 5-11-46

7. Placing the institution for the insane at Milledgeville under the State Health Department rather than the Welfare Department.

Other officers elected included: Mrs. Harry Green, of DeKalb County, First Vice President; Miss Johnnie Hillburn, of Augusta, Second Vice President; Mrs. Olaf Krogland, of Columbus, Secretary, and Mrs. James Selvage, of Atlanta, Treasurer.

White

RACE BIAS TAKEN UP BY WOMEN VOTERS

New York Times

Convention Adds Protection of Minorities and Immigration Quotas to Its Agenda

New York

Fri 5-3-46

By BESS FURMAN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

KANSAS CITY, May 2—Two moves against racial discrimination were made at the convention of the National League of Women Voters today, one a motion to obtain consideration tomorrow of a blanket item, "protection of minority groups against discrimination;" the other for addition to the agenda of an item against racial discrimination in immigration and against lowering of quotas.

Mrs. Don Datisman of Indiana offering the anti-discrimination item, explained that it had been rejected by the league's national board to shorten the legislative program and also on the ground that other items, such as the one against discrimination in employment, made it unnecessary. She stressed other fields in the fight against discrimination and urged addition of the item. The chair also ruled that the immigration matter could be acted on since the league already is on record as opposing such discrimination.

Warning Against Inflation

Dr. Mabel Newcomer of Vassar College, delegate to the Bretton Woods conference, who is slated to become a member of the national board of the league at the convention here, warned against inflation at a session devoted largely to that subject.

"It is most unfortunate that we were in such haste to take taxes off," she said, "and we must hang on to what's left. The Social Security taxes were held back needlessly. One of the best ways of checking inflation is by social security taxes, and we will need them later for benefits."

Though the large majority of the delegates clearly favored the league's working hard for continuance of price and rent control, as recommended by the national board, sentiment against the Offic of Price Administration was vocal on the floor today, members waiting in long lines behind the microphone to get to talk.

Mrs. Lewis Steiger of New York, posed this question:

"Are we condoning the Government's letting wage controls and excess profits go off?"

Mrs. Harold Benjamin of Maryland, said that industry should not have refunds of excess profits tax when it had had "a sitdown strike to wait for higher profits."

Nebraska Threat to East

Mrs. Arthur Smith of Nebraska, voiced this warning:

"We won't feed you in the eastern part of this country if everything is rigged against us."

Mrs Smith spoke of freight rates, asserted that the farmer was not being counted in on the phrase 'full production,' and insisted that conservation and reclamation should be added to the league agenda.

Mrs. Robert Blakely of Iowa, asserted that if OPA were not continued there would be "a period in which by comparison this period is heaven." Herald 5-3-46

"The forces of greed will be glad to have that inflation," she added.

Mrs. Maurice A. Pollak of Illinois, a board member, who presented the league's plank for assumption by the Government of responsibility to prevent inflation and deflation and to stimulate maximum production and employment, declared:

"If we remove price control at this time all will be in a black market where the highest bidder gets the goods."

The convention balked at voting the board's recommendation of an agenda item favoring "high taxes to reduce the national debt in time of inflation" and substituted for it "a tax and fiscal policy designed to control inflation and deflation."

The delegates also overwhelmingly endorsed public control of atomic energy under a civilian agency to insure full development in the public interest and full conformity with international agreement.

Mrs. Harold A. Stone of Arlington, Va., new second vice president, who presented the atomic energy item, urged full support of the revised McMahon bill.

Democracy At Home

B'ham Age Herald.

An Editorial in The Columbus (Ga) Ledger

Because a lot of demagogues are trying their best to raise racial hates in this political summer of 1946, it took a good deal of courage for the Georgia League of Women Voters to go on record as absolutely favoring the right of Negroes to participate in all Georgia primaries.

6-1-46-Sat.

That, however, is exactly what the Georgia League did, and because we feel that Mrs. Harry Greene's resolution embodies an extraordinarily fine idealism, we want all of you to read it. Here it is:

The United States, notwithstanding its youth, is the oldest republic and the oldest democracy, and lives under the oldest written constitution in the world.

From the inception of our Republic the oppressed of the world have looked with hope and faith toward it.

During the recent bitter conflict for the democracy the United States held a beacon to all mankind through its formulation of the Atlantic Charter, and emerged into the position of world leadership.

B'ham, Ala.

It is now of first importance that we maintain and strengthen American prestige in the international scene and so,

Be It Resolved that it is imperative for the United States through each individual state to set its own house in order and continually strive to develop our imperfect democracy into a more perfect one, and,

Be It Further Resolved, that the Georgia League of Women Voters go on record as believing it the duty of all officials and legislators to see that the Negro is allowed to vote in the primaries of this state thereby upholding the Constitution of the United States and the ruling of the Supreme Court, and that any endeavor to circumvent this supreme law of the land is in violation of the fundamental principle of democracy that each individual is entitled to have a voice in the selection of those who are to rule over him.

It seems to us an exceedingly useful thing for any group of Americans—nurtured from childhood on the doctrine that we already have an almost perfect democracy and that it is somehow imperishable—to admit its imperfections and try to set them right.

The honest adoption of universal suffrage irrespective of race or creed is one excellent way to make our form of government even finer, and more enduring, and Georgia should be grateful to those thoughtful women for having the intelligence and courage to admit it.